

# SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

## Anti-Imperialist Leaflet No 11.

From Washington's Farewell Address—  
1796.

Avoid the necessity of these overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty.

“The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little connection as possible.” \* \* \* Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, \* \* \* we may defy material injury from external annoyance. Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

It gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens facilities to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity;—gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

### “Our Destiny.”

Hon. Albert Gallatin, 1840.

Your mission was to be a model for all government and for all less favored nations; to adhere to the most elevated principles of political morality; to apply all your faculties to the gradual improvement of your own institutions and social state; and by your example to exert a moral influence most beneficial to mankind at large. Instead of this an appeal has been made to your worst passions; to cupidity, to the thirst of unjust aggrandizement by brutal force; to the love of military fame and false glory. The attempt is made to make you abandon the lofty position which your fathers occupied, to substitute for it the political morality and heathen patriotism of the heroes and statesmen of antiquity.

## Imperialism—Its Dangers and Wrongs.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Having been invited to deliver an address by the National Committee of the Chicago Peace Jubilee in connection with that event in Chicago, Ill., October 18, 1898, the President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers, delivered the address from which these extracts are taken:

A “foreign war as a cure for domestic discontent” has been the device of tyrants and false counselors from time immemorial, but it has always led to a Waterloo, a Sedan, to certain decadence and often utter ruin. In our country we are perhaps too powerful to incur outside disaster; but we shall certainly court worse evils at home if we try to benumb the nation's sense of justice and love of right, and prevent it from striving earnestly to correct all proved errors.

If the Philippines are annexed, what is to prevent the Chinese, the Negritos and the Malays coming to our country? How can we prevent the Chinese coolies from going to the Philippines and from there swarm into the United States and engulf our people and our civilization. If these new islands are to become ours, it will be either under the form of Territories or States. Can we hope to close the flood-gates of immigration from the hordes of Chinese and the semi-savage races coming from what will then be part of our own country? Certainly, if we are to retain the principles of law enunciated from the foundation of our Government, no legislation of such a character can be expected.

In a country such as ours the conditions and opportunities of the wage-earners are profoundly affected by the view of the worth or dignity of men who earn their bread by the work of their hands. The progress and improvement in the condition of the wage-earners in the former slave States have been seriously obstructed by decades in which manual labor and slave labor were identical. The South now, with difficulty, respects labor, because labor is the condition of those who were formerly slaves, and this fact operates potentially against any effort to secure social justice by legislative action or organized movement of the workers. If these facts have operated so effectually to prevent necessary changes in the condition of our own people, how difficult will it be to quicken our conscience so as to secure social and legislative relief for the semi-savage slave or contract laborers of the conquered islands?

## Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D. C.

### National Temptation.

Extracts from editorial of Mr. Herber Welch, in City and State.

\* \* \* The United States, a great nation composed of seventy million souls, good and bad, stands today in the presence of a great national temptation, which has come upon us through the fortunes of war. A successful war may, in its after-effects, be as dangerous as an unsuccessful one. \* \* \*

As to the Philippines, let us beware the tempting snare. We cannot retain the Philippines as a permanent possession without violating our fundamental principle. Whatever hold we have on those islands is by “right of conquest.” But Americans do not recognize such a right. Of itself, it is not more than the right by which the highwayman lifts the traveler's purse or the burglar the householder's plate. We are there in the process of freeing Cuba. We have no business to take incidentally any commercial benefit in payment for that act. Any commercial question must be considered and settled separately. We cannot give the Philippines back to the political and ecclesiastical tyranny from which we have accidentally rescued them. We must make some arrangement with Spain and with the other European nations that will give a better government to the islanders without laying us open to the charge of seeking our own interests. To stay in the Philippines by right of conquest is not only to become a national highwayman, but it is to adopt a policy that will cast us into the whirlpool of European jealousies and entanglements for an indefinite future. It will necessitate a great naval and military establishment and destroy the best American ideals. The principles for which we have stood will be largely destroyed by adopting any such policy, and the force and attention of the nation would be largely diverted from work on those internal problems and purposes which belong to a peaceful democracy. America is told to take her place among the nations. What is her place? It is not to imitate the methods and conditions of contending European powers, but to show their citizens the possibilities and achievements of self-government, so that the toilers of the old world ultimately will force their rulers to conform to the standards which the United States has set up in the new.

### Commercial Expansion vs. Colonial Expansion.

An Open Letter by Andrew Carnegie,  
Nov. 20, 1898.

“Should we undertake to hold the Philippines we immediately place the whole republic within the zone of wars and rumors of war, and the rumor of war, it must be remembered, is in itself destructive to commerce. It was only rumors of war that threw us from London back to New York.

“Without distant possessions, the republic, solid, compact, safe from the zone of war disturbance, has captured the world's markets for many products, and only needs a continuance of peaceful conditions to have the industrial world at its feet.

“Suppose, however, President McKinley, in order to hold the Philippines at all has to grant the “open door,” where will commercial expansion stand then? What will labor in the United States say to the recreant President? What compensation is it to have?

“I think I know what the laboring masses of the United States will say to him and to any government that throws upon the country such sacrifices of life and such burdens, only to open its costly acquisitions to the nations of the world.

“If it be fair competition with other nations that we require for commercial expansion, we are certain of that already, because Britain will never permit the open door in the far East to be closed.

“Let the President take either horn of the dilemma, and his policy of what he himself has called ‘criminal aggression’ fails. Let him open the door to the world and he antagonizes American labor. Let him consider the Philippines part of the United States, and therefore entitled under the constitution to free trade with, as part of, the United States, and its door closed except through the high tariff to all other nations, and he antagonizes the whole of Europe and has war upon his hands to a certainty—this time no weak Spain to deal with, but the overwhelming naval power of Europe.

