

## JUDGE PARKER'S LETTER

### He Writes the Committee At Length Accepting The Democratic Nomination

#### WRITES BOLDLY UPON THE ISSUES

#### A Vigorous Outline of the Democratic Faith Given by the Democratic Candidate—The Policies That Should Govern the Executive Outlined at Length.

Judge Parker gave to the press his letter of acceptance, printed in full below. It is shorter than that of President Roosevelt, and deals with the questions at issue in the frankest and most straightforward way. There can be no doubt where the Democratic candidate stands on the issues of imperialism, the tariff, the trusts, the Philippines, or any other of the campaign questions. President Roosevelt's defence of his administrative usurpation is riddled by the great jurist.

To the Honorable Champ Clark and others, Committee, etc.

Gentlemen: In my response to your Committee, at the formal notification proceeding, I referred to some matters not mentioned in this letter. I desire that these be considered as incorporated herein, and regret that lack of space prevents specific reference to them all. I wish here, however, again to refer to my views there expressed as to the gold standard, to declare again my unqualified belief in said standard, and to express my appreciation of the action of the Convention in reply to my communication upon that subject.

Some public questions are pressing for decision. The Democratic party appeals to the people with confidence that its position on these questions will be accepted and endorsed at the polls. While the issues involved are numerous, some stand forth pre-eminent in the public mind. Among these are, Tariff Reform, Imperialism, Economic Administration and Honesty in the Public Service. I shall briefly consider these and some others within the necessarily prescribed limits of this letter.

#### IMPERIALISM.

While I presented my views at the notification proceedings concerning this vital issue, the overshadowing importance of this question impels me to refer to it again. The issue is oftentimes referred to as Constitutionalism vs. Imperialism.

If we would retain our liberties and constitutional rights unimpaired, we cannot permit or tolerate, at any time or for any purpose, the arrogation of unconstitutional powers by the executive branch of our government. We should be ever mindful of the words of Webster, "Liberty is only to be preserved by maintaining Constitutional restraints and a just division of political powers."

Already the national government has centralized beyond any point contemplated or intended by the framers of the Constitution. How tremendously all this has added to the power of the President! It has developed from year to year until it almost equals that of many monarchs. While he grows in power, the magnitude of interstate interests may seem to furnish a plausible reason for this centralization of power, yet these same facts afford the most potent reason why he executive should not be permitted to encroach upon the other departments of the government, and assume legislative, or other powers, not expressly conferred by the Constitution.

The magnitude of the country and its diversity of interests and population would enable a determined, ambitious and able executive, unmindful of constitutional limitations and fired with the lust of power, to go far beyond the limits of authority and the aggrandizement of personal power before the situation could be fully appreciated or the people be aroused.

The issue of imperialism which has just presented upon the country involves a decision whether the law of the land, the rule of individual caprice shall govern. The principle of imperialism may give rise to brilliant, startling, dazzling results, but the principle of Democracy holds in check the brilliant Executive and subjects him to the sober, conservative control of the people.

The people of the United States stand at the parting of the ways. Shall we follow the footsteps of our fathers along the paths of peace, prosperity and contentment, guided by the ever-living spirit of the Constitution which they framed for us, or shall we go along other and untrodden paths, hither to shunned by all, following blindly new ideals, which, though appealing with brilliancy to the imagination and ambition, may prove a will of the wisp, leading us in difficulties from which it may be impossible to extricate ourselves without lasting injury to our national character and institutions?

#### THE TARIFF AND TRUSTS.

Tariff reform is one of the cardinal principles of the Democratic faith, and the necessity for it is never greater than at the present time. It should be undertaken at once in the interest of all our people.

The Dingley Tariff is excessive in many of its rates, and as to them at least, unjustly and oppressively burdensome to the people, to domestic manufacturers, singly or in combination, the privilege of exacting excessive prices at home and prices far

above the level of sales made regularly by them abroad with profit, thus giving a bounty to foreigners at the expense of our own people. It levies oppressive and unjust taxes upon many articles forming, in whole or part, the so-called raw material of many of our manufactured products, not only burdening the consumer, but also closing to the manufacturer the markets he needs and seeks abroad. Its most extreme burden the people generally, forcing them to pay excessive prices for food, fuel, clothing and other necessities of life. It levies duties on many articles not normally imported in any considerable amount, which are made extensively at home, for which the most extreme protection would hardly justify protective taxes, and which in large amounts are exported. Such duties have been and will continue to be a direct incentive to the formation of huge industrial combinations, which, secure from foreign competitors, are enabled to stifle domestic competition and practically to monopolize the home market.

