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D. M. C. GAULT, Editor.

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITY

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1900.

For President
WM. McKINLEY,
Of Ohio.

For Vice-President,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
Of New York,

For Presidential Electors.

TILMAN FORD.....Marion County
J. C. FULLERTON.....Douglas County
W. J. FURNISH.....Umatilla County
O. F. PAXTON.....Multnomah County

REPUBLICAN TRUST LEGISLATION.

Democrats certainly cannot be familiar with republican utterances on trusts or they would not be given to the vapourings they inflict upon the people. The republican idea is summed up by President McKinley in his letter of acceptance when he says: "Trusts are combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation."

The republican party for years has been trying to enact legislation controlling these monopolies. The Sherman law is an example. Defects have been found, and while a sufficient law has not been written, the defects of the old law have been laid bare. Cases under the Sherman Act have been before the supreme court which tribunal has hinted that congress likes constitutional authority for passing a trust controling law.

The court reasoned that congress may not interfere with the private business of the citizen. Law could not fix the fare to be paid by a passenger riding on Elijah Corbett's stage from here to Portland, but when the railroad was built it was so large a factor in the transportation problem that the doctrine of public policy attached to the monopoly and the state assumed the prerogative of fixing a rate. So with freight. Mr. Smith, who, with his two-horse team, freights between here and Portland, will not allow the legislature to dictate what charges he may impose, but if he with all the other teamsters unite with the railroad to raise the price, a point might be reached when public policy could step in and establish a maximum rate, so with all other industries. But the U. S. court finds that "public policy," as reflected in legislation, is not sufficient to enable it to uphold the laws. The court is not willing to take the responsibility on that point, but wants an article of the constitution, the fundamental law of the land upon which a decision may be based.

The republicans desiring to give the court the desired authority proposed an amendment to the constitution at the last session of congress, but not having a majority in the senate or the house necessary to propose the amendments to the states it was lost. All the democrats voted against it. If the democrats really want to do something to cripple the trusts let them rise above opposition partisanship and join in formative legislation that will control the great monopolies. Their actions lead us to think that they have had "some of the pork."

THAT "CIVILIZED" DISGRACE.

"You hear much from the Oregon "enlightened" press these days about the lack of civilization in the Philippines, and of how "we," that is, the administration, are going to civilize them. Ask the visitors of the Portland carnival what they saw in the Midway where innocent women and children were standing side by side and witnessing a performance revolting to even the habitutes of the Whitechapel districts. The filthy performance has been running throughout the entire fair and the pure papers of Hanna extraction have no word of remonstrance. It is a disgrace to our civilization. If such revolting performances are to be patronized, let them be placarded so that innocent childhood can be kept away."—Argus, Sept. 13th.

State Senator Alex. Sweek, whom the Argus esteemed so highly during the state election campaign, was sent east to get attractions for the Portland street fair, and the Midway above described is what he brought back.

The opinion of Appraiser Wakeman, of New York, is gloomy—more so than the facts warrant. It is true we start in the campaign with 142 votes against McKinley, but we have 162 for him. For success we need 62 more votes. In '96 we carried Illinois 24, Indiana 15, New York 36, making 75 or more than enough to elect. We can get those votes and a few others. Wherefore there is no occasion for despondency on one side or for hilarity amoag the democrats.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Ho Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman Notification Committee:

My Dear Sir—The nomination of the Republican national convention of June 19, 1900, for the office of president of the United States which as the official representative of the convention you have conveyed to me is accepted. I have carefully examined the platform adopted and give it my hearty approval. Upon the great issue of the last national election it is clear. It upholds the gold standard and indorses the legislation of the present congress by which that standard has been effectively strengthened. The stability of our national currency is therefore secure so long as those who adhere to this platform are kept in control of the government. In the first battle, that of 1896, the friends of the gold standard and of sound currency were triumphant, and the country is enjoying the fruits of that victory. Our antagonists, however, are not satisfied. They compel us to a second battle upon the same lines on which the first was fought and won. While regretting the reopening of this question, which can only disturb the present satisfactory financial condition of the government and visit uncertainty upon our great business enterprises, we accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another and we hope a permanent triumph for an honest financial system which will continue inviolable the public faith.