“The republic will escape the threatened danger and hold fast to the policy of the fathers, which has made it the most prosperous nation the world ever saw and brought the industrial supremacy of the world within its grasp under theegis of peace and security.—The one industrial nation free from the unceasing danger of wars and rumors of wars which keep every shipyard, every armor plant, every gun factory in the world busy night and day, Saturdays and Sundays, preparing engines for the coming struggle between the nations of Europe.”

# SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

Anti-Imperialist Leaflet No. 12.

Mr. Dooley on the Philippines.

"I know what I'd do if I was Mack," said Mr. Hennessy. "I'd hit a flag over th' Ph'lippeens, an' I'd take in th' whole lot iv thim."

"An' yet," said Mr. Dooley, "tis not more thin two months since ye larned whether they were islands or canned goods. If yer son Pucky was to ask ye where th' Ph'lippeens is, cud ye give him anny good idea whether they was in Russia or jus' west iv th' thracks?"

"Mebbe I cudden't," said Mr. Hennessy, haughtily, "but I'm fr' takin' thim in, annyhow."

"So might I be," said Mr. Dooley, "if I cud on'y get me mind on it. Wan iv the worst things about this here war is th' way it's makin' puzzles fr' our poor, tired heads."

"I've been r-readin' about th' country, full iv goold an' precious stones, where th' people can pick dinner off th' trees, an' ar're starvin' because they have no step-ladders. Th' inhabitants is mostly niggers an' Chinamen, peaceful, industrius, an' law-abidin', but savage an' bloodthirsty in their methods. They wear no clothes except what they have on, an' each woman has five husbands an' each man has five wives. Th' r-rest goes into th' discard, th' same as here. Th' islands has been owned by Spain since before th' fire; an' she's threated thim so well they're now up in ar-rms again her, except a majority iv thim which is thurdy loyal. Th' natives seldom fight, but whin they get mad at wan another they r-run-a-muck. Whin a man r-runs-a-muck, sometimes they hang him an' sometimes they discharge him an' hire a new motorman. Th' women ar-re beautiful, with languishin' black eyes, an' they smoke segars, but ar-re hurried an' incomplete in their dresses. I see a pitcher iv wan th' other day with nawthin' on her but a basket of coconuts an' a hoop-skirt. They're no prudes. We import juke, hemp, cigar wrappers, sugar, an' fairy tales fr'm th' Ph'lippeens, an' export six-inch shells an' th' like."

"I larned all this fr'm th' papers, an' I know 'tis straight. An' yet, Hinamsy, I shanaw what to do about th' Ph'lippeens. An' I'm all alone in th' worruld. Irvybody else has made up his mind. Ye ask anny con-ducter on Ar-ruby R-road, an' he'll tell ye. Ye can find out fr'm the papers; an', if ye really want to know, all ye have to do is to ask a prom'ent citizen who can mow all th' lava he owas with a safety razor. But I don't know."

"Hang on to thim," said Mr. Hennessy stoutly. "What we've got we must hold."

Are Colonial Possessions Desirable—as a General Proposition? But What Hennessy Says:

"There are some who assert that in a military and political point of view the West Indies are of great importance to this country (meaning England). This is a common but monstrous misrepresentation. We venture to say that colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its fruits? Wars of frequent occurrence and immense cost; fettered trade; lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in government, and indigence among the people."

"What have Mexico and Peru done for Spain, the Brazil for Portugal, Batavia for Holland? Or, if the experience of others is lost upon us, shall we not profit by our own? What have we not sacrificed to our infatuated passion for trans-Atlantic dominion? This it is that has so often led us to risk our own smiling gardens and dear firesides for snowy desert and infectious mornas on the other side of the globe. This inspired us with the project of conquering America. This induced us to resign all the advantages of our insular situation—to embroil ourselves in the intrigues and fight the battles of half the continent—to form coalitions which were instantly broken and to give subsidies which were never earned. This gave birth to the fratricidal war against American liberty, with all its barren victories, and all the massacres of the Indian hatchet, and all the bloody contracts of the Hessian slaughter-house."

"This it was which in the war against the French republic induced us to send thousands and tens of thousands of our bravest troops to die in West Indian hospitals, while the armies of our enemies were pouring over the Rhine and the Alps. When a colonial acquisition has been in prospect, we have thought no expenditure extravagant, no interference perilous. Gold has been but as dust, and blood as water. Shall we never learn wisdom? Shall we never cease to prosecute a pursuit wicker than the wildest dream of alchemy, with all the credulity and all the profusion of Sir Epicure Mammon?"

A level-headed cotton manufacturer of Boston fails to see the wonderful advantage of "extending our trade" by annexing the Philippines where, he says: "One yard of cotton cloth will furnish the complete wardrobe of an entire family."

Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D. C.

"The Good Old Plan."

"There was once a young man, strong, rich, and energetic, who had a very bad neighbor. This neighbor had formerly been the most prominent man in the town; but he had not lived a very good life, and had now grown old, poor and feeble. He had a vicious temper, and treated his numerous children very badly, punishing them brutally when they were disobedient. The young man protested in vain, and at last, learning that his neighbor was beating some of his children savagely, and actually starving others, he persuaded himself that it was his duty to interfere forcibly. He accordingly rolled up his sleeves, burst open the old man's front door, and rushed in. His feeble neighbor retreated before the young athlete, dodging from one corner to another. The young man followed, and very soon, to his surprise, came upon a chest full of gold, the remains of the old neighbor's former wealth. This discovery quite changed the current of his thoughts. He sent for his servants and had the chest removed to his own house, killing a few of his neighbor's more dutiful children, who tried to save their father's property."

