

# BRYAN DECLARES ANEW THAT IN SILVER LIES THE VIGOR OF DEMOCRACY. CROKER

SAYS  
**16 TO 1**  
IS A



William Jennings Bryan.

Party and Patriotic Utterances on Great National Topics by Leading Democrats Throughout the Country



Richard Croker.

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Live Issue

ON JACKSON DAY.

Dead Issue

I shall refer to the 16 to 1 ratio in my speech to-night, but I do not care to discuss the views of any one else on the subject. If any one thinks the Democratic party is going back on the platform enunciated in Chicago in 1896, he will have that impression upset by mingling with the people and the members of the party.—WILLIAM J. BRYAN, in a statement to the Journal correspondent in Chicago last night.

CHICAGO, Jan. 7.—It will not be transcending facts to say that all the leading Democrats of Illinois were present in the great banquet room of the Tremont House, where the Jacksonian Club met to-night to take their annual dinner, to renew friendships, and to listen to William J. Bryan's exposition of his belief in the great political issues of the day. That exposition was found in the following speech:

"The Democracy of the nation is still defending Jeffersonian principles with Jacksonian courage, and has no thought of departing from the principles enunciated at Chicago in 1896. That platform will live in history, and the hour of its adoption will be remembered at the hour when the money-changers were driven from the Democratic temple. There will be no turning back. The platform will be added to as new conditions force new issues into the arena of politics, but nothing will be subtracted from it. Events have vindicated every position taken by the platform.

"Arbitration was advocated in that platform, and arbitration is stronger to-day than it was in 1896.

### Platform Points and National Results.

"That platform denounced government by injunction, and the sentiment against government by injunction is increasing.

"That platform denounced the trusts and declared them to be a menace; that menace is greater to-day than ever before.

"That platform warned the people that a conspiracy was on foot to give to the national banks a monopoly of the issue and supply of paper money; that conspiracy is now known to everyone.

"That platform denounced international bimetalism as a delusion and a snare, and its condemnation has been justified.

"That platform pointed to independent free coinage as the only means of restoring the double standard and, who doubts it now?

"That platform named 16 to 1 as the proper ratio, and that ratio stands to-day as the only ratio at which bimetalism is possible.

"Other platforms have been forgotten, but that platform is fresh in the memory of friend and foe, because it was clear and positive upon every public question. To those who believe in equality before the law, the Chicago platform is still an inspiration; it is a terror only to those who seek to use the Government for personal and private ends.

### Money Question Cannot Be Dropped.

"It has been attacked at two points, but the attacks will not harm it.

"Some who opposed the platform in 1896 have promised to return to the party on condition that the party will drop the money question and confine the fight to the trusts. The offer will not be accepted.

"What confidence would the people have in our sincerity if we should declare against trusts in general, but enter into a treaty of peace with the greatest of all trusts—the money trust? If we should attempt to enter the fight upon the trusts the Republicans would adopt as strong an anti-trust plank as we, because no party would dare to defend the trusts. In such a fight the trust magnates would be found supporting both parties and contributing liberally to both campaign funds, provided the trusts were guaranteed the privilege of naming the Attorney General and the judges. The trusts opposed the Democratic party in 1896 because the Chicago Convention took the party out of the hands of the Wall Street crowd and adopted a platform which precipitated the plutocracy which the party had held in solution for several years.

"The Gold Democrats had a chance to crush out the trusts during Mr. Cleveland's administration, but they did not do it. The Gold Republicans are having their opportunity now, but they are not improving it.

### Trusts and the Gold Standard.

"The trusts will fall when the gold standard is overthrown, and not until then. The gold standard means falling prices, and falling prices will create trusts more rapidly than any gold standard party can destroy them.

"The second point of attack is the ratio. Why insist upon 16 to 1, they ask? I reply first, because it is the best ratio, and, second, because its opponents have no other ratio to offer.

"No free coinage law can be enacted until a ratio is agreed upon, because the ratio is a part of the law. Suppose we had a majority in Congress favorable to bimetalism, but differing as to the ratio. Some would favor 16 to 1, some 24 to 1, some 32 to 1, and some even higher ratios; how could we make progress under such conditions? Affirmative relief is necessary, and those who favor remedial legislation must secure a majority in both House and Senate for some definite proposition. The gold bugs understand this; they know that an ambiguous platform is equivalent to a gold standard platform.

