

choice of the chief executive and the whole domestic and foreign policy of the government.

The Philippine Islands, with a population of eight or ten millions, must, unless we are to violate the organic law of the land

PHILIPPINE SENATORS.

and hold and govern them perpetually as conquered provinces, be erected, within a reasonable time, into several states, each with two senators and all together having thirty or forty representatives; while Cuba, with a population of a million and a half, must also become a state, with two senators, and at least five representatives according to the present ratio. But this is not all we have to apprehend, for if we once inaugurate the policy of conquest and annexation beyond the boundaries of our own continent at what point are we to stop? The possession of the Philippine Islands, Cuba, Hawaii, the Caroline Islands, the Ladrone Islands and Porto Rico will not satisfy the aggressive spirit of imperialism; in fact, it will, according to the uniform experience of other nations, stimulate the desire for new acquisitions, and we will almost certainly go on unless checked by the armed opposition of other powers, until we have fastened upon the United States a black and yellow horde of conscript citizens to debauch the suffrage and sap the foundations of our free institutions.

It is a permanent national policy that we are asked to inaugurate, not merely a temporary departure from the course marked out by the statesmen of the past.

NO DEVIATION.

Visions of a great empire extending into every part of the habitable globe, limited only by the measure of our own military power and the bounds of our own ambition, are already beginning to obscure the popular judgment and silence the voice of sober reason and genuine patriotism. Domestic problems of the gravest character, pressing for settlement, are treated with indifference, while dreams of wealth, of commercial supremacy abroad, martial glory, and autocratic dictation in the great international councils of the world, are inflaming the imaginations of the people, and rapidly driving them, without due consideration, into the endorsement of a policy, which, when once adopted, can never be abandoned without a confession of weakness which no administration will ever be willing to make. Every disappointed politician, every adventurous speculator, every ambitious soldier of fortune, and every reckless enthusiast, whatever may be his calling or station in life, will clamor for new acquisitions, and the additional patronage which a compliance with his demands would secure will always constitute a persuasive argument in support of his policy. Every extension of our jurisdiction over inhabited territory acquired from other countries, especially if the

inhabitants are ignorant and inexperienced in public affairs, will open a fruitful field for the operations of the unscrupulous politician, which, we may be sure, he will promptly occupy and diligently cultivate. It is said that the Spanish "carpet-bagger" is now the curse of the Philippine Islands, plundering the rich and the poor, the church and the state, with perfect impartiality, and it is probable that his capacity for extortion and speculation has not been exaggerated; but if we appropriate the islands it will very soon be demonstrated that the American species of this pest is much more destructive than the Spanish variety, and that he can easily grow rich and arrogant off the remnants left by his predecessors.

We must not delude ourselves with the hope or belief that the era of conquest and annexation will close when the present programme is completed; it will be the beginning, not the end. After the first step, public sentiment will be so perverted and the public service so demoralized that it will require more than ordinary moral courage upon the part of the conservative element in the country to resist the aggressive movement, urged on, as it will be, by appeals to patriotism, to national pride, and to commercial avarice. It will take our people a long time to learn, if they ever learn, that the enthusiasm and self-confidence born of successful warfare are not safe guides in matters affecting the permanent policies of the government. The great danger is that they will not learn this truth at all, or learn it too late to save the republic.

Hitherto we have been exempt from the maintenance of large standing armies and great navies, and consequently the burden

NO STANDING ARMY.

of taxation, while much greater at some periods than the real necessities of the public service required, has never been so heavy as seriously to impede the growth and prosperity of the country. Our energies have been devoted to the cultivation of the arts of peace, to the construction of great highways, to the development of our mineral resources, to the improvement of water-ways, to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and to the establishment of charities and institutions of learning, and all the other interests and objects which most distinguish the civilization of a peaceful American republic from that of the armed and fortified kingdoms and empires of the old world. * * * But if we are to adopt and successfully maintain an imperial policy, the glory of the achievement will belong principally to the army and navy, and the people at large will simply enjoy the privilege of paying the cost. Each successful expedition, each forcible extension of our jurisdiction over an unwilling people, will add to the laurels of the military branches of the government, and the al-

most inevitable result will be that their social and political influence will grow until they overshadow all other callings and professions. Military senators and representatives in congress will enact laws for a military president to execute, and military governors of states will not long perplex themselves with questions of civil law when the soldiery under their command can easily cut the knots with their swords. We will be more fortunate than the people of some other countries if our judicial tribunals, under the elective system, shall escape the influence of the military spirit and continue to administer justice between private individuals and between the government and its citizens according to the simple and conservative rules and processes of the common law of the land.

When territory is conquered or annexed, we must not only govern it, with or without the consent of its people, but we must also be prepared at all times to protect it against the possible encroachments of other powers; its cities and towns must be garrisoned by a sufficient military force, and its coasts must be fortified and guarded by a navy strong enough at least to meet any sudden emergency. This involves an enormous addition to our regular army, and such a permanent increase of our naval establishment as will keep it constantly on a war footing. This drain upon our resources must be met immediately by exorbitant taxation upon the property of the people, and, sooner or later, by conscription of their persons; for great standing armies and navies cannot be permanently maintained by voluntary enlistment in a country where the opportunities for profitable employment are so great as they are here. The unwholesome climates of our tropical possessions will demand new victims every year, and thousands of our young men must be forcibly withdrawn from the productive industries of the country and sacrificed to the remorseless spirit of imperialism, which has already ruined many nations and impoverished and oppressed many people.

Already the most advanced advocates of imperialism, and even some who are

MAKE WAY FOR THE KING.

opposed to it, are beginning to foresee the results of that policy and to suggest preparations to meet them; but one of the most serious objections to their suggestion is that its adoption would probably provoke at once the very international entanglement which all true Americans desire to avoid. Coupled with the imperial policy, and, in fact, constituting a part of it, an alliance with Great Britain, it is contended, would make us strong enough to hold whatever we choose to take in any part of the world; but the fact seems to be overlooked that if Great Britain is to help us take care of our dependencies, we must help Great Britain take care of hers; and thus, while our power and