Renewal of Fight on Currency.

As in 1896 the three silver parties are united under the same leader, who immediately after the election of that year in an address to the bimetallists said:

"The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished; they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money changers against the welfare of the human race, and they will continue the warfare against it."

The policy thus proclaimed has been accepted and confirmed by these parties. The silver Democratic platform of 1900 continues the warfare against the so called gold conspiracy when it expressly says, "We reiterate the demand of that (the Chicago) platform of 1896 for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

So the issue is presented. It will be noted that the demand is for the immediate restoration of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.

Turning to the other associated parties, we find in the Populist national platform adopted at Sioux Falls May 10 the following declaration:

"We pledge anew the People's party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute book, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired. We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the banknotes issued by private corporations under special privilege granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws."

The platform of the silver party adopted at Kansas City July 6 makes the following announcement:

"We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and honored principles of the American people before the constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the constitution itself, and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the government, and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception."

In all three platforms these parties announce that their efforts shall be unceasing until the gold act shall be blotted from the statute books and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 shall take its place.

Importance of Financial Issue.

The relative importance of the issues I do not stop to discuss. All of them are important. Whichever party is successful will be bound in conscience to carry into administration and legislation its several declarations and doctrines. One declaration will be as obligatory as another, but all are not immediate. It is not possible that these parties would treat the doctrine of 16 to 1, the immediate realization of which is demanded by their several platforms, as void and inoperative in the event that they should be clothed with power. Otherwise their profession of faith is insincere. It is therefore the imperative business of those opposed to this financial heresy to prevent the triumph of the parties whose union is only assured by adherence to the silver issue. Will the American people through indifference or fancied security hazard the overthrow of the wise financial legislation of the past year and revive the danger of the silver standard, with all of the inevitable evils of shattered confidence and general disaster which justly alarmed and aroused them in 1896?

The Chicago platform of 1896 is reaffirmed in its entirety by the Kansas City convention. Nothing has been omitted or recalled, so that all the perils then threatened are presented anew with the added force of a deliberate reaffirmation. Four years ago the people refused to place the seal of their approval upon these dangerous and revolutionary policies, and this year they will not fail to record again their earnest dissent.

Faithful to Tariff Traditions.

The Republican party remains faithful to its principle of a tariff which supplies sufficient revenues for the government and adequate protection to our enterprises and producers and of reciprocity which opens foreign markets to the fruits of American labor and furnishes new channels through which to market the surplus of American farms. The time honored principles of protection and reciprocity were the first pledges of Republican victory to be written into public law.

The present congress has given to Alaska a territorial government for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century, has established a representative government in Hawaii, has enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of the pensioners and their widows and has revived the free homestead policy. In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of $25,000 for the benefit of villages and rural communities and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many are already availing themselves of this privilege.

The Country's Prosperity.

Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years, probably more so than they have ever been. Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic. I rejoice that the southern as well as the northern states are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development. The money lender receives lower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been in this country, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshop and the labor producing them have advanced in value.

Our foreign trade shows a satisfactory and increasing growth. The amount of our exports for the year 1900 over those of the exceptionally prosperous year of 1899 was about $500,000 for every day of the year, and these sums have gone into the homes and enterprises of the people. There has been an increase of over $50,000,000 in the exports of agricultural products. $92,692,220 in manufactures and in the products of the mines of over $10,000,000. Our trade balances cannot fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country. In 1898 we sold abroad $615,432,676 of products more than we bought abroad; in 1899, $529,874,813, and in 1900, $544,471,701, making during the three years a total balance in our favor of $1,689,779,190, nearly five times the balance of trade in our favor for the whole period of 108 years from 1790 to June 30, 1897, inclusive.

