

seas." What is right and just and humane is what the same President William McKinley declared to be his purpose; namely: not to commit acts of criminal aggression, not to slaughter them by thousands, not to subject them to government by force, not to try to make them vassals, and not to try to put upon them any form of government without the consent of the governed or to attempt to tax them without representation on their own part.

The president says, "That treaty now commits the free and enfranchised Filipinos to the guiding hand and the liberalizing influences, the generous sympathies, the uplifting education, not of the American masters, but of their American emancipators." Having divested himself of all authority, let him withdraw the orders which now stand to the oppression of these people, and then let congress forbid their oppression by armed forces. Let them withdraw our forces as we withdrew them from Mexico under similar conditions. Let these people have the same opportunity that we gave to the Mexicans after having conquered them, to establish a stable government, in which after several efforts the Mexicans have been so completely successful.

Let congress give, as the president suggests, to the people of the Philippine islands peace and order, afford them every opportunity to prosecute their lawful pursuits, encourage them in thrift and industry, making them feel and know that we are friends. Let congress do that, and if possible remedy the evil of criminal aggression and do away with the method of making friends by slaughtering them in thousands, shelling and burning their villages without giving the women and children an opportunity to escape. Truly the American people, acting through its congress, may be trusted and that trust will not by congress be betrayed.

What stands in the way of enabling the people of these islands through their chosen leaders of proved ability and patriotism to work out their own salvation in peace and without oppression? The pretense that they may be subjected to spoliation by other nations. Which nation stands ready to assume the cost and danger of this undertaking? Not one. It is for the interest of this country, of Great Britain, of France, of Germany, of Russia and of Japan that these islands shall not be made the base for offensive measures of war in any directions. None want them. None wish that any other nation shall possess them. All are prepared to support them in their effort to govern themselves. Give them that right; neutralize them. Let them make bargains with every nation for coaling stations, cable landings and for protection within their waters from aggression. What stands in the way? Are not all the conditions propitious? Are not European nations trying to

find out a way to spare themselves from the further pursuit of war? Are not all seeking to extend their commerce? Why should there not be one group of islands in the whole wide world neutralized as Belgium is, as Switzerland is, as the Congo Free State is, as the Suez Canal is—ports free to all, no hostile shot to be fired from land and no fleets to fight within the waters?

To those to whom such a conception seems visionary, all efforts to maintain peace are visionary. They are governed by the survival of the brute element, which would even burden this nation with militarism, with great standing armies, with navies for offensive and not for defensive purposes, and all the evils of the hell of war.

Where there is a will there is a way, and that will will be conveyed to the members of our congress from the ranks of the laborers, the farmers, the merchants, the manufacturers, and from all alike who find in themselves any power that makes for righteousness and who are governed by the precepts of common sense.

In the few hours of a busy morning in which I have had time to review the speech of apology and excuse made last night by the president, I have probably failed. With more time I might have made the case more clear and the condemnation of criminal aggression more absolute.

↓ A KING OF THE PHILIPPINES.

[New York Evening Post].

The speeches of Senators Platt (of Connecticut) and Foraker unwittingly reveal the abyss into which they ask the country to plunge with them. They no doubt reflect the sentiments of all who wish to launch on an unknown sea of adventure. When objection is made to incorporating Asiatics into our body politic because our national constitution was made for European races, and particularly the Anglo-Saxon, and is not fit for the government of peoples who have no traditions of freedom and are steeped in despotism, their answer is that congress has absolute plenary power over territories, and is subject to no constitutional restrictions in governing them—in other words, that a government of a territory is entirely outside the constitution. The only practicable way by which congress can exercise such power is by transferring it to the president. It is true, they say, that, in an organic act, congress usually extends the constitution and laws of the United States over a territory, but that the constitution does not *proprio vigore* extend itself there, as it does over a state. Consequently, if, after adopting the constitution for a territory, congress should pass an act in conflict with it, to that extent it repeals the constitution.

These declarations should be taken as notice that if the Philippines are an-

nexed, they will be governed without regard to constitutional limitations. The advocates of this policy do not seem to be conscious, in making this avowal, that they furnish an overwhelming argument against holding Asiatic possessions, where, from necessity, congress must invest the president with a trinity of power—executive, legislative, and judicial—which is the very essence of despotism. It means the creation of a great Oriental monarchy and an attempt to establish at Washington the empire of the Caliphs of Bagdad. It is not much comfort to be told that our president will be another Haroun Al-Raschid. Mr. Platt quotes from a speech of Mr. Webster's the following language as to the power of congress over the territories: "It may establish any such government and any such laws in the territories as in its discretion it may seem fit. It is subject, of course, to the rules of justice and propriety, but it is under no constitutional restraints." He also cites with approval, as does Mr. Foraker, the acts of congress that made the president absolute dictator in the territories of Florida and Louisiana, and a late decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (86 Fed. Reporter, 456), the syllabus of which reads:

"Congress has full legislative power over the territories, unrestricted by the limitations of the constitution."

The court was unanimous, and the opinion is supported by references to supreme court decisions tending in the same direction. Be it so; then let us beware of entrusting congress with this colossal power to be delegated to the president, except in the case of absolute necessity. If there were a rocky island in the Pacific beyond our jurisdiction that was a Gibraltar which commanded the entrance to the Golden Gate, no one would question the propriety of our acquiring and holding the same in self-defence. No such reason can be alleged for our holding the Philippines, but just the reverse. They would be a weak point in war which we would have to defend. The force detached to defend them could be of no use anywhere else.

The occasions for using despotic power should be reduced to a minimum; familiarity with it abroad may gradually sap and undermine all the safeguards of freedom at home. In such a school the Prætorian bands were trained. A government of the Philippines must be a despotism or no government at all. Asiatics are not fit for anything else. Mr. Foraker says we will hold them only temporarily until these people are fit for self-government. But all people are fit for self-government in their own way. Asiatics and Africans are as contented with their forms of government as we are; they never will be with ours. But why confine our philanthropy to the Philippines? Why not embrace all Asia in this benevolent scheme to regen-