IMPERIALISM, TRUSTS, SILVER

Speech of W. J. Bryan on Capitol Grounds Upon His Return from Indianapolis.

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: This immense audience tonight indicates an interest in the questions before the people which is very gratifying to me. I want to talk to you a little while and try to convince some of you at least who have not agreed with us in the past that it is your duty to act with us now. I am going to assume that you understand that in a government like this we are all stockholders and it is the duty of the directors of the company to run the company in the interest of the stockholders. Now, if a man is a stockholder in a company, and the director does not do his duty, the stockholder votes to turn the director out. If you have a board of directors and you think that that board is not doing what it ought to do in the interest of the stockholders, you have no hesitation in voting to turn the board out, and you assert yourself with others who agree with you, in order to secure a board which will protect the interests of the stockholder. Every stockholder, no matter how small his share, watches the action of the directors, ready to express his opinion, either in commendation or in condemnation.

"Now why is is it we, as citizens of this great republic should not be as ready to voice our opinions and express a protest if we feel a protest.

"On election day we choose the directors of this great corporation that we call a republic. The time is drawing near when we must sit injudgment upon the action of those who have been in charge of this government, and our votes will be counted, either in approval or in disapproval of what has been done. In the four years which have passed many thing have been done. You may approve of some; you may disapprove of some; but when you come to vote there will be some question, or some two questions, or three questions which will influence your mind about all the rest of the questions. The great trouble is that when people belong to parties they sometimes get so partisan that the party becomes the master instead of the servant. Why should a republican vote to approve of policies that he does not like merely because he is a republican? What does a republican owe to his party but loyalty when the party protects his own rights and administers the government according to his own idea? The party owes more to the individual than the individual owes to the party. And yet today men are trying to make themselves believe things to be good that they thought bad a few years ago.

"I heard of some men once who went hunting and they agreed that they would take 'turn about' in cooking, and then they agreed that if any one of the number should find find fault with the cooking he should take his turn to cook next. And so they all tried to be pleased with what they had to eat; but one morning the steak was very tough, and one of the members thoughtlessly began to criticise. He said: 'This is the toughest steak that I ever saw in my life—but I like it.' (Applause and laughter.) Now I think I know some republicans who have approached these questions now before the country with much the same feeling that that hunter approached the beefstead. (Laughter and applause.) They single out some one thing and they say that it is the toughest thing that they were ever called upon by the republican party to eat, but then their partisanship comes to the rescue and they say, 'but I like it.' (Applause and laughter.)

"I have discussed questions before you in the past, but I have not been called upon to take back an opinion which I had expressed on these great questions. (Great applause and cheering.)

"As I explained this afternoon a question arises and becomes prominent. We meet it, but in meeting it we do not surrender our belief in other questions. We have fought against the high tariff, and we fight against the high tariff today because we see great trusts hiding behind tariff barriers and plundering American citizens, while (Great applause.) But we do not regard the tariff as the supreme issue. Why? Because if you pay too much tax, you can get rid of it tomorrow. The question of taxation is one which you can meet at any time. When the silver question came up, we placed the tariff question in the background as compared with the silver question and fought on the silver question. We said that the American people should have an American financial policy, and that without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth, (Great applause.) and we believe it today. (Renewed applause and cheering.) I would be ashamed to look a fellow-citizen in the face, if I had to accept English dictation on finance in the United States. (Continued applause.) But the question of imperialism has arisen and for the time being it engrosses public attention. If I am sitting in a house with a republican discussing economic questions and the house catches fire, we stop long enough to put out the fire. (Laughter and applause.) The republican party has injected into American politics today a question which affects the house itself and endangers our self-government. Give us the right to legislate on every question and we will settle every question that concerns the American people, but when you take away the right to govern ourselves, then that question must be settled, and I want you republicans who have differed from us on questions in the past to realize that the very men who wanted to fasten an English financial system on this country now want to fasten a European colonial system on the United States. (Great applause and cheering.) The very people who were not willing that the American people should attend to their own business now want the American people to attend to the business of other people in other parts of the world. (Applause and cheering.)