"Then he summoned several particular friends, and asked their advice as to the disposal of the treasure. The first to respond was a hearty, bluff cousin of his, who lived on the opposite side of the river."

"Bless you, my dear boy," said he, "keep it. I am older than you are, and have had a good deal more experience in this kind of business. I have been trying ever since you were born to elevate and reform my poor and vicious neighbors, and have almost always found something of value in their houses which I could carry off with me. Philanthropy really pays pretty well if you know how to manage it. Keep the plunder, and if the old man or his friends make a fuss, just refer them to me. My muscle is in good condition."

"A business adviser spoke next: 'You must not think of giving up this treasure,' said he emphatically. 'You have long wanted to enlarge your business, and this gold will be a valuable addition to your capital. Besides, you will need some of it to buy pistols and cartridges, for in the large deals which you will have to go into you will meet some very rough customers at the bucket-shops. I understand your hesitation. You have been living in a narrow, old-fashioned way, which was well enough when you were a boy; and you can't forget the quaint and inconvenient old rules and

maxims that your parents taught you, about honesty being the best policy and all that sort of thing. The worthy, puritanical old soul brought you up as well as they knew how in their narrow-minded way; and your father's farrowell letter, no doubt, was full of good advice for a boy. But you have outgrown all that. Come out into the world, and be a man among men. I hoped I should hear no more of these silly, boyish scruples after that little transaction with Dole & Co. of Honolulu last week. Follow your manifest destiny, and fortune awaits you.'

"Last of all came the family clergyman. 'My son,' said the worthy man, 'keep this treasure. It is the will of heaven that you should have it; otherwise you would not have found it in your neighbor's house. Now that you have found it, you have incurred a responsibility for its proper use which it would be weak and selfish to evade. The old man is an idolater. The gold must not be returned to him. You, I am sure, will use the money well, and put some of it in the missionary box. Follow this providential leading with a clear conscience.'

"All these counsels were in the line of the young man's inclinations, and he kept the gold."

"Of course, his old neighbor complained, and called him a hypocrite and other impolite epithets. And there were a few people in the town, narrow-minded and hopelessly unprogressive, who would shake their heads and babble about the ten commandments and other old-fashioned and almost forgotten rules of conduct. But such unreasonable people deserved no consideration."

"And meantime the starving children all died of hunger."

DAVID GREENE HASKINS, JR.

Johnson to William Short, 1820.

"From many conversations with him I hope he sees, and will promote in his new situation, the advantages of a cordial fraternalization among all the American nations, and the importance of their choosing in an American system of policy, totally independent of and unconnected with that of Europe. The day is not far distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other; and when, during the rage of the eternal wars of Europe, the lion and the lamb, within our regions, shall lie down together in peace. . . . The principles of society there and here, then, are radically different, and I hope no American patriot will ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting in the seas and territories of both Americas the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe. I wish to see this coalition begun."

# SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

## Anti-Imperialist Leaflet No. 13.

The Opinion of Massachusetts on Imperialism.

Extract from the Speech of Senator GEORGE F. HOAR, to the Massachusetts Club, July 29, 1898.

Her opinions on such questions are the fruit of nearly 300 years of a great and honorable history. She will not depart from the Declaration of Independence. She will not depart from the doctrines of liberty laid down in her own Constitution. She will not consent to be the ruler over vassal States or subject peoples. She will enter upon no mad career of empire in distant seas. She will not seek to force her trade upon unwilling peoples at the cannon's mouth. She will not exact tribute or revenues from men who have no voice in regard to them. She will not consent to enter with the powers of Europe into any partnership, alliance or contest for the plunder of China or the division of Africa, or for the subjugation of eastern archipelagoes, or for compelling unwilling peoples to trade with her. If the American flag appear in the East, it will be as the emblem of their liberty and not of our dominion. She will desire to meet the great responsibilities which the end of this war seems likely to bring to the American people solely in the interests of the provinces we may deliver from Spain and not for our own. The power of the United States is to be exerted through example and influence, and not by force.

It will be a sad thing for the country, it will be a sad thing for mankind, if the people of the United States come to abandon their fundamental doctrine. We are giving it a hard strain in our dealing with the negro at the South. We are giving it a hard strain in our dealing with the great problem of immigration. But it cannot stand if this country undertake also to exercise dominion over conquered islands, over vassal States, over subject races; if in addition to the differences of race and the differences of education we attempt to govern great masses of people, aliens in birth, of strange language, of different religions. If we do it, our spirit will not, I am afraid—God grant that I may be wrong—the American spirit will not enter into and possess them, but their spirit will enter into and possess us.

An aristocracy or a monarchy may govern subject States. It never was done and never will be done successfully by a democracy or a republic.

Other Anti-Imperial literature sent to any address by Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D. C.

Let Us Prey

(From the Boston Advertiser.)

From Greenlan's icy mountains an Manila's coral strand, the pore benighted heathen call away to beat the band. They're achin' ter be civilized, in every heathen land, an' we've gotter have an army fer the job. The heathen are a-callin' to our noble Christian race. America with all the rest has got to set a pace, and for our surplus product we must have a market-place—and we've gotter have an army fer the job. The heathen in the peaceful paths of freedom must be led. At present he's too volatile and light as to his head. The only way to keep him down's ter fill him up with lead—and we've gotter have an army fer the job. Then it's "rise up William Riley now and come along weth me." We're goin' to bring 'em blessings and to set their pore souls free. They're only yellin' niggers, an' they'll soon be up a tree—but we've gotter have an army fer the job!