### Years May Change, but Not Issues.

"Mr. Cleveland was elected in 1892 upon a platform which declared for the use of gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and for the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage; yet, Mr. Cleveland found no difficulty in supporting the single gold standard. The Democratic party will not return to the days of uncertainty and evasion.

"When the opponents of 16 to 1 agree upon another ratio it will be time enough to compare the merits of the new ratio with the merits of the old ratio. But they will not be permitted to suspend the party in mid-air out of the reach of 16 to 1 and out of sight of anything else. To surrender the ratio is to accept the gold standard as usual.

"The Chicago platform was good when it was adopted; it grows better with age. It was strong in 1896; it is stronger now.

"But enough of old issues; what of the new questions. Our party cannot ignore the issues raised by the war. It must speak out against militarism now or forever hold its peace. A large standing army is not only an expense to the people, but it is a menace to the nation, and the Democratic party will be a unit in opposing it.

### Bryan's Definition of Expansion.

"A word in regard to imperialism. Those who advocate the annexation of the Philippines call themselves expansionists, but they are really imperialists. The word expansion would describe the acquisition of territory to be populated by homogeneous people, and to be carved into States like those now in existence. An empire suggests variety in race and diversity in government. The imperialists do not desire to clothe the Filipinos with all the rights and privileges of American citizenship; they want to exercise sovereignty over an alien race and they expect to rule the new subjects upon a theory entirely at variance with constitutional government. Victoria is Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India; shall we change the title of our Executive and call him the President of the United States and Emperor of the Philippines?

"The Democratic party stood for the money of the Constitution in 1896; it stands for the government of the Constitution now. It opposed an English financial policy in 1896; it opposes an English colonial policy now. Those who in 1896 were in favor of turning the American people over to the greed of foreign financiers and domestic trusts may now be willing to turn the Filipinos over to the tender mercies of military governors and carpet-bag officials.

"What excuse can be given for the adoption of a colonial policy? Secretary Gage disclosed the secret in his Savannah speech. I think we might be justified in calling Mr. Gage the keyhole of the Administration because we look through him to learn what is going on within the Executive Council Chamber. He suggested that 'philanthropy and 5 per cent' would go hand in hand in the new venture. These are the two arguments which are always used in favor of conquest. Philanthropy and 5 per cent. The one chloroforms the conscience of the conqueror and the other picks the pocket of the conquered.

### Arguments of the Philanthropists.

"Some say that philanthropy demands that we govern the Filipinos for their own good, while others assert that we must hold the islands because of the pecuniary profit to be derived from them. I deny the soundness of both arguments. Forcible annexation will not only be criminal aggression (to borrow Mr. McKinley's language of a year ago), but it will cost more than it is worth, and the whole people will pay the cost while a few will reap all the benefits.

"The weaker is the argument based upon religious duty. The Christian religion rests upon the doctrine of suffering and atonement; the colonial policy rests upon the doctrine of vicarious enjoyment. When the desire to steal becomes uncontrollable in an individual he is declared to be a kleptomaniac and sent to an asylum; when the desire to grab land becomes uncontrollable in a nation we are told that the gods of destiny are flowing through the hearts of men and that the American people are entering their manifest mission.

"Come upon a logic which locks up the petty offender and enthrones grand larceny! Have the people to be worshipped of the Golden Cal? Have they made unto themselves a new commandment consisting in the spirit of conquest and the lust for empire? Is thou shalt not steal upon a small scale to be substituted for the law of Moses?

"Awake, O ancient Law-Giver, awake. Break forth from thine unmarked sepulchre and speed thee back to the cloud-crowned summit of Mo un Sinai; commune once more with the God of our fathers and proclaim again the words engraven upon the tables of stone—the law that was, the law that is to-day—the law that neither individual nor nation can violate with impunity."

### MONEY QUESTION STILL LIVES.

St. Louis, Jan. 7.

To the Editor New York Journal: Replying to your telegram, I will say that the money question, as outlined in the Chicago platform, is not a dead issue. The money question will remain the leading issue in American politics.

There are, of course, other questions of great moment. I heartily concur in the Journal's vigorous war on trusts. They should be extirpated, but the greatest and most dangerous of all trusts is the money trust.

I favor reasonable territorial expansion, but all expansion on that line should be confined to the Western Hemisphere. Territorial acquisitions should be made only on terms just to others and honorable to ourselves.

