

FOR AMERICANISM, PEACE, PROSPERITY

Democratic Convention Hears Keynote Ringing True to Patriotism and Duty—Record One of Duty Done—Audience of 12,000 Stirred to Enthusiasm by Words of Ex-Gov. Glynn.

With Washington and Lincoln.

By opposing what we stand for today, the Republican party opposes what Hamilton stood for a century ago. The founder of the Republican party and the founder of the Democratic party, placing their country's happiness above every other consideration, forgot partisanship and made American neutrality a national creed.

Unless statesmanship has fallen into disrepute among Republicans, the men who controlled the Chicago convention cannot read Alexander Hamilton out of the Republican party. Unless I mistake the temper of the American people the Republican bosses can no more lead their adherents away from the neutrality for which Washington and Hamilton struggled than they can lead them away from the flag for which Washington and Hamilton fought.

In all the history of the world there is no other national policy that has justified itself so completely and entirely as the American policy of neutrality and isolation from the quarrels of European powers. Before we declared our neutrality we were embroiled in all the troubles of Great Britain, France and Spain: since then we have had less than three years of war with Europe and 116 years of amity and peace.

Neutrality is the policy which has kept us at peace while Europe has been driving the nails of war through the hands and feet of a crucified humanity.

Rights Asserted and Maintained.

No American who knows the facts can honestly oppose or criticize the policy of neutrality which the present Democratic Administration has pursued. Driven from this position, by the logic of our history and the lesson of our prosperity, carpers and defamers rush to the opposite extreme and assert that this policy has not been enforced with sufficient vigor by the present Administration.

Standing here with the eyes of the nation upon this convention, with the cold light of reason, the piercing shafts of logic streaming upon all that we may say or do, I declare, with history as my witness and with fact as my proof that the neutral rights of American citizens have never been so vigorously asserted or so successfully maintained as they have been asserted and maintained by the President of the United States during the present war.

America's doctrine of neutrality never meant that this nation must rush headlong into war at the first invasion of its neutral rights. Neutrality is not a hair-triggered policy that explodes in violence at the first assault. It is a policy that has proved successful because it has always been asserted through negotiation rather than through force, through diplomacy rather than by an appeal to arms. This does not mean that America will not resort to war when all other means of protecting its neutral rights have failed, but it does mean that America will exhaust every peaceful means of protecting those rights before it takes the step from which there is no appeal. Just as in domestic affairs, the penal statutes cannot wholly suppress crime, so in foreign affairs the law of neutrality cannot entirely prevent the breach of neutral rights. There has scarcely been a war since the principle of neutrality was embodied in international law, in which some neutral citizens have not been killed, in which some neutral trade has not been interfered with.

A judicial review of relative values, a distinction between honor and sensitivity, a consideration of life as well as property, a proper equation of conditions and circumstances are elements of neutrality's law.

One hundred and twenty years ago when Europe went mad with war as it has gone mad today, Jefferson pointed to the north star of our policy of neutrality when he said, "In the present maniac state of Europe we should not estimate the point of honor or by the ordinary scale." The reasoning which made this a sound rule in "the maniac state of Europe" in Jefferson's day makes it an equally strong rule in "the maniac state of Europe" today.

This nation, let us never forget, has always remembered that neutrality is a policy which is asserted against nations at war, against nations inflamed and disordered. It has always been wise enough to proceed with calmness and patience, and events have ever justified its willingness to appeal from Philip drunk with war to Philip sobered by reason and reflection.

How Stands the Record?

The issue, raised by our opponents, of the vigor with which our neutrality has been enforced is a comparative issue which can be decided only by comparative results.

And what are the comparative results? How stands the record of this Administration compared with other Administrations?

When Grant was President, during the war between Spain and the Spanish West Indies, a Spanish gunboat seized the vessel Virginia flying the American flag and a Spanish commandant in cold blood shot the captain of the Virginia, 36 of the crew and 16 of the passengers.

But we didn't go to war. Grant settled our troubles by negotiation just as the President of the United States is trying to do today.

When Benjamin Harrison was President the people of Chile conceived a violent dislike to the United States for our insistence upon neutrality during the Chilean revolution. When this feeling was at its height one junior officer from the United States warship Baltimore was killed outright in the streets of Valparaiso and 16 of our sailors wounded, of whom one afterward died. In a message to Congress on January 25, 1892, supported by Secretary of State James G. Blaine, and on evidence submitted by Fighting "Bob" Evans and Winfield Scott Schley, President Harrison said this assault on our honor "had its origin in the hostility to these men as sailors of the United States wearing the uniform of the Government and not in any individual act of personal animosity" and that this nation "must take notice of the event as an infraction of its rights and dignity" and as an invasion of its "international rights."

But we didn't go to war. Harrison settled our troubles by negotiation just as the President of the United States is trying to do today.

When Lincoln Was President.

