

"Liberty Enlightening the World." Are we engaged in that ennobling work by rivaling the Romans in a policy of conquest and dominion?

The most cherished political principles of the past—all those contained in the declaration of independence—held by the democratic-republican parties of the United States, for example, that all men are born equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed; and the sacred doctrine of the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, are being trampled under foot in the sanguinary rush toward—glory—expansion—"imperial democracy."

Advocates of island expansion constantly refer to the acquisition by the United States of Florida, the Louisiana territory, Texas, Arizona, and California as precedents for taking the Philippines. There is no analogy whatever between these cases and the proposed annexation of the Philippine or other tropical islands. These were natural acquisitions of simply unoccupied wilds of contiguous territories suitable for settlement by the Caucasian race. In this vast stretch of wilderness there was at no time an average of one man of any race to every ten square miles, and now, 300 years after our first colonies were founded, we have in the whole United States only twenty-two people to the square mile, while in the Philippines, 7,000 miles distant, there are sixty-six people to the square mile, and people too who have occupied the land for countless generations, aye, even for ages long gone and forgotten.

The policy of the present United States congress and the executive administration may be summed up as having shown four stages of progressive development:

- First—Yellow journalism and hysteria.
- Second—Revenge and elemental ferocity.
- Third—Militarism and pride of power.
- Fourth—Ambition, greed and ignorance.

At the meeting of the International Bar Association, a year or two ago, Judge Storey made some pertinent remarks to the effect that while the United States could endure short crops, depressed business, hard times and domestic friction, it would be hardest for it to bear success in a foreign war; and this has come true.

The good feeling between Great Britain and the United States is something I have always believed in and sought to promote, and without doubt England rendered the United States government an important service last year; yet it does not appear to me that it is any part of the duty or to the advantage of our government to take a position in the Orient that might require us to act as her military ally in matters which are

of no interest to the mass of our people.

I do not believe that we are under any responsibility whatever in respect to the Philippines. Although technically included in Oceanica, the Philippines properly belong to Asia, and could never be naturally integrated with the American republic. Because the necessities of war resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleets lying in Manila Bay and at Santiago, does it follow, any more than it would had they been in one of Spain's home ports, and our flag raised over Cadiz, that we should take and hold Spain? Shall we renounce our professions and our hallowed traditions and give vent to latent predatory instincts, or shall we be true to the principles of our honored sires, as the defenders and upholders of the interests of humanity? We are not obligated to govern the Filipinos in any manner or form. Let them look out for themselves—work out their own salvation, in fear and trembling if necessary. Give them a chance to try to walk before saying they cannot. The fact that we have bargained for 10,000,000 people at \$2 per head, with a seller who cannot deliver the goods, is no valid and sufficient reason for undermining and overthrowing our own form of government. A despotism like that in Java, or the bald exploitation of labor in the interests of capital, as in Hawaii, would be a departure from the spirit of our institutions so radical that if successful it would mean the overthrow of democracy in the United States. Let the poor and all men who earn their bread by the labor of their hands pause and consider well before they give their assent to a policy so deliberately forgetful of the equality of rights. As for so-called "imperial democracy," it is only a thinly disguised scheme to destroy American democracy in the interests of what? Worse than nothing! Merely to attract the notice of monarchical Europe and the plaudits of the unthinking—or, I repeat, to exploit Asiatic coolies in the interest of capital at the expense of American labor. I lack words to express my scorn for it. In the language of Bourke Cockran, "it is an effort on the part of this country to join in the groveling, grabbing, degrading contest of the family of nations, a contest that has always filled the world with woe and impeded human thought and human progress."

I realize that the United States can adopt imperialism—imperial liberty, as it is jauntily called—and engage in a policy of conquering and to conquer for a while; but would it be representative government? No! The queen of the Antilles, Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines. What an alluring seductive vision of territorial expansion! What intoxicating suggestion of tropical felicities: the hula hula—la media noche—

Tannhauser and pleasure; from Plymouth Rock to Manila!

We know what has taken place in darkest South—the Carolinas, Mississippi, and Louisiana; the colored vote has simply been suppressed; that is the plain English of it. What is worse the republican organs of the country are acquiescing in it, as being the only practical way out of that perplexing and harassing problem of more than thirty years' duration. Yet the negroes of the South are only as one to ten of population in the United States and have enjoyed close relations with the whites for four or five generations, one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty years.

With a country that turns out thirty criminals and suffers twenty violent deaths (an average of over 15,000 for three years past) to one for Great Britain, we certainly are not in a position to start out on propagandas of altruism. And for outrages on public highways—land piracies—we out-rival the whole world—one hundred and twenty-five trains dynamited in ten years past! As for administrative plunderings, it costs five times as much per capita for municipal administration in San Francisco as it does in Birmingham or Glasgow. This degeneration is demoralizing the whole body politic, yet seemingly is not enough. We scour the seas for other distracting problems. I believe that we will do better for mankind and for ourselves by cultivating more peaceful methods, more Christian characteristics at home.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people."

To say nothing of the opinions of imperialism expressed in the declaration of the president of the United States that "Territorial conquest would be criminal aggression," and of the congress of the United States that "Any disposition or intention to exercise any sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands except for the pacification thereof, is disclaimed," the mere *idea* of conquest, race subjugation, and colonial responsibility should be abhorrent to an American. Senator Gray, of Delaware, one of the peace commissioners to Paris, pleaded zealously against the policy of acquiring the Philippines as unpatriotic, un-American, and inconsistent with probity and good statesmanship. The supreme court of the United States, December, 1856, declared, "There is certainly no power given by the constitution to the federal government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States, or at distances, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure. No power is given to acquire a territory to be held and governed permanently in that character." Now the current laws of the United States will not permit us to make citizens of the ten millions of Asiatics in the Philippine islands. In 1879 the vote of California on