"The republican party does not dare to meet this question of imperialism. The republican party says that it would rather fight the fight on the money question. My friends, the republican party is no better prepared to make the fight again on the money question than it is on imperialism. The only way it makes a fight on the money question is to take the credit for a rain in Nebraska that gives a large crop, and for a drouth in North Dakota that raises the price of wheat. (Applause and laughter.) The republican party will not be permitted to evade the question which the republican administration has brought before the American people and if you republicans are not prepared now to meet the Philippine question, you might as well get ready to meet it. You cannot avoid it in this campaign. (Great applause and cheering.)

"When you go to your homes I want you to ask yourselves and to answer to your own satisfaction, if you can, what our title to the Filipino is. If he is ours, how did we get him? (Applause.) If God gave him to us, present the deed and show us the signature of the Almighty. (Renewed applause.) If you bought him for money show us where in any American law there is authority for buying a man. Republicans, are you willing to base your title upon purchase? Are you willing to assert that we can buy Filipinos or any other kind of people anywhere? Are you willing to rest it upon purchase? If you are willing to assert the doctrine that money can pay for human blood, I want to find out what kind of a title you bought. If a man steals a horse he cannot convey a greater title than he had, and he had no title. You say you bought title from Spain; how did Spain get title? She got title by force and therefore your title by purchase becomes merely a title by force. Do you assert that you can acquire title to a man by force? I deny it. (Great applause.)

"I deny the right of any man to make another man a subject by force. Republicans, you cannot draw a line between the right of one man to come out and beat another man into subjection and the right of one nation to come out and beat another nation into subjection. (Great applause.) There is no place to draw the line. Republicans, until three years ago you never heard a republican in a public place deny the doctrine that all men are created equal. It was in the first republican platform adopted in 1856 and it was in the platform adopted in 1860 on which Abraham Lincoln ran. Look through the last republican platform which was written in Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence was written and you will find that they did not dare to mention the Declaration of Independence. Why not? Because the republican party today repudiates the doctrine that all men are created equal. (Applause.) The republican party today asserts the doctrine that some men are made to govern and others are made to be subjects. (Applause.) The republican party today asserts the doctrine that our race has the right to cross seven thousand miles of ocean and take possession of another race. I care not upon what grounds it defends its policy. It cannot defend it in the first place unless it destroys the doctrine that all men are created equal. Abraham Lincoln in one of his speeches spoke of the Declaration of Independence, and after having praised the ancestors who wrote that document, and spoken of those who traced their ancestry back to the revolutionary fathers he added there were some in this country who could not trace their ancesters to revolutionary patriots; that there were some who were either born in other lands or were the children of people born on other lands since the revolution, but Lincoln said that when those people came here believing in the doctrine that all men are created equal that that belief bound them all together and they were blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of those who won this nation's independence. (Applause.) It is that doctrine that all men are created equal that binds together the various classes that come to this country. Once destroy that doctrine and you at once substitute a contention as to which is best. Once destroy the doctrine that all men are created equal and there is at once a rivalry to see who is the most important. You dare not destroy that doctrine. (Applause.) It is the foundation principle upon which this government rests. Republicans, your policy today destroys that doctrine. I do not believe that the great majority of the republicans of this country believe that that doctrine is obsolete. (Applause.) I believe that the managers of the republican party have drifted away from the rank and file. I do not appeal to the man who is going to make money renting ships to the government to carry on a war in the Philippine Islands; I do not appeal to the army contractor; I do not appeal to the man who stands ready to exploit the islands when they are subjeced to our authority. I appeal to the great common people who prize liberty here and therefore respect it everywhere. (Great applause.) And in this campaign we are going to direct our arguments to the republicans. It is no use talking to the democrats or to the populists or to the silver republicans. They stand solid on this question. (Great applause.) I am going to appeal to the republicans and I am going to treat them as honest and patriotic people who love their country they compete in foreign markets, and want to see this nation carry out the ideas of the fathers. (Applause.) And I want you as you go out among these republicans to present this question to them and to ask them questions. Make them think; and if the republicans of Lancaster county will think for one hour upon the Philippine question we will this year carry this county for the first time. When I say this I am assuming that the people of Lancaster county who have voted the republican ticket are interested that this shall remain a republic. You tell me that I am speaking to excite you when I tell you there is danger of an empire. What is an empire? It is a government which rests upon force and conquest administered according to one plan in one place and another plan in another place. It is a government which instead of deriving its power from the consent of the governed, derives its authority from the superior force that it can exercise. That is what an empire means. We speak of the British empire because they have one kind of a government in England and another kind in Ireland, another kind in Canada and still another in India; but a republic must have the same kind of government everywhere. It must come from the people and not from the cannon mouth. (Great applause.)

