

# COQUILLE CITY HERALD.

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## SUPPLEMENT

### Issues of Impending Election

Ex-Governor Sylvester Pennoyer's Letter Printed in the Oregonian August 19, 1900.

I will speak briefly upon some of the main issues involved in the pending Presidential election.

#### Two Issues Eliminated

Two important questions—the use of silver as legal tender, standard money, and the ratio of 16 to 1 between gold and silver money—which were prominent in the last quadrennial campaign between the two great political parties, have been eliminated from the present one and are now no longer at issue. The act of June 13, 1888, passed by the present Congress, and approved by President McKinley, authorized the coinage of standard silver dollars, at the established ratio of 16 to 1, and this provision of law was reaffirmed by the financial act of March 14, 1900.

The Republican party having, thus recognized the necessity of the coinage of silver into full legal tender money, at the before mentioned ratio, and the Democratic party favoring the same policy, removes the status of silver and its ratio with gold from any further present consideration, and leaves for determination two most important questions which have been evolved and now confront the people—the question of colonial expansion, and the question of trusts.

#### Colonial Expansion.

Under the present Administration, a new policy has been adopted by the Federal Government, fraught with most important and dangerous consequences. The boundaries of the republic have been extended by conquest and purchase beyond the limits of the American continent, embracing the islands of the Philippine Archipelago, peopled by inferior races, unassimilative with our people, ignorant, debased and idolatrous—a people that can never be brought up to the standard of American civilization, and a people to govern which will require a large standing army and the continued imposition of heavy taxes upon our already overburdened taxpayers.

This, perhaps, in all its varied consequences, is the most important issue before the people, and should therefore be most carefully considered. And it must be noted at the outset, that this expansion is entirely without warrant of law. The Federal Government is not one of inherent sovereignty. All the powers that it possesses are delegated powers. It has no further or greater powers. It was brought into existence by the sovereign states which achieved their independence from Great Britain, and it possesses no power, authority or sovereignty not expressly delegated to it by the Federal Constitution. It was created by that instrument to be the agent of the States for certain specified purposes, most carefully enumerated. For those purposes alone it is a sovereignty. Beyond and outside of them it has no power whatever as a sovereignty, the Constitution expressly declaring that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The instrument will be searched in vain for authority for the Asiatic expansion policy of the present Administration.

But it is urged that the Federal Government has heretofore expanded its boundary, and the Louisiana purchase under the Jefferson administration has been cited as a precedent. It must be frankly conceded that the Louisiana purchase, like the purchase of the Philippine Islands, was without any authority of Constitutional law. But that purchase is no precedent or justification for the Philippine purchase.

#### Necessity Required It.

There is an old adage that "necessity has no law." The Louisiana purchase was consummated, not under Constitutional law, but under a moral necessity, paramount to all law. The territory purchased by Jefferson controlled the outlet of the Mississippi River, and was in the possession of a foreign power which had already interrupted the trade of the western portion of the republic, and the arbitrary conduct of which was liable to provoke war. To get control of this valuable domain and so prevent war, the Jefferson administration, outside of the law of the Constitution, but inside the requirements of necessity, made that most desirable purchase.

The territory was contiguous to our own; it was peopled by a race assimilative with us, and it opened for our people a rich region capable of settlement and development. Its purchase is no precedent whatever for the purchase and retention of the Philippine Islands. That expansion was American expansion; the latter is Asiatic expansion. That was made to prevent war, with its horrors

and expenditures; this expansion invites the horrors of war and entails upon the Governments both loss of life and vast expenditures of treasure. The Jeffersonian expansion was in accord with both the spirit and letter of Washington's farewell address, which enjoined us to avoid complications with foreign powers, while the McKinley expansion is violative of its injunction to not quit our own to stand on foreign ground, and to avoid interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, or entangling our peace

false to its Republican doctrines, by pensioning the Sultan of Sulu, with his harem and his slaves?

It denounced the Ostend manifesto as "unworthy of American diplomacy," and declared that "it would bring shame and dishonor on any government or people that gave it their sanction."

The Ostend Manifesto, as will be remembered, was a joint letter, addressed to Hon. William L. Marcy, Secretary of State, from James Buchanan, Minister to Great Britain; J. Y. Mason, Minister to France, and Pierre Soule, Minister to Spain, who, upon the suggestion of President Pierce, had been requested to meet together and exchange views, anticipatory to the negotiations with which Mr. Soule had been charged, with reference to the acquisition of Cuba from Spain, by purchase, or otherwise. In pursuance of such suggestion, the three Ambassadors met in conference at Ostend, in Belgium, in October, 1854, and at the conclusion of the conference, the letter above referred to was written.