The pore benighted heathen now no Christian peace enjoys. We'll edjurate 'em like they do at Virden, Illinois, or down in Carolina where we hang 'em, men and boys, just ter elevate the standard of the race. The Malays of the Phillerpeens haint got no sense at all. They wantter rule their place themselves—I shudder at their gall! We've gotter kill 'em off in droves, to make the rest sing small, and ter elevate the standard of the race. They're so besotted in their pride that if the truth were known, they'd likely ask our government to leave 'em all alone. The heathen in their blindness now bow down to stock and stone; but we'll elevate the standard of their race. They've gotter learn their lessons in a mighty bitter school. They've gotter crawl an' grovel under white men's noble rule. We've gotter tread 'em in th' mud, ter keep our tempers cool and ter elevate the standard of the race.

The onward march of destiny no nigger crowd can stay. The Anglo-Saxon race must git its three square meals a day. We'll take their lands and make 'em work and then we'll shout "Hoop-ray," an' thus we'll spread th' gospel far an' wide. We'll raise 100,000 men ter fight 'em in their swamps, to lie at night in jungles with their fever-ridden damps, and tho' we'll lose 10,000 there from wounds or cholera cramps, we'll spread th' blessed gospel far an' wide. Altho' I haven't been to church for nigh on twenty year, it makes me feel reel pious just to think of the idea (I saw one firm will send out there 10,000 quarts of beer) of how we'll spread the gospel far an' wide. I'd write you more, but I have got a little "date" at three. We're goin' to hang a nigger politician to a tree. So I will close this letter on the march of destiny, and the way to spread the gospel far an' wide.

COLONEL YELLOWSTONE YELL.  
Yellville, S. C., Nov. 15.

To educate

## Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D. C.

Are Missionaries "Imperialists"? Letter to Boston Herald from Rev. James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

It is not my custom to write letters to newspapers, but I feel constrained to send you this note at this time because of an editorial in Wednesday morning's Herald on "Religion and Imperialism," in which you state that: "It is worthy of notice that the most active of those in this country interested in missionary efforts are also the strongest advocates of an extension of the influence and authority of the United States over what have been in the past foreign countries."

You also state that: "Those who have been personally engaged in foreign missionary work are, so far as they have declared themselves, imperialists by a very large majority."

I cannot speak for missionaries of other mission boards, nor am I in a position to speak for all the 540 missionaries of our own board, but I know the opinion of a large number of the missionaries of our board and of others, and I do not know one who is in favor of an imperialistic policy; and, more than this, I have never heard this policy advocated by the officers of our board or of any other, and I am very certain that, were that policy entertained, it would have found utterance in my hearing.

On the other hand, I have constantly heard the officers and missionaries of the American board express regret that the policy of imperialism was likely to prevail. Hitherto our missionaries have gone to the ends of the earth carrying on their work, and it has never been charged upon them that they were the fore-runners of the colonies to be planted, which in turn were to lead to a protectorate from the home country, if not annexation. Missionaries from England, Germany and France have been open to these charges, and thereby their influence has been greatly narrowed and their efforts misinterpreted, while our own missionaries have been entirely unhampered.

I think I state what would be most generally received by the officers and members of our own board when I say we should be most loth to ask the extension of an American protectorate over any non-Christian country on the ground that thus our missionaries would be more free to carry on their work. We believe that it would be most disastrous to our work to have this step taken, for it would be impossible to separate in the minds of the people missionary enterprise from government interference. It would give the appearance of the propagation of Christianity

and the establishment of Christian institutions through government aid.

We do not believe in this, and want to avoid any such appearance, both before the people to whom we are attempting to carry our best American Christian civilization, and before the world, which is quick to criticise missionary effort and sometimes eager to misinterpret missionary motives.

JAMES L. BARTON.

England to America. "The Lion's Whelp."

(After Maurice Thompson)

The purring mother, stretched at ease within her island lair,  
Throws high her tawny head and sniffs the blood smell on the air.

Slow lifting to her feet she roars across the angry sea,  
"I know thee now, my lion whelp, it can be none but thee!

I feel no more thy milk teeth gaggling at my stingy breast;  
I joy to know thou'st tasted meat, young lion of the West!  
Who said I bore an eagle, that the jungle dark would shun,  
And soar to heaven with eyes that lack unflinching at the sun?

A lie! I know my growling cub, I know that glorious roar;  
I've roared it oft on Indian fields, from Africa's golden shore.  
He smacks his lusty lips, his eyes with blood-red fire are light;  
His drooling jaws are sign of hunger and of prey in sight.

Beneath his paw I see a red man struggling to be free—  
That is our playful way, to tease with hope of liberty—  
What majesty! What lion likeness in that shaggy crest!  
E'en I could not so tear that black man's heart from out his breast.

We'll hunt together, cub, on every land, by every sea,  
And when we find a man not shirk responsibility.  
O lion's whelp! I hear thy roar across the roaring main—  
Thou art my cub, thou art the true (improved), imperial strain."

—Caesar's Ghost.

"What Shall We Do With the Philippines?"  
EX-SECRETARY JOHN SHEPHERD.

"I express my well-considered opinion that the United States ought not to accept sovereignty over the Philippines, but should secure the inherent rights of the people of those islands to form and maintain a republican government similar to our own."

# SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

## Anti-Imperialist Leaflet No. 16.

Extracts from the Speech of Moorfield Story, Esq., at Faneuil Hall, Boston, June 15, 1898

We are here to insist that a war begun in the cause of humanity shall not be turned into war for empire, that an attempt to win for Cubans the right to govern themselves shall not be made an excuse for extending our sway over alien peoples without their consent.

The fundamental principles of our government are at stake.

To seize any colony of Spain and hold it as our own, without free consent of its people, is a violation of the principles upon which this Government rests, which we have preached to the world for a century, and which we pledged ourselves to respect when this war was declared.