The people demand reform of existing conditions. Since the last Democratic administration the cost of living has grievously increased. Those having fixed incomes have suffered keenly; those living on wages, if there has been any increase, know that such increase has not kept pace with the advance in the cost of living, including the necessities of life. Many are today out of work, unable to secure any wages at all. To alleviate these conditions, in so far as is in our power, should be our earnest endeavor.

Judge Parker defines the difference between the two parties on the tariff question. The Republican party has favored the protection of interests while the Democratic party has always claimed that taxation of all kinds should be purely with a view of raising necessary revenue.

#### TRUST REMEDIES.

I pointed out in my earlier response thereto, in my judgment, can be effectively applied against monopolies, and the assurance was then given that if existing laws, including both state and common law, proved inadequate, contrary to my expectations, I favor such further legislation, within constitutional limitations, as will best promote and safeguard the interests of all the people.

Whether there is any common law which can be applied and enforced by the Federal courts, cannot be determined by the President, or by a candidate for President.

The determination of this question was left by the people in framing the Constitution, to the Judiciary and not to the Executive. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently considered this question, and, in the case of the Western Union Telegraph Co., The Call Publishing Co. to be found in the one hundred and eighty-first volume of the United States Supreme Court reports, at page 92, it decided that common law principles could be applied by United States courts in cases involving interstate commerce, in the absence of United States statutes specifically covering the case. Such is the law of the land.

#### RECIPROCITY.

In my address to the Notification Committee I said that tariff reform "is demanded by the manufacturer and consumer." With equal truth it can be said that the benefits of reciprocal trade treaties would ensure to both. That the consumer should be helped is unquestionable. The manufacturer would receive great benefit by extension of our workmen and securing to them and to the manufacturer the profits accruing from increased production, other markets must be found. Furthermore, when our manufacturers are dependent on raw materials in whole or part imported, it is vital to the extension of our markets abroad that they secure their materials on the most favorable terms.

Our martyred President, William McKinley, appreciated this situation. He pointed out in his last address to the people that his most ardent wish was that the people should be able to extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. He said, "a system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not."

This argument was made in the interest of our manufacturers, whose products, he urged, "have so multiplied, that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention." He had come to realize that the so-called "tariff" policy must give way—that there must be a reduction of duties to enable our manufacturers

to cultivate foreign markets. The last words of this President—who had won the affection of his countrymen—ought to be studied by every man who has any doubt of the necessity of a reduction in tariff rates in the interest of the manufacturer. They present with clearness a situation and a proposed remedy that prompted the provision in our platform which declares that, "We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining or commerce."

The persistent refusal of the Republican majority in the Federal Senate to ratify the reciprocity treaties negotiated in pursuance of the policy advocated alike by Mr. Blaine and Mr. McKinley, and expressly sanctioned in the Dingley act itself, is a discouraging exhibition of bad faith. As already mentioned by me, the exorbitant duty imposed on many an imported article by the Dingley Tariff was avowedly intended by its author not to be permanent, but to serve temporarily as a maximum, from which the Federal Government was empowered to offer a reduction, in return for an equivalent concession on the part of a foreign country. President McKinley undertook sincerely to carry out the purpose of the act, a number of reciprocity treaties were negotiated, which, if ratified, would have had the two-fold result of cheapening many imported products for American consumers, and of opening and enlarging foreign markets for American producers. Not one of these agreements has met with the approval of the Republican masters of the Senate. Indeed they did not even permit their consideration. In view of the attitude of the present Executive, no new agreement need be expected from him. Nor does the Republican platform contain a favorable reference to one of the suspended treaties. The reciprocity clauses of the Dingley act seem destined to remain a monument of legislative cozenage and political bad faith, unless the people take the matter in their own hands at the ballot box and command a reduction of duties in return for reciprocal concessions.

#### INDEPENDENCE FOR THE FILIPINOS.

In some quarters it has been assumed that in the discussion of the Philippine question in my response, the phrase "self-government," was intended to mean something less than independence. It is not intended that it should be understood to mean, nor do I think as used it does mean less than independence. However, to eliminate all possibility for conjecture, I now state that I am in hearty accord with that plank in our platform that favors doing for the Filipinos what we have already done for the Cubans; and I favor making the promise to them now that we shall take such action as soon as they are reasonably prepared for it.

Independence, such as the Cubans have, cannot be presently granted to the Filipinos at this time, the promise that it shall come the moment they are capable of receiving it will tend to stimulate rather than hinder their development. And this should be done not in justice to the Filipinos, but to preserve our own rights and privileges. The people cannot withhold freedom from another people and themselves remain free. The toleration of tyranny over others will soon breed contempt for freedom and self-government, and our own power of resistance to insidious usurpation of our constitutional rights.

#### AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

The pledge of the platform to secure to our citizens, without distinction of race or creed, whether native born or naturalized, at home and abroad, the equal protection of the laws and the equal enjoyment of all the rights and privileges open to them under the covenant of our treaties, as their just due, should be made good to them. In the accomplishment of that result it is essential that a passport issued by the government to the United States to an American citizen shall be accepted the world over as proof of citizenship.

#### CIVIL SERVICE.

The statute relating to Civil Service is the outcome of the efforts of thoughtful, unselfish and public spirited citizens. Operation under it has frequently been of such a character as to bring credit to the statute, but the result achieved, even under a partial enforcement of the law, has been such as to both deserve and command the utterance of the Democratic party that it stands committed to the principal of Civil Service reform and demands its just and impartial enforcement.

#### PANAMA CANAL.

As Iethian canal has long been the hope of our statesmen, and the avowed aim of the two great parties, as their platforms in the past show. The Panama route having been selected, the building of the canal should be pressed to completion with all reasonable expedition.

The methods by which the Executive acquired the Panama Canal route and rights are a source of regret to many. To them, the statement that a great public work was assured to the profit of our people, is a sufficient answer to the charge of violation of National good faith. They appreciate that the principles and healthy convictions which in their working out have made us free and great, stand against the argument or suggestion that we should be blind to the nature of the means employed to promote our welfare. They hold that adherence to principle, whether it works for our good or ill, will have a more beneficent influence on our future destiny than all our material upbuilding, and that the profit of our people is the result of doing a wrong to a smaller, weaker nation that we, or even all mankind, may have a resultant good is repugnant to the principles upon which our government was founded.

Under the laws of the United States the duty is imposed on the Executive

to proceed with due diligence in the work of constructing the canal. That duty should be promptly performed.

#### AMERICAN SHIPPING.

Our commerce in American bottoms amounts to but eight per cent. of our total exports and imports. For seventy years prior to 1899, when the Republican party came to power, our merchant marine carried an average of seventy-five per cent. of our foreign commerce. By 1877 it had dwindled to twenty-seven per cent. Now we carry but a contemptibly small fraction of our exports and imports.

American shipping in the foreign trade was greater by over one hundred thousand tons in 1816—nearly a hundred years ago—than it was last year. In the face of the continuous decline in the report of American shipping during the last three years, the promise of the Republican party to restore it is without encouragement. The record of the Democratic party gives assurance that the task can be more wisely entrusted to it.

It is an arduous task to undo the effect of forty years of decadence, and requires the study and investigation of those best fitted by experience to find the remedy, which surely does not lie in the granting of subsidies, wrung from the pocket of all the taxpayers.

#### INVESTIGATION OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

Recent conditions, coupled with the rapid augmentation of government expenditures, show a need of an investigation of every department of the government. The Democrats in Congress demanded it. The Republican majority refused the demand. The people can determine for themselves whether they wish an honest and thorough investigation. A Democratic Congress and Executive will assure it.

#### ARMY AND NAVY.

We are justly proud of the officers and men of our Army and Navy. Both, however, have suffered from the persistent injection of personal and political influence. Promotions and appointments have been frequently based on favoritism instead of merit. Trials and court-martials have been set aside under circumstances indicating political favoritism, and other abuses should be corrected.

On the subject of pensions the letter is plain. Mr. Parker is favorable to a liberal allowance for disabled veterans, but opposes extravagance in the granting of pensions.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The foreign relations of the government have in late years assumed special importance. Prior to the advent of the Filipinos, we were practically invulnerable against attacks by foreign States. Those tropical possessions, however, seven thousand miles from our shores, have changed all this. They have in effect put us under bonds to keep the peace, and to adhere to a management of foreign affairs the more circumspect in that the recent American invasion of foreign markets in all parts of the world has excited the serious apprehension of all the great industrial peoples. It is essential, therefore, that we adhere strictly to the traditional policy of the country as formulated by its first president and never, in my judgment, wisely departed from—to invite friendly relations with all nations and to keep the peace, and to adhere to a management of foreign affairs the more circumspect in that the recent American invasion of foreign markets in all parts of the world has excited the serious apprehension of all the great industrial peoples. It is essential, therefore, that we adhere strictly to the traditional policy of the country as formulated by its first president and never, in my judgment, wisely departed from—to invite friendly relations with all nations and to keep the peace, and to adhere to a management of foreign affairs the more circumspect in that the recent American invasion of foreign markets in all parts of the world has excited the serious apprehension of all the great industrial peoples. 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