When Lincoln was President this country's rights were violated on every side. England, Russia, France and Spain were guilty of such flagrant violations that Secretary of State Seward advanced a plan to go to war with all of them at one and the same time.

France used every possible influence short of open war to injure us. She not only permitted the building of Confederate vessels in private ship yards, but she allowed at least two to be built in the national navy yard of France and she supplied them with supplies from her government arsenal.

And England did more.

Through his Secretary of State, Lincoln called England to account for the seizure of the U. S. ship Chesapeake on the high seas bound from New York to Portland, for the burning of the U. S. ship Roanoke off Bermuda for the seizure on Lake Erie of the ship Philo Parsons and the scuttling of the island Queen, the shooting of its engineer, and the wounding of its passengers; and he protested to England against the invasion of the territory of the United States by a band of Southern sympathizers from Canada, who rode across the border into Vermont, burned a portion of St. Albans, looted its homes, robbed its bank of \$211,000, killed one of its citizens and wounded several more. In stinging language he told England that she violated neutrality by permitting "the use of British ports and British borders as a base for felonious depredations against the citizens of the United States," and he wrote into history his diplomatic battle against England for letting loose the Alabama to prey upon our commerce, to destroy \$100,000,000 worth of property, to capture 64 of our vessels and drive our flag from off the seas. No nation ever inflicted upon another nation a more damnable or more maddening wrong than England inflicted upon the United States in the Alabama outrage.

But we didn't go to war. Lincoln settled our troubles by negotiation just as the President is trying to do today.

When Washington Was President.

When Washington was President and "neutrality" first declared, war convulsed Europe, our ships dared not to put out to sea, commerce was paralyzed and business depressed. American passengers and American crews were thrown into prison and deprived of legal rights. Genet, the Minister of France, fitted out privateers in our harbors, flouted our officials, and tried to rally this country to the support of France in return for the help France gave us in the Revolutionary war. England and France seized 400 of our ships and confiscated millions of dollars' worth of our property, and up in Quebec Lord Dorchester promised Canadian Indians the pleasure of burning American homes and scalping American citizens.

In his policy of peaceful negotiations today the President of the United States follows the example set him by the greatest Presidents the Democratic party and the greatest Presidents the Republican party ever gave this nation.

We challenge our critics to deny a single fact in the record. We defy them to stammer at a single point at which the helmsman who has safely steered us through Europe's storm has departed from the course laid down by those who established America's foreign policy.

"To maintain our national honor by peace if we can, by war if we must," is the motto of the President of the United States.

But before submitting to the chance and misery of war, true statesmen that he is, he proposes to put the reason and justice of negotiation to the test. If they are as patriotic as they pretend, those who censure this policy of negotiation may blush from shame to learn that they censure the policy pursued by the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

In the document which made us free John Hancock and Benjamin Franklin and Charles Carroll and all the other signers declare (I quote their exact words), they declare they "appealed," they declare they "conferred," they declare they "reminded" England of our wrongs before we went to war.

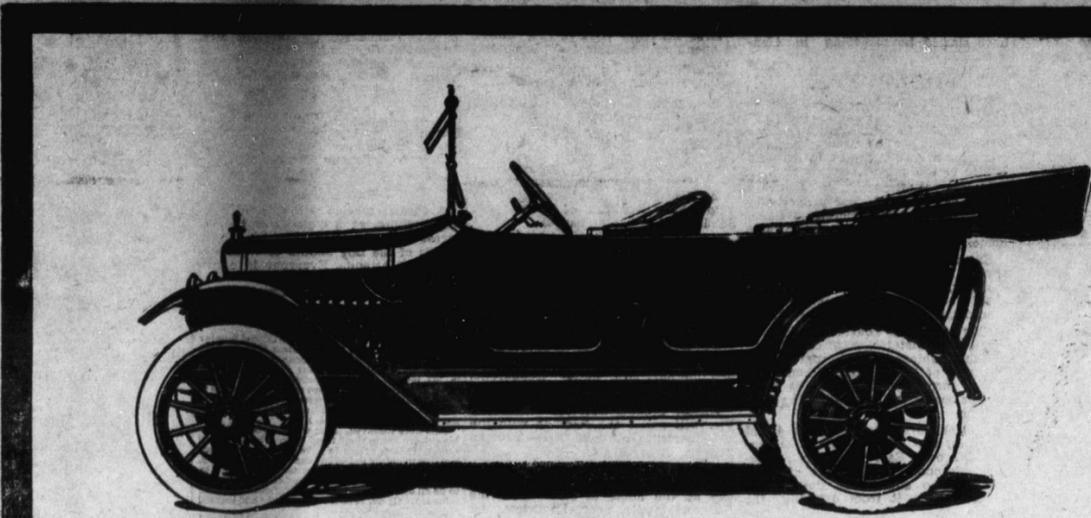
(To be continued.)

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