It should be enough that if we adopt this policy of conquest we are false to our principles and false to our express promises. But the case does not end here. We not only abandon the boasted Monroe doctrine, upon which, with its recent extensions, we were insisting a few years ago. We not only disregard that wise policy of non-intervention in European troubles, which Washington taught and which until now we have followed. We become a military power, burdened with a standing army and an enormous navy, threatened with complications thousands of miles away, and exposed to constant apprehension. We take up the burden which is crushing Europe.

When Rome began her career of conquest, the Roman republic began to decay. The spoils of the provinces debauched the Senate, and the Government which conquered Hannibal fell at the touch of Cæsar. The French republic did not long survive the conquests of Napoleon. For an imperial system the concentrated power of an emperor is essential.

I do not understand this new patriotism which teaches the duty of exposing our fellow-men to war, pestilence and famine. I had thought it the statesman's true ambition "to scatter plenty o'er a smiling land." It is on the poor that the burdens of war inevitably fall and who reap the least share of its glories. Our last war, which ended more than thirty years ago, left wounds which are still open in the shape of taxes, pensions and difficulties of every kind. Let us record our solemn protest against any policy which will increase our burdens, enhance our difficulties, widen our responsibilities, and at the same time subvert the principles upon which our liberty rests. Let us insist that this country shall still deserve to be praised as "she who lifts up the manhood of the poor," and not exchange this genuine glory for the illusions of wealth and dominion.

Extracts from Speech of Gamaliel Bradford at Anti-Imperialist Meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, June 15, 1898.

Let us try to picture the consequences. It seems certain that those eastern seas are to become a gigantic arena for strife for the nations of Europe and Asia. With those islands we shall have a hand stretched out among them for anyone either to grasp at or to strike. When Germany took Alsace and Lorraine in 1870, it meant that she must remain armed to the teeth for two hundred years to come. They have already cost many times more than they are worth from the material, not to mention the moral side. With those islands we should never have in the next century a moment of security from foreign war. We must keep our coast fortified from Oregon to New Brunswick at a cost which the imagination reels to contemplate. We must have by the hundred those marine monsters, the first cost of each of which would keep the poor of a great city in comfort for a year. We must have an immense standing army, for which sufficient service would not always be voluntary. And so to a population bowed down with debt and taxes beyond what any nation has ever felt would come that last of human miseries, an enforced military conscription.

SHAKESPEARE puts his warning for us into the mouth of Queen Elinor, in King John:

"This might have been prevented and made whole,

With very easy arguments of love; Which now the manage of two kingdoms must

With fearful bloody issue arbitrate."

Or, as Cardinal Pandolph says in the same play,—shall we not find if we

"Give the signal to our race, And stalk in blood to our possessions" that

"It cannot be The misplaced John (athan) should entertain an hour,

One minute, nay, one quiet breath of rest.

A sceptre, snatch'd with an unruly hand

Must be as boisterously maintained as gain'd,

And he that stands upon a slippery place,

Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up."

## Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D. C.

Extracts from Speech of Rev. Charles G. Ames at Faneuil Hall, Boston, June 15, 1898:

Those who object to the programme of imperialism are told that they lack imagination; that their view of the great possibilities of the future is bounded and obscured by obsolete traditions—traditions of a policy which suited the infancy of the nation, but has been outgrown with its baby-clothes. Imagination is a divine faculty, but it has its dangers. It offers us two pictures of that possible future. In one we may see puissant young America, expanding with vital energy, and taking an ever-enlarging part in the best life of the world; moving in the fore-front of the nations along the lines of orderly progress; still free from entangling alliances, yet winning and deserving the confidence and cooperation, not alone of English-speaking peoples, but of all the powers of the Old World; our flag everywhere the herald of peaceful and honest commerce; our example everywhere the rebuke of despotism and the strong support of freedom and justice; our diplomacy everywhere active to avert wars and to promote disarmament through international treaties of arbitration and neutralization of the oceans, as we long ago joined in neutralizing the great inland lakes. In the other picture we see America sinking to the level of those monarchies which rest on brute force, which crush their populations under cruel burdens of taxation, which centralize power at the expense of freedom, and which rarely hesitate to foment wars in order to extend their territory or to open doors for their trade.

I trust that we shall everywhere leave better order than we found; but to swallow these islands whole may prove a more indigestible meal than all the imported material we are trying to incorporate into our body politic at home.

Let us face the facts and the underlying problem. We speak with contempt of the Spanish title to the islands. What other title can we acquire by conquest? Next we must govern, either with or without the consent of the people. If with their consent, it must be expressed through republican forms; that is, by suffrage. Is there a man in America who wishes those seven millions of Malays, Negritos and Chinamen for fellow-citizens and joint rulers of this republic? But if we govern them without their consent, it must be by military occupation,—by force; that is, by the Spanish method, though we shall not copy the Spanish cruelty. There is no third possibility; we must set up our home form of government,—state or territorial,—or we must have a governor-general, backed by soldiers, and supported by a navy much more powerful than would be required for a mere protectorate, which does not require annexation or control.

The Temptation of the American Church, by the Rev. William H. P. Faunce, D. D., of New York, Baptist.

Three impulses are urging the people of the United States at the present time toward Asiatic empire—the military, the commercial and the missionary. The military impulse is one against which the citizens of a republic should need no warning. The commercial impulse, in itself legitimate, naturally "wants the earth," and has no scruples as to how it gets the earth. But how about the missionary idea? Many of the church people of this country favor Asiatic colonies, with the dim idea that somehow, since the United States is a Christian nation, the bigger the United States becomes the bigger the Kingdom of Heaven will become also. Is this true? I believe it to be totally false. Because, with all my heart, I believe in foreign missions, I disbelieve in Asiatic colonies as appendages to the American republic.

"Land of the noble free,  
Thy name I love."