"Already we have a standing army of one hundred thousand men which will be made a permanent army if the republican party continues in power. Already the expenses of the military establishment have reached a point where they are more than half of all the money spent for education in the United States. What do you think of an increase in your military expenses from twenty-five million to more than a hundred million? That is what it means to have militarism. It means that the money wrung from the taxpayers will be used to equip men to kill people in other lands. (Great applause.) Instead of becoming better that our light may shine abroad we will not only grow worse here, but will destroy the principle which has made this nation conspicuous among the nations of the earth. (Applause.)

"Republicans, remember that your votes count. You may refuse to vote. If you do you will simply avoid the responsibility of the ballot that would be cast otherwise and you cannot avoid the responsibility of your silence. (Applause.) When you are given the right to vote a responsibility is placed upon you and I want you to take these question which are before you for your solution at this time and I want you to see what the result is to be if we violate these fundamental principles. I want you to see what the result is to be if we allow great corporations to monopolize the products of industry. I want you to think what it means if the young men and women of this country instead of aspiring to independence can aspire to be but clerks, and I want you to think calmly and deliberately and ask yourselves what your duty is in this campaign. I believe we have confronting us at this time a danger that ought to arouse the patriotic solicitude of all the people of our land. (Applause.) The fact that there met at Indianapolis today men who supported the republican ticket in 1896, some of whom helped to organize the republican party, the fact that these men met and made their protest against this policy of imperialism ought to cause you republicans to think. (Applause.) If it was a democrat who said what Governor Boutell said today you might cast it aside, believing that he is a democrat and a partisan. But can you believe that this aged man was crying out against the policy of this administration because of unfriendliness to republican principles? If a man prominent as he has been, who has received honors at the hands of the people of his state, who has received honors at the hands of his party in the nation; if this man with but a few more years to live is willing to tear himself loose from the republican party and to break the ties that have bound him to that party of his early life, is it not time for you republicans to consider what your party is doing and what it means if this policy of imperialism is fastened permanently upon this land. (Great applause.)

"My friends, it is not for me to suggest what you shall do. Every person must decide that question for himself. But I beg you republicans to take these questions and study them and then to have the courage to make your ballots represent a freeman's will." (Great applause.)

Bryan And Lincoln

Forty years ago, speaking upon the very subject that is now paramount in politics, Lincoln said:

"What constitutes the bulwarks of our liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements or bristling sea coasts, our army or our navy. Our reliance is in the love of liberty, which God has planted in us. Our defence is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seed of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the strength of your own independence and become the fit subjtct of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.

"They who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

At Indianapolis, discussing the same theme, Bryan said:

"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 proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these 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 law restrains every hand 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."

Protection For Farmers.

Editor Independent: The farmers are told that the tariff is to protect them. If so, why do these tariff laws admit animals into the United States free? Why was the Morrill tariff changed? That tariff laid a tax on horses and kept McKinley's allies off from our market. If the farmers will act in their own interest they will put McKinley out of office and let him go and live with his English allies if he wants to.