I would be glad to see Cuba become part of our national territory, but at the same time, we should keep our pledges, made when war was declared. I am opposed to a colonial policy, to taxation without representation, or to military government. Our territory should be held as the home of freedom; our people should be citizens, not vassals; and hence the territories of the United States should be held for preparation for ultimate Statehood. We want large commercial privileges in the East, but no colonies.

No; the money question is not dead.

W. J. STONE.

### CROKER A PROPHET.

To the Editor of the Journal.

As a forerunner of political weather Richard Croker shows the keenest foresight. Without being a great statesman he has shown that he has that sterling horse sense in matters political which has made him the leader he is.

I quite agree with all that Mr. Croker has said regarding the death of the 16 to 1 question as a national political issue and the all-importance of American expansion as the living issue to-day.

Mr. Croker is keen enough and is sufficiently adept at feeling the public pulse to see that the silver issue of 16 to 1 and all the fallacies which followed in its train have absolutely no foundation; that their overwhelming repudiation in the defeat of Mr. Bryan left them forever dead.

Regarding expansion I should like to say this: Having assumed the task America cannot honorably or honestly do otherwise than pursue it to the end, and however difficult of accomplishment it may be. Every difficulty which besets expansion's path must be overcome and swept aside.

I believe in expansion and the propagation of American ideas and institutions. I should much rather use the school book than the gun, but if the gun must be used in the interest of a freer and better civilization, then it must.

E. ELLERY ANDERSON.

### SILVER'S OPEN DOOR.

The question of expansion is not an issue. It has come to pass, and there is no way of getting away from it. Mr. Croker's views on this subject are in the main sensible.

In my opinion the door for free silver was never so wide open as it is now because of the necessity we are under of establishing an American currency in all our acquisitions from Spain. If the silver question becomes obsolete in 1899, it will be because the United States will reach its settlement without bringing pressure upon Congress. From a statement by Senator Morgan, of Alabama, in Washington yesterday.

### NOT DEAD, SAYS BLAND.

Mr. Croker has always believed that the silver question was dead, so that there is nothing new in his proposition. It is not dead, however, and will be as prominent in 1900 as it has ever been heretofore.

Being opposed to expansion, I fail to note anything I can approve of in his attitude for the acquisition of territories. From a statement made by Representative Richard P. Bland in Washington yesterday.

I HAVE nothing to add to my statement printed in the Journal this morning in favor of expansion, except to say that the aggressive policy of the journal in advocating that measure is to be commended. As a patriotic American citizen I favor expansion, and I think that the arguments in its favor that have been advanced by the Journal are invincible.

My statement to the Journal was given out by me as a private individual, and was not intended as an expression of the views of any organization. On this subject the Journal has been the leading representative of Democratic opinion.

RICHARD CROKER.

The following is the communication to the Journal in which Richard Croker set forth his views on the monetary question and other great national issues of the day:

EVERY man, in my opinion, should express himself clearly on the great question of the day. That question is national expansion, which has been the mainspring of this nation and the policy of the Democracy since the nation's birth. The views which follow are mine personally, and I write them as a private individual.

### Expansion Is Both Democratic and Safe.

I believe in expansion; I believe in holding whatever possessions we have gained by annexation, purchase or war.

This policy is not only patriotic, but it is the only safe one to pursue. Any other policy would show weakness on the part of the United States and invite foreign complications. This must be avoided, hence our policy must be vigorous.

Every patriotic American, and every Democrat in particular, should favor expansion.

Jefferson was an expansionist, otherwise he would not have favored the acquisition of Louisiana, with its foreign population, which in Jefferson's time was quite as remote as the Philippines. In this age of steam and electricity distance is no argument against expansion.

### United States Is Superior to England.

We spend millions annually for missionary work in foreign countries. Now we have a chance to spend this money in our own possessions, and make the people of our new lands good, law-abiding citizens, who in time will be loyal to our Constitution and our flag. Take England, for example. The people of this little island come pretty near owning the universe. Are not our people as intelligent, as powerful and as patriotic as the English people? The United States is the only country on earth superior to the English. Why not illustrate to the world that we are fully able to cope with greater problems than we have had occasion to in the past, and in the future dominate any emergency?

### Let Us Give Young America a Chance.

We have a population of eighty millions of people; the country teems with young men full of life, hope and ambition. Why not give these young men a chance to develop our newly acquired possessions, and build up a country rivaling in grandeur and patriotism our own United States?

I say, by all means hold on to all that rightfully belongs to us. If the great country west of the Rocky Mountains was filled with wild Indians at the present moment, how long would it take us to suppress them and make them respect our laws and our Constitution? The same thing applies to the Philippines, and any other country that may fall into our hands by the province of peace or war.

