

after all want to own their islands, and who will deny with some reason? They claim that their shipping has been interfered with and arms and ammunition seized; they claim their taxes are under the American authorities increased and old custom house abuses continued. Three times they have tried, and tried in vain, to secure official recognition, through their representative, from the United States government. The United States will not declare what its future intentions are. It refuses to say that it will not hold the islands permanently.

Benevolent Burglary.

The president talks of "benevolent assimilation," and when a senator assuming to speak for the administration announces that our duty is to be only temporary, there is a disavowal of the statement. Everything looks like expansion, peaceful expansion if possible, forcible expansion if necessary, but expansion in every case. The Filipinos scent imperialism, and they are right. Victory has intoxicated this people; the commercial spirit is seducing it, making it forget itself and leave the straight grand path it entered on a year ago. In a recent census of the newspapers of the country it was found that two-thirds of them were for a "forward policy"—and we know what that means. If the people move or if powerful interests move our chief magistrate, pure-minded and just-minded though he is, gives no sign that he will gainsay. To wait to know just how to act is legitimate; to wait for principles—what under heaven is that but to confess that we have no principles? Seeing that the nation has no mind on this new issue, this all important, life and death issue to themselves, knowing full well that when conscience is not alive interests sweep men away, hearing the ever bolder and bolder expressions of imperialist policy from our newspapers, magazines and public men, and finding that the main problem discussed among us is how to get the islands and yet not give the people rights, who can wonder that the Filipinos, victims of disillusionment, lost their patience and made up their minds to strike a blow before it should be forever too late? For my own part, I have no wonder and rather admire, though I pity their ignorance and folly. Poor Filipinos! What are they with their scanty equipment, with their pitiful bows and arrows, before the army and navy of the United States! But they will soon learn better—or at least those who survive after our gallant attacks? After the bravest are winnowed out we shall no doubt have a docile, obedient population to rule over and "benevolently assimilate."

Senatorial Responsibility.

The responsibility for the disgraceful battles of the past week is commonly

put on the senators who opposed the treaty. There never was a more superficial opinion. The real responsibility lay with those who have refused to say a single clear word to the effect that we had no wish to govern the Philippines without their consent. One word even from the president alone to the effect that we viewed our offices as merely temporary, that ultimately we hoped the Philippines would be free even as Cuba is to be free, would have made the Filipinos our friends, would have made them not dream of opening hostilities upon us, would have made them gladly co-operate with us even as the Cubans are beginning to do in that long unhappy isle. Unless we are to embark on an imperialist policy, the slaughters on either side are the sickliest, ghastliest waste that this war or any war has ever known. There is no honor for any American who fell on the plains near Manila in these engagements; there is no comfort for any desolate American home in the thought that the life was offered up for liberty or in any holy cause. If it was all waste there surely was no honor, and if it was necessary as a first step toward imperialism, there was honor only as honor and shame are one, only as there can be honor in fighting to enslave men. As holy as was the war for Cuba, so unholy is this war against the Philippines. It is a black disgrace to America, it makes me hang my head in shame for my country. If I had thought of this outcome I would rather have had the Cubans starved and rotted out than this people, with its proud history, with its glorious past, should sully itself with such dishonor. I know, of course, there was nothing for our soldiers to do but to fire back when they were fired upon, and I nowise reflect upon the personal bravery they may have shown. They were victims, not causes; but the damnable disgrace of this business is on ourselves that we have not known our mind, and on the highest in the land that they have not known their mind.

Empire or Republic.

It is high time this country took the bull by the horns and decided whether it is for imperialism or against imperialism. Everyone who believes in the forcible subjection of the Philippines, everyone who believes in prosecuting the present war even for a day without an explicit declaration on our part that we have no designs on the liberty and independence of the Philippine people and mean ultimately to do for them only what we meant to do for Cuba, is an imperialist. He nowise differs from English imperialists, he nowise differs from those who went plundering the world (or approved of it) under a Roman emperor; the essence of imperialism is disregard of liberty. Those, on the other hand, who believe in liberty, who oppose conquest, are the anti-imperial-

ists. It is not a question of how much territory we shall have, but of how it shall be acquired. It is not a question of favoring war or of opposing war, but of what we have to say to a specific kind of war. It is not a question of seeking new markets for American trade, or of being content with the markets we already have, but of what we are willing to do to get new markets. One thing at a time, and the nation needs to clearly envisage this question at the present moment.

Blaine Against Conquest.

Already there has been a relaxing of old sentiments. Even Mr. Blaine opposed the right of conquest. He induced the Pan-American congress to distinctly say that the principle of conquest should not be recognized as admissible under American public law, and that all cessions of territory made under threats of war or the pressure of an armed force should be void. I fear that there are many who would not find that this expresses their sentiments now. President McKinley said in the case of Cuba that "forcible annexation cannot be thought of," that it would by our code of morals be "criminal aggression;" but how many would say it now with reference to the Philippines? Would our chief magistrate himself say it? It is not a moment too early to face this question and to settle it. It is now that we are at a real parting of the ways. Let us maintain our authority if we will in the Philippines, though we have only ourselves to thank that we must do this at such fearful cost, but let us say without further delay what our end and object is in asserting our authority. The whole future development of America turns on how we answer this question. If we go on one way, we shall simply add America to the list of the powers, of which the world has too many already that are unscrupulous foes of the liberty of man, and we shall do so without the excuse which old crowded Europe may plead for itself, do it in a kind of wantonness and speculative fever. And since we shall be learning contempt of liberty abroad, it will be harder to keep respect for liberty at home. Little by little individual rights, which it has been our glory to defend, will come to be regarded as indifferent matters. If on the other hand we withstand the temptation, the republic will be the stronger for this exercise of moral force, we shall continue in at least one respect to set an example to the nations, we shall move on further and further along the lines of our appointed task, to show how liberty may be guarded at home and how it may be protected in the great world outside.

Sometimes ministers say no matter how the problem is settled, they believe the nation will prosper. They say they believe God has yet a work for America to do and that we shall go on as we have