

**BRYAN AND  
IMPERIALISM.**

Under the caption "Jefferson and Imperialism" Mr. Bryan, in the New York Journal, discusses the Philippine problem. He says:

"Imperialism as it now presents itself, embraces four distinct propositions:

'First. That the acquisition of territory by conquest is right.

'Second. That the acquisition of remote territory is desirable.

'Third. That the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is unsound.

'Fourth. That people can be wisely governed by aliens.'

Any proposition of public policy must be based upon the action of that body which represents the popular will. In our own country the national legislature is the only body that can speak authoritatively for the American people. When we speak of the policy of our government we mean the policy fixed by congress. Therefore whatever our policy may be in regard to the Philippines it must be that which congress has indicated. The only action, relative to the Philippines, that has been taken by the congress of the United States, was the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, whereby we acquired sovereignty over this remote territory. The propositions given out by Mr. Bryan must have their inspiration in this treaty. With the ratification of the treaty, then, the policy of imperialism was inaugurated.

If, as Mr. Bryan says, in imperialism is embodied the propositions he has laid

down, then, as the Favored Conquest, one who favored the ratification of that treaty, who was, according to the assertion of his staunchest friends, responsible for its ratification, he cannot escape whatever opprobrium may belong to the policy the treaty inaugurated. If ratification meant to assert that, "the acquisition of remote territory is desirable" he is committed to this proposition. If it meant that "the acquisition of territory by conquest was right" he espoused this principle, and so for each of the imperialistic propositions to which he refers. He has endorsed every one of them.

All those who favored the ratification of the treaty and endorsed the policy

embodied therein, are estopped, Estopped, from denouncing the consequences of it. Senator Allen of Nebraska, in the debate pending ratification, said:

"Mr. President, I have been impressed since the acquisition of this new territory as a result of the war with Spain, with the overshadowing necessity of considering the question with faultless accuracy. What we may do is not to be the work of an hour, nor can it be undone by subsequent legislation or executive order, but it is to stand for all time and involves for final weal or woe the present inhabitants of the United

States and those of the new territory, as well as those of countless generations to succeed.

"Mr. President, the news has come to us within the last few hours of a conflict between the American army and navy and the Filipinos. To my own state has fallen much of the loss of life and limb. Ten out of twenty of the young men who lost their lives in the battle that has been fought in the last forty-eight hours were members of the first Nebraska infantry. There is mourning in Nebraska today; there will be weeping at the hearthstone of many a Nebraska home tonight. Mr. President, this ought to be a warning to us. I can not condemn too severely the assault, the treacherous assault, made on our troops. We were dealing with savages as bloodthirsty and incapable of being reconciled as the Ogallala Sioux. They precipitated this conflict of their own volition.

"I uphold the general and commander of the navy in repelling the attack. We are in the Philippine islands as a conquering military power. We hold them today by virtue of the power to make war, and in no other sense, and there those islands and those people must remain respecting the law, respecting the dignity and the sovereignty and the flag of this nation until their status among the nations of the earth shall be defined by congress, the sole power to deal with the question. They must be taught as long as we deal with them that submission to the constituted authority is the first duty of the citizen and the inhabitant."

If, as the senator says, to oppose the temporary authority of the United States in the Philippines, was a "treacherous assault," how much more unpardonable the resistance after he had made this authority permanent by the terms of the treaty! That the responsibilities attaching to our government after ratification were appreciated in the senate at the time the vote was taken; that it was understood to mean the establishment of a policy for all time; is evident from this speech of Senator Allen as well as those of other senators.

Senator Money thus portrayed the effects of ratifying the treaty as it was written:

"Another thing. We are told that we want peace; that we want to get the volunteers home.

Means War. We all do. Everybody wants peace. I want the volunteers brought home. They have that right. They did not enlist for garrison duty. They did not enlist for a subjugating war. They enlisted for freedom. The struggle is over, the cause won, the banner flies triumphant, and they have a right to come home and be dismissed from the military service. They are not professionals pursuing a vocation; they are the citizen soldiery, who have other business.

"Does any man say we are going to have peace by ratifying this treaty? Yes; we will have peace with Spain, but we will begin war with the Filipinos.

We had a war with Spain that lasted three months. I stood right here and predicted on the 28th of March that we were about to engage in a war that would last sixty days, which would be a naval engagement, and that the ships of Spain would be swept from the sea. I am not a prophet, but I believed what I then said, and it has been justified by events. Now I say, standing here, that, in my opinion, if we ratify the treaty with no declaration in it that we disclaim any right to enslave these people, or to hold them in subjection, or use language which does not mean giving them their liberty, we have already embarked in a war that will not release the volunteers, but which will call for fresh volunteers, and thousands of the best American youth will lay their bones upon the plains and in the jungle of Luzon and in other parts of the Philippines.

"Mr. President, there are several resolutions for the consideration of the senate supposed to bear on the treaty.

Resolutions Useless. These resolutions are simply declarations of opinion. They have no effect upon the decision of the controversy which we are about to engage in with the Filipinos, and that is the matter we are to consider now.

"If we pass any of these resolutions, of what avail is it? Does that determine our relations with the Filipinos? Does that induce them to come in and make terms with us? Does that disband the army? These resolutions are simply the text for discussion in open sessions of the senate, and they are worth that and little more. As a solemn declaration of the opinion of the senate they may move some future legislation by their persuasive influence, and not otherwise. If it were a joint resolution, a new congress could be convened to repeal it in less than six weeks. So we who object to the condition as it has been under the phraseology of the present treaty must declare our opposition to it unless it is modified in the way indicated by the resolution of the senator from Missouri [Mr. Vest]; and that, I think, would make it acceptable to every man on this side of the senate, at least.

"Every man here holds his conscience in his own keeping; he is responsible for his own act, and I

Patriotic Duty for one will feel recreant to myself, recreant to my high office, recreant to my duty to humanity; recreant to my duty to human liberty everywhere, if I fail to give my negative to a treaty that sold away the liberty of 10,000,000 human beings who, after a struggle of one hundred years, demonstrate through blood and suffering and sacrifice their worthiness for a better fate than is proposed. These men have struggled under every disadvantage. The Malay character has been developed