Why did the republicans demonetize silver? Was it to let England buy silver for fifty cents an ounce, coin it and go to other countries and buy wheat and say to American farmers, "Keep your wheat; we can buy wheat elsewhere with the silver you have sold us at fifty cents on the dollar." Put this silver back to $1.29 an ounce and the English will pay that much for their wheat and buy it of us, too. In place of the silver dollar, they have given us a bank dollar with three exceptions of it. They have also given us the trusts and made a law that a farmer shall put one dollar in stamps on a deed, if he don't, he is liable to a fine and the deed is not good. What benefit to the farmer is that?

NEBRASKA FARMER.

Dickens, Neb.

FOR LIBERTY ALWAYS

A Special Correspondent Describes for the Independent the Inspiring Scenes at Indianapolis.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Aug. 16.—(Special Correspondence.)—It is a proud name the executive committee of the anti-imperialist league gave to the convention it called for the 15th of August at Tomlinson hall in Indianapolis. "Liberty Congress" they called the assembly organized for the purpose of devising the best means for defeating the grave danger of imperialism.

From what I see in the republican dailies of Indianapolis I am quite sure that it will be called a convention "packed with Bryanites." If the Indianapolis men who are on the spot make this misstatement—I do not wish to use the word lie—how should organs of publicity far away from the spot know better?

There is undeniably some truth in that statement as practically all the anti-imperialists assembled here favored an indorsement of Mr. Bryan from the start. Such "Bryanites" as Boutwell, Cockran, Moorfield, Storey, G. G. Mercer, Edwin Burritt Smith, Gen. John Beatty, Captain Patrick O'Farrell, Gamaliel Bradford, etc., dominate the convention. They were many of them "patriots" and "statesmen," "men who place honesty above party" in 1896—they are branded as "Bryanarchists" in 1900.

It would be hard to find a convention the members of which represent so much independent thought and intellectual work as this Liberty Congress. One of the foremost lawyers of Philadelphia, G. G. Mercer, opened the deliberations of the congress; one of the best-known lawyers of Chicago, E. B. Smith, was its temporary chairman; an ex-governor and ex-secretary of the treasury, George S. Boutwell, was its permanent chairman. All three are well-known "Bryanites"—the first two were on the stump in 1896 for Palmer and Buckner, while ex-Governor Boutwell was a supporter of Mr. McKinley.

The committee on resolutions was composed of twenty-five members, ten of whom had voted in 1896 for McKinley, seven for Palmer and seven for Bryan, while one had taken to the woods. On this committee were so strong "Bryanites" as Moorfield Storey, G. G. Mercer, Patrick O Farrell, Charles B. Spahr (editor of the Outlook), D. W. A. Croffut, George S. Paddock, General John Beatty, Judge L. W. Brown of Ohio, Charles R. Codman of Massachusetts, Louis J. Ehrich of Colorado, Judge Moses Hallett of Colorado, L. W. Habercom of Washington, D. C., who for eight years has been the manager of the republican German literary bureau; William Potts and Wilson Spencer of New York, Edwin Burritt Smith of Chicago, Prof. Albert H. Tolman of the university of Chicago, Sigmund Zeisler of Chicago, J. W. Howard, a colored delegate from Pennsylvania—all of whom worked in 1896 for McKinley or for Palmer in speaking and in writing, presumably in order to disguise their sympathy for "Bryanarchy."

Tomlinson hall was decorated in an appropriate manner for the reception of the congress. The place of honor among the banner was assigned to one bearing the inscription: "I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That by our code of morals would be criminal aggression." Some strong partisan of Mr. Bryan must have given utterance to this treasonable sentiment as the "Bryanites" assembled gave a good round of applause whenever these words were quoted. Some sentences uttered by the back number Abraham Lincoln and by that traitor of traitors, W. J. Bryan, were also to be seen. This assembly went even to the extent of decorating the hall with pictures of men who sat at the cradle of our republic like Washington and Jefferson.