Four hundred and thirty-six million dollars of gold has been added to the gold stock of the United States since July 1, 1896. The law of March 14, 1900, authorized the refunding into 2 per cent bonds of that part of the public debt represented by the 3 per cents due in 1908, the 4 per cents due in 1907 and the 5 per cents due in 1904, aggregating $840,000,000. More than one-third of the sum of these bonds was refunded in the first three months after the passage of the act, and on Sept. 1 this sum had been increased more than $33,000,000, making in all $330,578,050, resulting in a net saving of over $8,379,520. The ordinary receipts of the government for the fiscal year 1900 were $79,527,060 in excess of its expenditures.

The Boer-British War.

In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer states of South Africa the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality in accordance with its well known traditional policy. It did not hesitate, however, when requested by the governments of the South African republics, to exercise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities. It is to be observed that while the South African republics made like request of other powers the United States is the only one which complied. The British government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

Ninety-one per cent of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign shipowners over $165,000,000. We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world, and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. Our own citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners. I have called the attention of congress to this subject in my several annual messages.

The Isthmian Waterway.

A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great waterway of commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our eastern and western seaports demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this government, and it is believed that the next session of congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several states should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained.

The Best Service to Labor.

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The past three years have been more satisfactory to American workingmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the government would be disastrous to their highest interests. With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products employment should continue to wait upon labor, and with the present gold standard the workingman is secured against payment for his labor in a depreciated currency. For labor a short day is better than a short dollar. One will lighten the burdens, the other lessen the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence, the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children and with thrift and economy lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.

Practical civil service reform has always had the support and encouragement of the Republican party. The future of the merit system is safe in its hands.

The American people are profoundly grateful to the soldiers, sailors and marines who have in every time of conflict fought their country's battles and defended its honor. The survivors and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen are justly entitled to receive the generous and considerate care of the nation.

Our Occupation of Cuba.

We have been in possession of Cuba since the 1st of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquillity. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled, and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from 43,000 to less than 6,000. An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention in the same order is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantees to the people of Cuba.

The Government of Porto Rico.

We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own laws, provide their own system of taxation and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States and a much larger measure of self government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established, and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island. While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, congress complied with my recommendation by removing on the first day of May last 85 per cent of the duties and provided for the removal of the remaining 15 per cent on the 1st of March, 1902, or earlier if the legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government.

The Philippine Question.

For the sake of full and intelligent understanding of the Philippine question and to give to the people authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration I present at some length the events of importance leading up to the present situation. The purposes of the executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing. It will be seen that the power of the government has been used for the liberty, the peace and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples and that force has been employed only against force which stood in the way of the realization of these ends.

[Here follow a recital of events which led up to acquisition of the Philippine Islands and the ratification of the treaty with Spain and correspondence between the executive and the United States officers and commissioners in the islands.]

In March, 1899, believing that the insurrection was practically ended and earnestly desiring to promote the establishment of a stable government in the archipelago, I appointed the following civil commission: Hon. William H. Taft of Ohio, Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Hon. Luke I. Wright of Tennessee, Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont and Hon. Bernard Moses of California.

[The instructions to and reports from this commission are then given.]

Progress in the Islands.

The commission is confident that "by a judicious customs law, reasonable land tax and proper corporation franchise tax imposition of no greater rate than that in average American state will give less annoyance and with peace will produce revenues sufficient to pay expenses of efficient government, including militia and constabulary." They "are preparing a stringent civil service law giving equal opportunity to Filipinos and Americans, with preference for the former where qualifications are equal, to enter at lowest rank and by promotion reach head of department. Forty-five miles of railroad extension under negotiation will give access to a large province rich in valuable minerals, a mile high, with strictly temperate climate. Railroad construction will give employment to many, and communication will furnish market to vast stretches of rich agricultural lands."