It was a lengthy, able and exhaustive document, in which it was most strongly urged that the acquisition of Cuba was of paramount importance to the United States, upon the great principle that

most wanton insult to the valor and patriotism of the men of 1776, who gave their lives and their fortunes to destroy a colonial system of government so repugnant to every freeman.

#### Control of Trusts.

Within the last few years trusts have been organized in this country, with a nominal stock of over eight billions of dollars—a sum largely in excess of the gold and silver money of the whole world. The main purpose of all the trusts organized is the realization of greater profit, by the procurement and establishment of monopolies, than could otherwise be derived by ordinary legitimate business competition.

The tendency and effect of such and all monopolies is the enrichment of the few inside, at the expense of the many outside. Some of these trusts and monopolies are the legitimate spawn of the protective tariff system; some of government subsidies; some of the prosecution of business which the Government itself should really perform—such as the transmission of intelligence and the issuance of currency—while others, not fostered by tariff, subsidies, or other governmental instrumentalities, have been



EX-GOVERNOR SYLVESTER PENNOYER, FROM HIS LATEST PHOTOGRAPH, TAKEN FOR THE OREGONIAN.

and prosperity in the coils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice.

There is one other most grave and important difference between the two purchases. The territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase was susceptible of being brought into the Union as a sovereign state. The territory embraced in the Philippine purchase can never become a sovereign state, as its people are entirely unfit for such a privilege; and, so, as Congress has decided in regard to Porto Rico, it must ever be held as a subject colony, to be governed for all time by appointees of the Federal Government, backed up and supported in power by a large standing army.

#### None Should Countenance It.

There is not one single citizen within the domain of our broad Republic, no matter what his previous political predilections have been, who should give countenance and support to this anti-Republican and anti-American policy of the McKinley Administration.

In June, 1856, the first National convention of the Republican party was held at the City of Philadelphia. It resolved in favor of "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence." Can those principles be maintained by holding a purchased people in involuntary subjugation?

It protested against slavery in the territories of the United States, and demanded "positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein." Has not the McKinley Administration proved

self-preservation is the first law of nations, inasmuch as its close proximity to our shores while in the possession of a foreign power was a constant menace, to our repose and security.

#### Bold Suggestion.

It was suggested that Spain be offered "a price for Cuba far beyond its present value," and that, if that be refused, then, by every law, human and divine, "we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power, and this upon the very same principle that would justify an individual in tearing down the burning house of his neighbor, if there were no other means of preventing the flames from destroying his own house."

It will be observed that the Pierce administration based the acquisition of the American island of Cuba upon the same ground upon which Jefferson based the acquisition of the Louisiana territory, and the only ground upon which either could be defended, the demand of necessity and of self-preservation, and yet the Republican party, in its first national convention, denounced the scheme in most vigorous and vehement terms. How then, without stultification, can that party favor the acquisition of Asiatic Islands, when the claim of necessity can in no wise be urged?

Lastly, the holding of the Philippine Islands as colonies, as proposed by the McKinley administration, is a policy so un-American as to almost make the bones of the Revolutionary heroes turn uneasily in their graves. They were citizens of colonies. They rebelled against colonial government, and the adoption of the McKinley colonial policy by the people would constitute a

brought into existence during the dull times and lack of trade resulting from a most vicious system of legislation, in order to continue business without actual loss.

Next in importance to the stamping out and the utter extinguishment of the anti-Republican and anti-American policy, that would tax our people to keep other peoples under colonial and military subjugation and despotism, comes the question of the abolition of those trusts and monopolies which have so recently sprung up in our Government, and the baneful effects of which have already been felt by those outside of trusts, by the increased prices they have to pay, for articles which the trusts have to sell, and by the decreased prices they receive for what they sell and the trusts buy.

How then, to control the trusts and destroy monopolies, becomes a most important question, involving a most important duty. As a matter of course, those monopolies resulting from tariff laws or subsidies should be weakened, if not destroyed, by the entire abolition of duties on all articles controlled, and by the withdrawal of all subsidies, while those monopolies basking in the exercise of Governmental functions should be removed, through the exercise by the Government itself of these particular prerogatives. These, and all other monopolies, of whatever kind or degree, should be destroyed by the strong hand of the law, exercised in behalf of free trade and fair play.

#### Remedial Legislation.

All the trusts resulting from the vicious legislation of the Federal Government