The first day of the congress was given to speech-making. Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, the young clergyman from Cincinnati, O., who stirred the silver republicans at Kansas City with his prayer, did just as well at Indianapolis. It is a beautiful piece of religious literature. His eloquent invocation was as follows:

"Almighty God, may the spirit of truth preside over the deliberations of this convention. We know, our Father, that the judgment of man is fallible; but we believe there can be no honest difference as to the cardinal principles that govern moral conduct, and we seek to prepare ourselves for the work that is before us by making sure that we are devoted to those simple precepts that must appeal with equal force to all those who are pure in heart. We believe that Thou hast created of one blood all the nations of the earth. We believe, therefore, that we do not err in judgment merely, but that we commit moral sin if we treat any of Thy creatures as we would not wish to be treated. We believe that in Thy sight all men have the same right to live, and that when we take the lives of others we do that which we know to be wrong. We believe that the right to live means also the right of self-government, by which men secure their lives; and we believe that when we kill other men to keep them from adopting our political faith, we do that which we would all acknowledge to be a crime if our moral judgment were not perverted by pride or prejudice or corrupted by greed of gain.

"We believe that these self-evident moral principles apply with equal force whether we act collectively together as a nation or whether we act as individuals. We believe that what is wrong for a man to do is wrong also for the nation. We believe that when a nation commits any act which is wrong for the individual citizen, we believe that the citizen who votes to support that nation becomes involved in moral guilt and that his loyalty to such a government is treason against heaven. We do not believe that good ever comes out of evil. We believe that national prosperity must be founded upon national righteousness, and that every departure from the path of rectitude must be atoned for either by national repentance or national ruin.

"Help us in this crisis to be guided by these moral principles; help us to have too much faith in Thy moral law to fancy we can found a nation upon the ruin of popular liberty. May we rather sheathe our dripping swords in shame. Help us our Father, in this crisis, as in all others. May we have the guidance of an unclouded inner light, believing that that light, if we trust it, will lead us in the path of righteousness and keep all our hearts in accord with those mighty spiritual forces that make for righteousness and peace. Amen."

The drift of the sentiment among the delegates showed itself first when the temporary chairman, Edwin Burritt Smith, closed his arraignment of imperialism with the following sentences:

"We may differ on minor questions. We are united in our devotion to the republic of Washington and Lincoln, in our faith in the supremacy of the constitution, in our belief in the Declaration of Independence. Because we believe in American ideals and in all that has exalted the American name and made it throughout the world the synonym of liberty we oppose the ancient heresy of imperialism. We propose to disregard all minor questions and issues while we drive from the temple those who have betrayed the law of the nation's life.

"The executive committee of the American anti-imperialist league have invited to this congress those who represent all point of view or present duty now held among independent voters. The correspondence of the committee indicates a difference of opinion whether the congress should name or indorse a so-called "third ticket," or whether, in view of the fact that he and his party have shown the patriotism and the courage to meet in the gate "the vanguard of returning despotism," we should indorse and support the candidacy of William J. Bryan. We believe that an open and frank discussion of this question of method by the congress will tend to clear the air and justify the conclusion which you shall finally reach.

"It would not be proper for me, as your temporary chairman, to anticipate that discussion or predict its result. I may report that our correspondence, which is large and extends to the entire country, indicates that independent voters in large and increasing numbers will vote directly for Mr. Bryan. Others deem it desirable to have a "third ticket" as a means of withholding votes from Mr. McKinley. Some of these express their own intention to vote for Mr. Bryan, coupled with a desire to provide a ticket for those who will not do so. Some believe this to be a good time to found a new and conservative party, that may in time dispute the control of the government with the survivor of the existing parties. Each of these views are ably represented in the congress.

"Mr. Lowell shortly before his death stated that N. Guizot once asked him how long he thought the American republic would endure. Mr. Lowell replied: 'So long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant.' To this Guizot assented. The campaign of which this gathering is an incident will determine whether the ideas of the fathers continue dominant in the hearts of their children. There is no reason to despair. The people have not rejected the principles which, in Mr. Lincoln's words, 'are the definitions and axioms of free society.' With him we may still believe that 'today, and in all coming days, the Declaration of Independence shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.'