They report that there are "calls from all parts of the islands for public schools, school supplies and English teachers greater than the commission can provide until a comprehensive school system is organized. Night schools for teaching English to adults are being established in response to popular demand. Native children show aptitude in learning English. Spanish is spoken by a small fraction of people, and in a few years the medium of communication in the courts, public offices and between different tribes will be English. Creation of central government within 18 months, under which substantially all rights described in the bill of rights in the federal constitution are to be secured to the people of the Philippines, will bring to them contentment, prosperity, education and political enlightenment."

This shows to my countrymen what has been and is being done to bring the benefits of liberty and good government to these wards of the nation.

Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization and for the protection of the vast majority of the population, who welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority, whose first demand after the surrender of Manila by the Spanish army was to enter the city that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous designs.

Nobody who will avail himself of the facts will longer hold that there was any alliance between our soldiers and the insurgents or that any promise of independence was made to them. Long before their leader had reached Manila they had resolved if the commander of the American navy would give them arms with which to fight the Spanish army they would later turn upon us, which they did murderously and without the shadow of cause or justification. There may be those without the means of full information who believe that we were in alliance with the insurgents and that we assured them that they should have independence. To such let me repeat the facts. On the 28th of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey was instructed by me to make no alliance with any party or faction in the Philippines that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future, and he replied under date of June 6, 1898: "Have acted according to spirit of department's instructions from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces to retain possession."

Dewey Said No Alliance Existed.

In the report of the first Philippine commission, submitted on Nov. 2, 1899, Admiral Dewey, one of its members, said, "No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him at any time."

General Merritt arrived in the Philippines on July 25, 1898, and a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the government at Washington said: "Merritt arrived yesterday. Situation is most critical at Manila. The Spanish may surrender at any moment. Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with the insurgents under Aguinaldo, who have become aggressive and even threatening toward our army." Here is revealed the spirit of the insurgents as early as July, 1898, before the protocol was signed, while we were still engaged in active war with Spain. Even then the insurgents were threatening our army.

On Aug. 13 Manila was captured, and of this and subsequent events the Philippine commission says: "When the city of Manila was taken, Aug. 13, the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view to looting the city and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city, he demanded of General Merritt the palace of Malacanan for himself and the cession of all the churches of Manilla, also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. All these demands were refused."

Generals Merritt, Greene and Anderson, who were in command at the beginning of our occupation and until the surrender of Manila, state that there was no alliance with the insurgents and no promise to them of independence. On Aug. 17, 1898, General Merritt was instructed that there must be no joint occupation of Manila with the insurgents. General Anderson under date of Feb. 10, 1899, says that he was present at the interview between Admiral Dewey and the insurgent leader and that in this interview Admiral Dewey made no promises whatever. He adds: "He (Aguinaldo) asked me if my government was going to recognize his government. I answered that I was there simply in a military capacity, that I could not acknowledge his government because I had no authority to do so."

The Only Course Open.

Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, dispatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Where could it have gone? What port in the orient was open to it? Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of General Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practicable moment?

And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war? Could we have come away at any time between May 1, 1898, and the conclusion of peace without a stain upon our good name?

Could we have come away without dishonor at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the senate of the United States?

There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified no power but congress could surrender our sovereignty or alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The congress has not seen fit to do the one or the other, and the president had no authority to do either if he had been so inclined, which he was not. So long as the sovereignty remains in us it is the duty of the executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

It has been asserted that there would have been no fighting in the Philippines if congress had declared its purpose to give independence to the Tagal insurgents. The insurgents did not wait for the action of congress. They assumed the offensive; they opened fire on our army. Those who assert our responsibility for the beginning of the conflict have forgotten that before the treaty was ratified in the senate and while it was being debated in that body and while the Bacon resolution was under discussion on Feb. 4, 1899, the insurgents attacked the American army after being previously advised that the American forces were under orders not to fire upon them except in defense. The papers found in the recently captured archives of the insurgents demonstrate that this attack had been carefully planned for weeks before it occurred. Their unprovoked assault upon our soldiers at a time when the senate was deliberating upon the treaty shows that no action on our part except surrender and abandonment would have prevented the fighting and leaves no doubt in any fair mind of where the responsibility rests for the shedding of American blood.

