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Headquarters for Dry Goods on the Lower Columbia.

BRYAN TELLS THE COUNTRY WHAT TO DO

(Continued from page one.)

itate to legislate upon the Philippine question? Because a law would disclose the radical departure from history and precedent contemplated by those who control the Republican party. The storm of protest which greeted the Porto Rican bill was an indication of what may be expected when the American people are brought face to face with legislation upon this subject. If the Porto Ricans, who welcome annexation, are to be denied the guarantees of our constitution, what is to be the lot of the Filipinos, who resisted our authority? If secret influences could compel a disregard of our plain duty toward friendly people living near our shores, what treatment would those same influences provide for unfriendly people 7,000 miles away? If, in this country, where the people have the right to vote, Republican leaders dare not take the side of the people against the great monopolies which have grown up within the last few years, how can they be trusted to protect the Filipinos from the corporations which are waiting to exploit the islands?

Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States, and the twilight of citizenship, perpetual vassalage, to be the lot of the Filipinos? The Porto Rican tariff law asserts the doctrine that the operation of the constitution is confined to the forty-five states. The Democratic party disputes this doctrine and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law. There is no place in our system of government for the deposit of arbitrary and irresponsible power. That the leaders of a great party should claim for any president or congress the right to treat millions of people as mere possessions, and deal with them until restrained by the constitution or the bill of rights, shows how far we have already departed from the ancient landmarks, and indicates what may be expected if this Nation deliberately enters upon a career of empire.

"The territorial form of government is temporary and preparatory, and the chief security of a citizen of a territory is found in the fact that he enjoys the same constitutional guarantees and is subject to the same general laws as a citizen of a state. Take away this security and rights will be violated and his interest sacrificed at the demand of those who have political influence. This is the evil of the colonial system, no matter by what nation it is supplied.

"What is our title to the Philippine Islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest? Did we buy them from the people? If not, how did we get them? Were they thrown in with the land? Will the Republicans say that inanimate earth has value, and when that earth is molded by the Divine hand and stamped with the likeness of the Creator, it becomes a fixture and passed with the soil. If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is impossible to secure title to the people, either by force or by purchase.

"We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we hold title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we made allies of the Filipinos and armed them to fight against Spain, we disputed Spain's title. If we buy Spain's title we are no innocent purchasers. But even if we had not disputed Spain's title, she could transfer no greater title than she had, and her title was based on force alone. We cannot defend such a title, but as Spain gave us a claim, we can honorably turn the property over to the party in possession.

"Whether any American official gave the Filipinos moral assistance, or independence is not material. There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the service of the Filipinos, and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were helping us to secure our own independence, and I submit that history furnishes no example of turpitude baser than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke.

"Let us demand of government the rights which have been given in support of an imperialistic policy. Some say that it is our duty to hold the Philippine Islands. But duty is not an argument; it is a conclusion. Our flag has not been over our duty, but when the treaty with Mexico was signed, American authority withdrew to the Rio Grande and I venture the opinion that during the last fifty years the people of Mexico have made more progress under the stimulus of independence and self-government than they would have made under a carpet bag government held in place by bayonets. The United States and Mexico, friendly representatives, are each stronger and happier than they would have been had the former been cursed by the latter, pushed by an imperialistic policy disguised as 'benevolent assimilation.'

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

stead of reason; it can substitute might for right; it can conquer weaker people; it can exploit their lands, appropriate their property and kill their people, but it cannot repeal the laws which escape the punishment decreed for the violation of human rights.

"Would we tread in the paths of tyranny? Nor reckon the tyrant's cost? Who takes another's liberty? Who takes another's life? Would we win as the strong have ever won? Make ready to pay the debt. For the God who reigns over Babylon Is the God who is reigning yet."

"Second—That American rule in the Philippine Islands will result in the better education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy we shall not let it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us and the most important ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without the consent of those who give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them, lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

"The principal arguments, however, advanced by those who enter upon a defense of imperialism are the following: "First—That we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics.

"Second—That our commercial interests in the Philippine Islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold the islands permanently.

"Third—That the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

"Fourth—That there is no honorable retreat from the position which the Nation has taken.

"The first argument is addressed to the Nation's pride and the second to the Nation's pocket book. The third is intended for the church member, and the fourth for the politician.

"The second argument is the first argument to say that for more than a century this Nation has been a world-power, that it has done more to affect the policies of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our declaration of independence was promulgated, others have been promulgated; because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty, others have fought for it; because our constitution was adopted, other constitutions have been adopted. The growth of the people, of the self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the nineteenth century. It has made this Nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history such as no other nation has ever enjoyed.

"If it is said we have assumed before the world obligations which make it necessary for us to maintain a government in the Philippine Islands, I reply, first, that the highest obligation of this Nation is to be true to itself. No obligation to any particular nation, or to all nations combined, can require the abandonment of our theory of government, or the substitution of doctrines against which our whole national life has been a protest. And, second, that our obligations to the Filipinos are greater than any obligation which we owe to foreigners who have a temporary residence in the Philippines or desire to trade there.

"It is argued by some that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government and that therefore we owe it to the world to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, in an official report to the navy department, declared the Filipinos more capable of self-government than the Cubans, and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Filipinos. Henry Clay, in defending the rights of the people of South America to self-government said:

"It is the doctrine of thrones that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their parliament asserts his incapacity in reference to all nations; if they cannot command universal assent to their proposition, it is then remanded to particular nations and our pride and presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the disposition of Providence himself to suppose that he created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled upon by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man."

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violence which the military spirit arouses and the first to suffer from the methods of imperialism are applied to our own government. It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

"The pecuniary argument, though more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much emphasis as the religious argument. If what has been termed the 'gun-tower gospel,' were urged against the Filipinos only, it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Filipinos are now members of one branch of the Christian church; but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration. The religious argument varies in positiveness from a passive belief that the Filipinos are to be brought into our hands, for their good and our glory, to the exultation of the minister who said that we ought to 'thrust the natives of Philippine into the infernal flames of hell, and every bullet sent, every cannon shot and every flag waved means 'lightenings.'

"We cannot approve of this doctrine in one place, and yet the willing to do it everywhere. If there is poison in the blood of the head it will ultimately reach the heart. It is equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon American soil. If true Christianity consists in carrying out in your daily lives the teachings of Christ, which will say that we are commanded to civilize with dynamite and proselyte with the sword. He who would declare the Divine will must prove his authority either by holy deeds or by a special dispensation. The command 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,' has no Gelling run after him.

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destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course. What the future has in store for this Nation no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the National mission and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfillment of that mission.

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

"I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past: a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proving in deed the world's self-created proposition: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure those rights; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the free exercise of every hand is uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes its chains and breaks its shackles by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's affairs—a republic whose history like the path of the just, is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

"The latest El Dorado is reported to be on Nome City beach, Alaska. Thousands of people are hastening there, many of whom will return broken in health. Of what avail is gold when health is gone? Guard your health with the best of all medicines—Hostetter's Stomach Bitters, and you will always have true health. The Bitters are for people who have abused their stomachs, or are naturally weak. It will regulate the bowels, stir up the liver, invigorate the kidneys and absolutely cure indigestion, constipation, malaria, chills and fever. It is a natural tonic, absolutely free from dangerous narcotics. It should be taken to protect the system from chills and fever and malarial attacks. It's a good medicine to keep on hand.

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