"In conclusion permit me to say that the final test of the capacity of a people for self-government is their ability to sink all minnor differences and squarely face a vital issue. Such an issue is presented by Mr. McKinley's demand for a vote of confidence. We applaud every effort to withhold approval of his course. Let us take such action as will most surely serve the cause of liberty in whose name we meet."

The first mention of the action of the democratic party and of Bryan's name met with almost unanimous applause.

But the ovation of the day—and, in fact, of the congress—was the reception accorded to ex-Governor George S. Boutwell when he took the chair. To hear lawyers, preachers, professors and others of equally high intellectual standing shout like at any ward meeting and see them toss hats in the air is surely a rare spectacle. But this is what was done when this man, bowed down by the weight of nearly eighty-three years, appeared on the platform—a man who was governor of Massachusetts before the republican party existed, one of the founders of the party and for many years one of its most distinguished members in the house and senate and the cabinet. To-day, of course, as the great republican statesman, Mr. Perry Heath, asserts, Mr. Boutwell does not count at all. He would if he acted like Senator Hoar!

It is nearly impossible to describe the scene which followed Mr. Boutwell's following words:

"How is the overthrow of the administration to be accomplished? In my youth I had no disguises. I turned aside and left the democratic party when it surrendered to slavery. In my age I leave the republican party, now that it has surrendered itself to despotic and tyrannical motives. I helped create the republican party, a party at that time of justice and principle and honesty. I now believe it is a party of injustice and despotism, and I will help to destroy it. And how? There is but one available means and you know what that is. I am for Bryan."

If there was a doubt in the minds of some of the members how they should act it was dispelled by the venerable speaker's words. It did not influence the congress, but it confirmed its members in their determination to do something practical for the extermination of imperialism instead of putting up a third ticket as an innocent plaything for those who are dissatisfied with both of the great parties.

But nobody expressed the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the congress so well and accurately as did Mr. W. Bourke Cockran in his letter to Mr. Edwin Burritt Smith, the chairman of the executive committee of the anti-imperialist league, which was read to the congress. He writes:

"NEW YORK, Aug. 14.—My Dear Sir: I regret very much that owing to the business engagements here I will be unable to attend the liberty congress at Indianapolis on the 15th.

"The attitude of anti-imperialists to imperialism cannot be open to doubt, and, therefore, I assume the object of the convention is not to express opposition, but to devise a method of making that opposition effective.

"The issue of imperialism having been squarely raised between the two great parties, it must be plain that the only way in which a citizen can exercise any direct influence upon the result is by voting for the republican candidate who supports it, or the democratic candidate who opposes it.

"Nothing can be accomplished by the nomination of a third candidate that cannot be accomplished equally by absentation from the polls, except that the citizen who remains at home on election day passes unnoticed, while he who votes a third ticket attracts attention. The difference between a silent and a vociferous refusal to exercise the suffrage is not worth discussion, since absentation from civil duty is never commendable. When the republic is in danger the only place for the patriot is in the ranks of its active defenders. Absence from the field of contest or shooting in the air can never be justified.

"It cannot be denied that while anti-imperialists unanimously approve Mr. Bryan's position on imperialism, many of them hesitate to vote for his election to the presidency because they regard his views upon other questions with distrust and apprehension.

"We cannot hope to deal intelligently with the issues of this campaign until we liberate ourselves from the domination of he questions and passions of the last campaign. Within four years political conditions have changed decisively and as conditions change issues change with them.

"The question which the people must decide now is radically different from that submitted to them in 1896. Then the election of Mr. Bryan would have placed the democratic party in complete control of the legislative as well as the executive branch of the government, with full power to enact all its beliefs into law, while now his election will not result in placing the control of the government in the hands of the democratic party, but in dividing its control between the two parties.

"Whatever may be the result of this election the senate will remain republican for two years certainly, and probably for four. Even if the people raised Mr. Bryan to the presidency in November the democratic party cannot possibly achieve any power of legislation during the existence of the next congress and without legislative sanction no change in the standard of value, no reorganization of the supreme court, no modification whatever of our financial, industrial or political systems could be accomplished.