He who loves the nobility and freedom of his country is the only true patriot. He who loves the idea enshrined in his country's history, he who is forever loyal to the principle embodied in the institutions of the nation, he who wants to see that idea and that principle permeate all nations and become the faith of all mankind—he, and he alone, loves his country.

But our people have been taken up into an exceeding high mountain and shown all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the spirit of empire, so mighty as to be almost visible, is saying: "All these will I give thee, O fair young nation of the West, all these will I give thee—gems of the Indies, isles of the southern sea, great slices of Celestial empire, dazzling orient pearl and gold,—if thou wilt fall down and worship Me, Spirit of Force, Spirit of Empire, anti-republican, anti-American, anti-Christ!"

We can give the Malays and Negritos and Chinese nothing that we do not possess ourselves. The first shot fired by American soldiers at a people fighting for their independence, will be another "shot heard round the world," and will be a shot fired under the American flag against all that for which the flag stands. Let us, by some unequivocal declaration, show to the world, that we still possess, not only the spirit of '76, but the spirit of the first Christian message: "Peace on earth, good will to men."

# SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

Anti-Imperialist Leaflet No. 17.

## "THE PRESENT CRISIS."

Extracts from Editor's Table of the New England Magazine, Boston, July 1899, by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, its Editor.

(This comprehensive review of our duty as a nation, and as citizens, in this crisis, should be read by everyone, either in the magazine, or as published in pamphlet form, by George Ellis, Boston, at five cents a copy.)

It is this absorbing and merciless commercialism which has betrayed us into the militarism and indifference to the rights and aspirations of men lower than ourselves struggling for freedom, which two years ago or one year ago we should all have united to decry and which, in any other nation, we should all decry today. For none of us surely in cold blood can doubt what we should say were England, Germany or Russia acting our part in the Philippines,—had either of these powers taken the islands as indemnity at a time when their people, after years of oppression and heroic resistance, had almost achieved success and independence, and then, refusing even to discuss with them, proposing to them the sole alternative of unquestioning submission or "ruin," dubbing them "rebels" when they had never owed allegiance and the only claim to their allegiance was that of conquest or purchase—there is no doubt, we say, what America would have said to England or Germany playing this part. Should we have thought worse of the Philippine people, or better, for resisting to the death in such a situation? Should we not have said that their resistance was the best proof of their character and of their right to a chance? Certainly we should have said it; it is a menace to our freedom, it is a menace to our souls, for any one of us to say that we should not have said it.

If some Under Foreign Secretary had replied to an interpellation in the House of Commons, that the purpose of the government was simply to train these people rightly to self-government, America would have reminded England that she was destroying the prestige and power of precisely that body of the people which had evinced capacity for government, capacity to organize and lead, to rise against oppression, to command enthusiasm, to command money, to maintain armies, and to wage long war against overwhelming odds. She would have reminded her that to the disinterested and impartial eye her course seemed calculated only to make sure her own supremacy, not to promote in this people self-reliance, self-help, a free spirit and a hopeful growth. She would have mocked her efforts to minimize and vulgarize the struggle by dubbing it a "Tagal riot" or what not;

and she would have told her that it was more creditable to herself and to her armies to recognize that the force which proved a match for them so long, so successfully, and with such ever-growing energy was a large thing than to label it a little thing, a force that had strong popular support rather than a force that could give but half its attention to the enemy in front.

Let us not juggle with ourselves. All that is vital in this unhappy people, all that commands the future, all that we should name were the case not our own, is animate with the passion for liberty and independence. The question is not of them; the question is of us. The question is, how has it become possible that the spectacle of such a passion and such a struggle should fail to stir any American heart? How is it possible that this democracy, a century after Washington, should prostitute itself to the mouldy and poisonous doctrine that "sovereignty"—sovereignty over unconsulted, unconsenting and protesting millions of men—is something to be bought and sold?

Abraham Lincoln once said: "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us; our defence is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

No word was ever truer, nor more immediately true. No democracy can play the emperor and remain democracy; the mere temptation to it is evidence of taint. The moment that it exercises an outside oppression, that moment oppression asserts prerogatives within.

Mr. John Fiske has surveyed the cause of Rome's decay for us in vain if he has not shown us that which taints the blood at the extremities sooner or later taints it at the heart. If there be such a thing as treason still, then treason to this republic is still what it was in 1861, the denial of the equal rights of men; it is not in the circulation, if all over the Pacific seas, of pamphlets upon "Criminal Aggression" and "The Hell

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of War," pamphlets with no word in them which was not elemental truth to every enlightened American from Benjamin Franklin to Charles Sumner. We laugh at the hysterical feebleness of a cabinet frightened by such tracts; we say with the western journalist that the theatrical proceedings against Mr. Atkinson remind us of "government in comic opera"; we think how ridiculous poor George the Third and Lord North would have appeared even to the England of a century ago trying to keep Chatham's speeches from getting to Hutchinson and Sam Adams. Yet after all such things are not chiefly farcical. These cheap and easy resorts to petty despotism are the debasing effects of the sudden military habit, even upon the best of men; they are wholesome reminders of what militarism means, when fully grown; reminders too that liberty and law are not safe in any nation for a moment when men grow careless about the proper forms and methods of liberty and law. \* \* \*

When General Wheeler, in 1861, felt that his country was wrong, he took up arms against her,—and still declares his cause was true and just. His text in Boston on Memorial Day was, "My country, right or wrong!" He was a nobler figure far in 1861 than as the preacher of this devil's doctrine. There is no doctrine which is poisoning the blood of this republic today like this. There is no man so hopeless as he who knows nothing higher than his country and who feels it his duty to stand by his country in any cause to which she is committed, whether it be right or wrong. This republic is full today of this paralyzing fatalism, full of men who believe the country is in error even in sin, but who believe it must still be kept on its course, because the course has been decreed. It is the ultimate political skepticism; but it speaks in the home and on the street, with the preacher's tongue and the editor's pen. \* \* \*