With all the exaggerated phrase making of this electoral contest we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention.

Proposed Philippine Government.

We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made. It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants and to prepare them for self government and to give them self government when they are ready for it and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my constitutional authority and will continue to do until congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

Are our opponents against the treaty? If so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the senate but for their assistance. The senate which ratified the treaty and the congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation comprised senators and representatives of the people of all parties.

Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should be promptly disclaimed, for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago, the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized and the powers of government over all the other peoples of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion and increases the necessity for the continuance of a large army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago and the establishment of civil governments and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnesty offered by General MacArthur under my direction. But for these false hopes a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines, and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand.

The American people are asked by our opponents to yield the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines to a small fraction of the population, a single tribe out of 80 or more inhabiting the archipelago, a faction which wantonly attacked the American troops in Manila while in rightful possession under the protocol with Spain, awaiting the ratification of the treaty of peace by the senate and which has since been in active, open rebellion against the United States. We are asked to transfer our sovereignty to a small minority in the islands without consulting the majority and to abandon the largest portion of the population, which has been loyal to us, to the cruelties of the guerrilla insurgent bands. More than this, we are asked to protect this minority in establishing a government and to this end repress all opposition of the majority. We are required to set up a stable government in the interest of those who have assailed our sovereignty and fired upon our soldiers and then maintain it at any cost or sacrifice against its enemies within and against those having ambitions designs from without.

This would require an army and navy far larger than is now maintained in the Philippines and still more in excess of what will be necessary with the full recognition of our sovereignty. A military support of authority not our own as thus proposed is the very essence of militarism, which our opponents in their platform oppose, but which by their policy would of necessity be established in its most offensive form.

Betrayal of Obligation.

The American people will not make the murderers of our soldiers the agents of the republic to convey the blessings of liberty and order to the Philippines. They will not make them the builders of the new commonwealth. Such a course would be a betrayal of our sacred obligations to the peaceful Filipinos and would place at the mercy of dangerous adventurers the lives and property of the natives and foreigners. It would make possible and easy the commission of such atrocities as were secretly planned to be executed on the 22d of February, 1899, in the city of Manila, when only the vigilance of our army prevented the attempt to assassinate our soldiers and all foreigners and pillage and destroy the city and its surroundings. In short, the proposition of those opposed to us is to continue all the obligations in the Philippines which now rest upon the government, only changing the relation from principal, which now exists, to that of surety. Our responsibility is to be no less, but our title is to be surrendered to another power which is without experience or training or the ability to maintain a stable government at home and absolutely helpless to perform its international obligations with the rest of the world. To this we are opposed. We should not yield our title while our obligations last. In the language of our platform, "Our authority should not be less than our responsibility," and our present responsibility is to establish our authority in every part of the islands.

No government can so certainly preserve the peace, restore public order, establish law, justice and stable conditions as ours. Neither congress nor the executive can establish a stable government in these islands except under our right of sovereignty, our authority and our flag. And this we are doing.

Self Government Promised.

We could not do it as a protectorate power so completely or so successfully as we are doing it now. As the sovereign power we can initiate action and shape means to ends and guide the Filipinos to self development and self government. As a protectorate power we could not initiate action, but would be compelled to follow and uphold a people with no capacity yet to be alone. In the one case we can protect both ourselves and the Filipinos from being involved in dangerous complications, in the other we could not protect even the Filipinos until after their trouble had come. Besides, if we cannot establish any government of our own without the consent of the governed, as our opponents contend, then we could not establish a stable government for them or make ours a protectorate without the like consent, and neither the majority of the people nor a minority of the people have invited us to assume it. We could not maintain a protectorate even with the consent of the governed without giving provocation for conflicts and possibly costly wars. Our rights in the Philippines are now free from outside interference and will continue so in our present relation. They would not be thus free in any other relation. We will not give up our own to guarantee another sovereignty.