"There is one issue which the popular verdict will settle irrevocably, and that is the issue of imperialism. If the republican party is successful its control of the judicial as well as of the executive and legislative departments of the government will be absolute, and its disposition to exercise all its power for the enforcement of an imperialistic policy cannot be doubted. At the end of four years imperialism will be so firmly imbedded in our political life that it can never be expelled.

"Mr. Bryan's election of itself would put a quietus on the imperialistic adventure. No policy specifically condemned by the people has ever been adopted in our system, and imperialism will prove no exception to the rule.

"The country having pronounced for justice, politicians of every shape and description will be eager to do justice, and when the desire for justice is sincere, the way to justice is soon discovered.

"Since the election of Mr. Bryan is certain to deliver the country from the imminent peril of imperialism, can the liberty convention hesitate to support him because of impalpable danger arising from his opinions on subjects with which ,as president he cannot possibly deal? I confess it is hard to understand the attitude of those gentlemen who have supported him if the convention had been silent or evasive on the free coinage of silver, but who hesitate to support him on a platform which excludes that question from the serious discussions of the contest by relegating it to a subordinate position.

"The democratic platform declares that imperialism is the paramount issue of the campaign, and Mr. Bryan's speech at Indianapolis accepts this conception of the issue, emphasizes it and vindicates it.

"But a declaration that imperialism is a paramount issue is equivalent to a declaration that it is the sole issue, for no presidential election ever decided more than one question.

"In my judgment the platform actually adopted by the democratic convention should be much more satisfactory to sound money men than any of the substitutes suggested by older and more conservative managers. Since nobody pretended that Mr. Bryan's opinions on the questions raised by the Chicago platform of 1896 have been changed, his refusal to disguise them in any way is highly creditable to his honesty, and honesty is the first essential of patriotic presidential service.

"Mr. Bryan's conversion to a belief in sound money, would in my opinion be a reason for national rejoicing, but any abandonment or abasement of the frankness and sincerity which have always distinguished him would be little short of a national calamity.

"We need not accept Mr. Bryan as an infallible or even as a sound authority on economics to acknowledge that his integrity, his truthfulness and absolute sincerity have been among the most salutary influences of this generation on our political life.

"It is certain that this country is indebted to him for the gold standard law, which, though it has the defects of its party origin, is the best contribution to our national stability, since the resumption of specie payments. Mr. Bryan's frank, sincere and unequivocal advocacy of the free coinage of silver forced the republican party reluctantly to declare in favor of the gold standard.

"The result was not that which Mr. Bryan sought; none the less it was produced by him. Because he was sincerely wrong he forced the republican politicians to become insincerely right. To this sincerity of Mr. Bryan the country is indebted for the opportunity to pass squarely and decisively upon the issue of imperialism. If the republic is to be overthrown the assault must now be made in the open light of day. It is no longer possible to strangle it under cover of misleading and hypocritical phrases.

"In this open fight for liberty surely every anti-imperialist should be ready to bear his part. Hesitation to avail themselves of the leadership under which alone opposition to imperialism can be made effective through distrust of the leaders' views on economic questions and not in issue, would be as senseless as hesitation to employ a surgeon on whose skill depended the sole prospect of life, through dislike of his religious beliefs.

"It can hardly be necessary to say that we who, four years ago, sacrificed our political prospects and personal associations rather than lend even a passive support of silence to declarations which we believe to be subversive of order, will pursue the same course again if these questions should ever recur.

"The best evidence of our capacity to deal with the issues of 1902, or 1904, whatever they may be, is to deal intelligently now with the issues of 1900. On that issue Mr. Bryan stands for justice, liberty and constitution, and since all these would be imperial by his defeat, it is to be hoped that the liberty convention will not be swerved from supporting him by prejudices springing from antagonisms or by groundless apprehensions of the future. Yours very truly,

"W. BOURKE COCKRAN."