There are men in this country who believe that our course in the Philippines is thoroughly right; that, going there by accident or sudden military need, we found an unforeseen opportunity to destroy Spanish rule, and it was a good thing to do it; that the Aguinaldo government is not competent to govern well, and so it is a good thing to destroy that and subject the people to ourselves, not simply in the interests of our industry and trade, but in the interests of general peace and progress. The leaps in the logic of this position, the astigmatism of its look at facts, its sense of what is great and what is small, of what progress is, and of what right and wrong are, are to us appalling; but we can respect the position; we do at least respect a hundred noble men who hold it. They seem to us faithful blind men.

But the position of the multitudes thousands of men, in the republic who

speak with a boldness and brutality only one degree greater than what is common, is the position of faithless men who see. It is faithlessness to civilization, faithlessness to humanity, faithlessness to our democracy itself,—to that higher law through love of which and fear of which and obedience to which alone can this democracy or any state continue to stand at all. It is a state of mind, says Ruskin, greatly to be dreaded, not to know the devil when you see him. More dreadful is the state of the mind whose immorality is obedience to the higher law.

Immoral to turn back from recognized error and undo confessed wrong—immoral to do right! It is expedient, it is hard necessity, it is sometimes solemn duty, when in some dreadful strait the very life of the state is at stake, for the citizen to be silent when he would else protest because diversion to a little wrong might waken a great right. But such occasions are rare indeed in history; it is impious even to remember them in the vicious escapades of nations revelling in insolent power. Immoral to "support the government" in wrong and folly! Say it to Chatham and to Burke, to the great company of the English immortals who rejoiced in London at the news from Bunker Hill and Saratoga. Say it to Victor Hugo when to "support the government" meant to support Napoleon the Little in subjugating Mexico. Say it to Charles Sumner when the government meant the Quays and Platts and Hannas of James K. Polk.

Support the government! We, the people, are the government. "The People is the sovereign of this country," how often we need to remember that great word of Edward Everett Hale's:—"the People is sovereign here; the People is the fountain of honor here; the President is the servant of the People." This is not a government by Presidents; it is a government by the people, a government by public opinion; and to the making of that government wise and righteous it is the duty of every citizen to contribute. The President has no knowledge of important facts which every citizen may not have. As the chief servant of the people, he has no right to important knowledge which he does not share with them; and in the present crisis he has frankly told us that he has not any. In the great town meeting of democracy the responsibility comes home to every man alike to the selectman and the other; and no man can stone for what he confesses to be sin and shame by any mandarin talk about "supporting the government."

# SAVE THE REPUBLIC.

Anti-Imperialist Leaflet No. 21.

## The Humbug of Oriental Trade.

Editor of the Springfield Republican:

At various times recently there have appeared so many glittering generalities concerning the possibilities of oriental trade and the opportunities for the exploitation of American capital in the Philippines, that I beg the courtesy of your valuable paper to throw some definite light on the subject. It is universally conceded that the development of tropical countries is possible only where there is a dense population, or where a system of contract labor is enforced. Owing to the shortness of the periods for planting and gathering and the perishable nature of the products, labor must not only be promptly available, but certain. In the case of a dense population or of imported or contract labor, there can be no benefit to the American laborer. The population of the Philippines is four times as dense as that of the United States.

But it is said that China, parceled out to modern nations, will vastly extend our trading opportunities. Let us judge from analogy. England has devoted her best efforts to India. After a century spent in subjugating the various races, the process of "benevolent assimilation" is being helped along by a never-ending flow of capital from the mother country. Yet she receives small thanks from her wards. They have their own notions of happiness and their simple needs are few and easily supplied by native hands.

The import trade of India and its dependencies, including Ceylon, and the net trade of the Straits Settlements—fully 300,000,000 people—is only \$284,000,000, about a third more than the import trade of Australia, with a population of less than 5,000,000. The per capita consumption of imported merchandise of the Asiatic possessions of England is only 97 cents, while that of Australia amounts to \$41.66.

These are the lands of fabled wealth. The people of antiquity and the middle ages dreamed of riches inexhaustible in connection with them, and even today we are told that the wealth of nations largely depends on direct trade with the East. Those who take the trouble to inform themselves know better. The country cannot be rich whose millions find happiness in a sufficient supply of millet and rice, where a few yards of cotton cloth make a full dress-suit, and whose mechanics earn from 10 to 12 cents a day. The figures given in this letter are taken from Appleton's Popular Science monthly and there can be no doubt as to their correctness.

To follow the tortuous trend of colonial expansion let us turn to Africa. Germany, the latest comer there, is eagerly taking up her colonizing mission. The result is a fine set of government buildings, with garden spots and harbor improvements in the settlement at Camaroon, and a well-stocked grave-

yard of what were once good German boys—victims of the deadly climate and the expansion policy. The contribution of the German government to the administration fund of the African colonies is \$5,194,000. This does not include the expense of maintaining the military and naval forces stationed in the German-African settlements. The annual importation of all the colonies, including New Guinea, amounted to \$2,261,000, so it costs the German government more than \$1 to enable its subjects to do a dollar's worth of trade in its expanded possessions.

France has been in possession of territories in Africa for over 200 years. She has also had extensive possessions in India for centuries, besides some in America. These territories have a population of about 22,000,000, and 23,000,000 in Africa; still the export of French merchandise to all her colonies amounts to only 95,000,000 francs. If we include the allowance for colonial service for the naval and military budget, France has colonial expense that exceeds the amount of her colonial export trade. The imports from France into her Asiatic and African colonies alone are about \$11,000,000, while her direct expense is \$14,000,000, or \$3,000,000 over and above the amount of her exports to her colonies.