Our title is good. Our peace commissioners believed they were receiving a good title when they concluded the treaty. The executive believed it was a good title when he submitted it to the senate of the United States for its ratification. The senate believed it was a good title when they gave it their constitutional assent, and the congress seems not to have doubted its completeness when they appropriated $20,000,000 provided by the treaty. If any who favored its ratification believed it gave us a bad title, they were not sincere. Our title is practically identical with that under which we hold our territory acquired since the beginning of the government and under which we have exercised full sovereignty and established government for the inhabitants.

It is worthy of note that no one outside of the United States disputes the fullness and integrity of the cession. What, then, is the real issue on this subject? Whether it is paramount to any other or not it is whether we shall be responsible for the government of the Philippines with the sovereignty and authority which enables us to guide them to regulated liberty, law, safety and progress or whether we shall be responsible for the forcible and arbitrary government on our part and with only the embarrassment of a protectorate which draws us into their troubles without the power of preventing them.

Must Accept Obligations.

There were those who two years ago were rushing us on to war with Spain who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequence, as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations which go to war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations and when they make treaties must keep them.

Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified. Imperialism has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is a rock upon which the Republican party was built and now rests. Liberty is the great Republican doctrine for which the people went to war and for which a million lives were offered and billions of dollars expended to make it a lawful legacy of all without the consent of master or slave. There is a strain of ill concealed hypocrisy in the anxiety to extend the constitutional guarantees to the people of the Philippines while their nullification is openly advocated at home. Our opponents may distrust themselves, but they have no right to discredit the good faith and patriotism of the majority of the people who are opposing them. They may fear the worst form of imperialism with the helpless Filipinos in their hands, but if they do it is because they have parted with the spirit and faith of the fathers and have lost the virility of the founders of the party which they profess to represent.

The Republican party does not have to assert its devotion to the Declaration of Independence. That immortal instrument of the fathers remained unexecuted until the people under the lead of the Republican party in the awful clash of battle turned its promises into fulfillment. It wrote into the constitution the amendments guaranteeing political equality to American citizenship, and it has never broken them or counseled others in breaking them. It will not be guided in its conduct by one set of principles at home and another set in the new territory belonging to the United States.

If our opponents would only practice as well as preach the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln, there would be no fear for the safety of our institutions at home or their rightful influence in any territory over which our flag floats.

Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by American freemen. The flag of the republic now floats over these islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of liberty, education and free institutions or steal away, leaving them to anarchy or imperialism?

The American question is between duty and desertion. The American verdict will be for duty and against desertion, for the republic against both anarchy and imperialism.

The country has been fully advised of the purposes of the United States in China, and they will be faithfully adhered to, as already defined.

The nation is filled with gratitude that the little band, among them many of our own blood, who for two months have been subjected to privations and peril by the attacks of pitiless hordes at the Chinese capital, exhibiting supreme courage in the face of despair, have been enabled by God's favor to greet their rescuers and find shelter under their own flag.

The people not alone of this land, but of all lands, have watched and prayed through the terrible stress and protracted agony of the helpless sufferers in Peking, and while at times the dark tidings seemed to make all hope vain the rescuers never faltered in the heroic fulfillment of their noble task.

We are grateful to our own soldiers and sailors and marines and to all the brave men who though assembled under many standards representing peoples and races strangers in country and speech were yet united in the sacred mission of carrying succor to the besieged with a success that is now the cause of a world's rejoicing.

Not only have we reason for thanksgiving for our material blessings, but we should rejoice in the complete unification of the people of all sections of our country that has so happily developed in the last few years and made for us a more perfect union.

The obliteration of old differences, the common devotion to the flag and the common sacrifices for its honor so conspicuously shown by the men of the north and south in the Spanish war have so strengthened the ties of friendship and mutual respect that nothing can ever again divide us. The nation faces the new century gratefully and hopefully, with increasing love of country, with firm faith in its free institutions and with high resolve that they "shall not perish from the earth." Very respectfully yours, WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

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