I wonder if Mr. Cockran will be declared as a man of no influence, too, as has been done with ex-Governor Boutwell.

While the Liberty Congress held its meetings in Tomlinson hall, an assembly of about a dozen young reformers met at the Commercial club, bent on organizing a new, third party, which should serve as a nucleus for all the conservative elements who are disgusted with all the old parties. Usually the old men are considered conservative, but among anti-imperialists it seems to be different. The old men were at the Liberty Congress ready to indorse Bryan, while the young desired to organize a new party for conservative people.

The platform which is in the form of an address to the voters, contains one paragraph that defines our imperialism in the best manner hitherto known. It says:

"There is no liberty if the citizen has no right which the legislature may not invade, if he may be taxed by a legislature in which he is not represented, or if he is not protected by fundamental law against the arbitrary action of executive power. The policy of the president offers the inhabitants of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines no hope of independence, no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the congress which taxes him. This is a government of men by arbitrary power, without their consent; this is imperialism."

The proposition to indorse Bryan elicited a long drawn-out debate. All the "third ticket" men, members of the so-called National party, had been admitted as full-fledged members of the Liberty Congress. Nearly all of them spoke in behalf of striking out the paragraph advising voters to support Bryan. They were supported by some members of the congress, but they were not able to turn the tide. Fifteen votes was all the strength they could gather for their proposition.

Nevertheless the "third party" men left with the best feelings, thanks to the admirable work of Mr. Zeisler, who was in the chair during the debate on the platform. Every opponent of Bryan's indorsement was accorded a fair hearing, and Mr. Zeisler firmly called down some over-zealous "Bryanites" who tried to howl down those men who were, according to republican newspapers, the only sincere anti-imperialists in this gathering.

The supporters of Bryan have reason to rejoice over the accession of the anti-imperialists to their ranks. The members of the Liberty Congress were not many in numbers, but they are men who count.

The same men who have denounced Mr. Bryan as the greatest evil on earth in 1896, gave him an unqualified indorsement in 1900. There was very little talk of the "lesser evil"—the main argument of many McKinley men in 1896—but there was a general hearty tribute to Mr. Bryan's honesty and sincerity. B. HERMANN.

Campaign Song

Air: "Mary Had a Little Lamb."

Teddy has a little gun, little gun, little gun,
Teddy has a little gun,
Always keeps it cocked.

Chorus—
Whoop-tee doo-dle doo-dle doo
Doo-dle doo—doo-dle doo
Whoop-tee doo-dle doo-dle doo
Doo-dle doo-dle doo.

Teddy has a uniform, uniform, uniform,
Teddy has a uniform
Wears it every day. Cho.—

Teddy has a little sword, little sword, little sword,
Teddy has a little sword,
Wears it in his belt. Cho.—

Teddy likes a little fight, little fight, little fight,
Teddy likes a little fight,
Just a little fight. Cho.—

Teddy has a running mate, running mate, running mate,
Teddy has a running mate,
A little running mate. Cho.—

Teddy makes a little speech, thro' his hat, thro' his hat,
Teddy makes a little speech
Thro' his soldier hat. Cho.—

Teddy has some little wheels, little wheels, little wheels,
Teddy has some little wheels
In his little head. Cho.—

Hanna'll have a little show, little show, little show,
Hanna'll have a little show
An' Teddy'll be the clown. Cho.—

Teddy likes to 'lectioneer, 'lectioneer, 'lectioneer,
Teddy likes to 'lectioneer,
Thinks he is a terror. Cho.—

But—Teddy'll feel a little blue, little blue, little blue,
Teddy'll feel a little blue,
Next election day. Cho.—

(Sing last verse very slowly, and the chorus with increased enthusiasm.)

Crete, Neb.

For the Nebraska state fair the F. E. & M. V. R.R. will sell round trip tickets to Lincoln and return at one fare plus 50 cents for the round trip on September 3 to 7. All trains stop at Fair grounds.