Italy's colonial attempts in Africa, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, have borne the ordinary harvest of failure and disaster. The entire import trade of Massowah, with its "open door" to which the whole world contributed and which was largely a transit trade, amounted to only \$5,000,000 per annum. Italy's yearly expenditure on account of her Red Sea possessions was \$24,000,000. No wonder that thousands of Italians seek our shores, fleeing from their "White Man's Burden."

The foregoing figures speak for themselves. The tropics will never be endurable for northern man. Labor and exertion on his part, under the vertical rays of a deadly sun, are entirely out of the question. Those who would attempt the trial, after the manner of the temperate zone, would only succeed the sooner in reaching the white man's settlement in the tropics—disease and death. The present alleged satisfactory conditions in the Dutch East India settlements have been reached after a great deal of disappointment, loss and bloodshed; still the Dutch government has an annual deficiency of about \$4,000,000, and this in Java, the richest part of the Malay world, which has been in the possession of Europe's most enlightened people for over a century.

The imports of Australasia, Argentina, Uruguay and the Cape of Good Hope, mostly inhabited by Caucasians and numbering only 11,000,000 in population, amount to \$44,000,000 annually, equaling the trade of China, Japan, Persia and India, with their 750,000,000

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of orientals. It will thus be seen that the cry that our trade with the Orient will be large, by reason of its teeming millions of inhabitants, or that that trade can be increased by closer contact, is a mockery and a delusion.

All the ends of trade can be obtained without territorial expansion. The key to trade and commerce lies in the best terms and the best value. The fable that "trade follows the flag" is fit only for children or fools. The Golden Rule is a better trade opener than the cannon's mouth. The trader and not the admiral governs the field. Today we are supplying the people of England and Scotland with pig iron, steel rails, steam engines and various kinds of manufactured goods. Trade does not "follow the flag" into Great Britain.

But, on the other hand, it is argued that the Philippines offer an opportunity for the exploitation of American capital. This assumes two propositions: First, that we have capital to spare; and, second, that the Philippines offer the best field for its investment. As to the first, the fact that we are at present paying \$150,000,000 interest annually to Europe, on a borrowed capital of \$3,000,000,000, is a complete answer in the negative. We not only have no capital to burn in the Philippines, but we borrow three billions of dollars for our present uses, and this is but a fraction of what we need. Many of our railroads are built and run by English capital.

Our exports increased from \$522,000,000 in 1872 to \$1,230,000,000 in 1898. None of the countries of Europe with their "colonies" and "charter companies" and "spheres of influence" can show any such increase, burdened as they are with immense standing armies. In England, the mother of colonies, trade is at a standstill, and her people are taxed to the limit of endurance, and in the face of all this we are asked to go into the colonial and imperial business, with the military burden of our unsuccessful rivals. For colonial possessions, standing armies and heavy taxes go hand in hand.

We have illimitable supplies of iron and coal, without going outside of the United States. These, with our progress in the use of electricity, will give us the lead in the world's trade. In fact, our internal development has only begun. There were in 1891 120,000,000 acres of desert land in the United States that might be redeemed by irrigation so as to produce cereals and fruits and all that man needs. These lands are vacant, at our door. Besides, we have 73,000,000 acres of drainable swamp lands and marshes in close proximity to water transportation and the large cities of the seaboard. Yet these lands, in our own healthy climate, are neglected, while we spend untold millions in the Philippines. At present we are spending at the rate of half a million dollars a day on our army and navy.

One year's expenditure at this rate would irrigate a large part of our desert lands and provide drainage for millions of acres of swamps, thus furnishing labor for thousands of our unemployed and homes and farms for millions of the landless.

As to the claims that the Philippines are needed to furnish us with tropical products, it is only necessary to call attention to their great distance from us, and the fact that there is sufficient area on the American continent to meet all our needs in that respect. It is 10,000 miles from New York to Manila, and 7,000 from San Francisco to that city. At present we are supplying our troops in the Philippines with beef and other provisions from Australia. It is but a short distance from our own shores to Havana, and a little more than 1,000 miles to South America. A large part of our tropical trade is in green fruits, which it is not practical to bring from the Philippines, while there is no limit to our trade in them with the West Indies and South America.

There are only two Asiatic productions, manila hemp and tea, that are not already produced on our own continent, and these can and may be introduced here. We get the greater part of our tea from India, which is fast driving China out of the tea trade—and still people talk of our growing commerce with China. Nearly all our coffee comes from Central and South America. Two-fifths of our sugar comes from Europe and the rest from different sources in the tropics. We have it on good authority that all the sugar we need can be grown on half of the island of Porto Rico. Nearly all our India rubber comes from South America.

Trade follows degrees of longitude not parallels of latitude. The American countries south of us supply all that we need, outside of our own productions. Let us build the Nicaragua canal, which we can do with the cost of 300 days of Philippine war, and then Nature's American lake, the Caribbean sea, will be situated between North and South America. Not all the blood and treasure of the United States can ever make the Pacific ocean an American lake. Traders will never go 7,000 miles to develop tropical lands, when a much larger and more valuable area is within a few hundred miles of them, here at home on their own continent.

It is not necessary to have government control to develop our trade and commerce. The Monroe doctrine, and our proximity to the countries of South America, give us a clear field there, if we do not waste our energies in the ignis fatuus of oriental exploitation, which can be of little benefit to either capital or labor in this country, and whose only effect would be large armies, heavy taxes and fat offices for politicians.

PATRICK O'FARRELL.  
Washington, D. C., September 1, 1899.