### Disgraceful to Sell Our Possessions.

It is an insult to the American people and to our flag even to suggest that we abandon the peoples we have released from bondage, or, what would be more disgraceful, that we should offer to sell them to the highest bidder. Such a proposition places the American people in the same category with the Chinese, who have neither patriotism for a foreign policy, and are in consequence utilized as a doormat by the powers of the world.

### We Have Higher Ideals Than the Dollar.

This is too great a question to be considered as a mere matter of dollars and cents. Our people want their rights protected; they will not figure on the cost. Bring it down to local government, in the case of street cleaning, the cry is: "We want clean streets," regardless of the cost. They demand them as their right. Just so with our possessions, the people want the properties acquired by war protected. They will pay for a standing army, a powerful navy and the protection of our flag the world over regardless of any monetary consideration. They have proved their willingness to sacrifice their blood for the honor of their country and their flag! And when the question is brought to an issue they will arise as one man and demand expansion as a citizen's sacred right.

### The 16 to 1 Question Is a Dead Issue.

I think the 16 to 1 question as outlined in the Chicago platform a decidedly dead issue. This was fully demonstrated in the last election. We did not embody the 16 to 1 question in our platform, and the result is that we elected every one of our Congressmen.

January 6, 1899.

RICHARD CROKER.

## PRAISE FOR JACKSONIAN PRINCIPLES IN W. J. BRYAN'S NATIVE STATE.

Congressman Sulzer's Tribute to the Man Who Annexed Florida.

Ex-Governor Altgeld Vehemently Attacks the Money Power.

### ALTGELD ON THE EVILS THAT THREATEN THE LAND.

Omaha, Jan. 7.—Ex-Governor Altgeld delivered a characteristically forcible speech at the Jackson Day banquet which was held here to-day. Among the many things he said were these:

"Already we see maggot articles urging the establishment by law of a permanent aristocracy in our system of government, and from high quarters we hear a demand for Hamiltonism. Hamilton believed in monarchy and aristocracy bottomed on corruption. He was in love with the English system as it existed in the last century, thoroughly rotten from top to bottom, and he labored to transplant whatever he could of that system.

"The Senate of the great State of Ohio has just indicted a Hamiltonian Senator for bribery and debauchery in securing a high office. A grand jury in Pennsylvania has just indicted another Hamiltonian Senator for robbing the treasury of the State. Almost every great trust appears to have one or more Hamiltonian Senators as standing conveniences.

"Other great questions vital to our existence have been evolved by the age and must be met. But the financial question is basic and central. It is the mother of a whole brood of evils. The magnate speculators of the East and Europe want the absolute power to control average prices. Therefore they want silver and greenbacks wiped out, so as to make every thing rest on gold which they can easily corner—just as a monopoly of issuing money gives a man the power to concentrate everything into a few hands.

"To-night as Democrats we invoke the memory of the hero of New Orleans against any alliance with Great Britain, especially when the agent of that Government is the Benedict Arnold of the Home rule cause. We need no alliance with Great Britain, all we need now, as in the past, is a firm reliance on our own resources, our own ability, our own integrity, our own power to defend our rights, protect our citizens and legislate on every proposition regarding our own welfare, our own happiness, our own well-being and our own prosperity.

"To-night, as Democrats we invoke the memory of President Andrew Jackson against the encroachments on the rights of the people of the national banks. They menace our Republic to-day. Jackson waged the most bitter and relentless war of his life against the United States Bank and finally destroyed that gigantic monopoly. If he had not, it would have destroyed the Republic. One of the greatest acts of his life was the veto of the bill extending the charter of that bank trust. In the light of what is going on to-day, that veto message should be read by every citizen in our land. There is a bill now pending in Congress which gives to the National Bank of the country far greater powers and privileges than were ever enjoyed by the United States Bank. It is a Republican bill and the Republican party stands sponsor for it and is committed to its passage.

"In Jackson's day there was only one Nick Biddle, to-day there is a Nick Biddle in every National bank in the land. "As Democrats to-night we should also invoke the patriotic spirit of the great destroyer of the United States Bank monopoly, Andrew Jackson, and, following in his footsteps, every Democrat in our land should enlist in the war of the people against the bankers, but who are tax-enters. Andrew Jackson was the impulsive foe of monopoly. If he were alive to-day he would be the implacable foe of the trusts.