

EXPANDED AMERICA. No. 6.

The Purchase of Alaska and the Annexation of Hawaii, Tutuila and Guam.

Alaska belonged to Russia by right of discovery and occupation. Our navigators had made discoveries up to that time, and the question as to where our claims ended and Russia's began, which was settled by the treaty of 1824, fixing the southern limit of Russian America at 54 deg. 40 min.

Alaska was not regarded as good for much of anything save furs and fishes, but the treaty with Russia did not accord as good fishing privileges to American fishermen as the Pacific coast states thought their interests demanded, and petitions went to Congress from the northwest to have a more liberal treaty made with Russia.

In making overtures to Russia for a cession of fishing privileges to the Alaskan banks it was found that the whole of Alaska might readily be bought, and it was bought March 29, 1867, for \$7,250,000.

There was no supreme national necessity for the buying of Alaska. There was no clamor by American residents for the annexation of Alaska. It was never intended that Alaska should be admitted into the Union as a state.

It was not annexed in order that there might be an extension either of slavery or of American liberty. It was simply in the market, the price was cheap enough, there were advantages enough in sight to make it worth the money, and we bought it.

The consent of the 60,000 people living in Alaska was not asked for or offered. There was a stipulation in the treaty of annexation that the white people in Alaska should have the rights of American citizens, but, as in all other cases, those rights were guaranteed by treaty stipulation and not by mere operation of the constitution.

The constitutional right to purchase was held to have been established by unbroken precedent from Jefferson down.

It has been anticipated from the first that Alaska would always remain a territory and never become a state, and yet the Constitution has not fallen apart and free government has not perished.

The story of Hawaii is briefly told. American missionaries established themselves in the islands and taught the native people as much of the ways of civilization as possible. American and European capital became interested in productive enterprise, bringing prosperity to the islands. The native government did not properly safeguard the industrial interests. Representatives of the industrial interests brought the native government more and more under their influence until they finally absorbed it and discarded its monarchical features and established a republic.

The young republic sought annexation with the great republic and is now a part of it.

Congress set up a territorial government for Hawaii and extended the American Constitution to the islands by special enactment. By that act the citizens of Hawaii are made citizens of the United States. They are as free as the people of California and as well governed. No wrong has been inflicted upon them by annexation, but their condition has been bettered, and, thanks to a progressive Republican policy, the United States now holds the key to the trade of the Pacific.

We Americanized Hawaii and annexed it because we wanted it. It was a great national necessity that afforded the justification and the constitutional warrant, just as in the cases of the annexation of Louisiana under Jefferson and of Florida under Monroe.

Tutuila is one of the Samoan group of islands in the south seas. For many years there has been a great deal of trade in the South Sea islands, and as the Samoan group early became important for traffic, English, German and American traders soon came into sharp competition there. The respective governments above mentioned established consulates there, and out of the mutual rivalry of association and of commercial interest there arose in 1890 a tripartite agreement for the government of the islands.

This tripartite agreement was not adhered to in good faith by Germany, and friction between the powers and intestine strife among the natives resulted. It seemed better, therefore, to dissolve the agreement and take the islands in severalty. This has recently been done, the United States taking the Tutuila group (which, however, had been ceded to the United States by the natives in 1878), Germany taking the rest of the islands, and Great Britain retiring from them altogether.

Guam is an island in the Ladrones group directly in the track of our trans-Pacific commerce, and it came to us as a result of the war with Spain. It will make an excellent and needed harbor of refuge and naval cable station.

According to the Bryan moral philosophy the acquisition of Hawaii, Tutuila and Guam were instances of criminal aggression, but prudent people will see in such acquisitions instances of wise forethought and common-sense action on the part of a common-sense administration.

We acquired these insular possessions because they are important strategic points to enable us to extend our commerce and furnish needed refuges in time of war for our commercial and naval marine. Hawaii is at the focus of trans-Pacific commerce. Guam has a fine harbor and will make a splendid naval or coaling station. Tutuila contains the splendid harbor of Pangopango, the only perfectly safe and landlocked harbor in the Samoan group if not in the south seas.

There are several thousand inhabitants on these islands who consent to their acquisition by the United States was not asked nor ascertained by any vote of the people living on them. Our government wisely concluded that the commercial and naval interests of 75 to 80 millions of people could not be made subject to the preferences of a few thousand half-dressed islanders who do not know what is for their own good.

For what is for their own good, we have seen, a century of unvarying Jeffersonian and Democratic precedent to warrant it.

will be very useful adjuncts to an expanding American commerce. A man-of-war out of coal is as helpless as a ferry-boat stranded on a sandbar, and it may be taken as a fixed principle of Republican policy to provide independent and convenient naval and coaling stations wherever on this round world such stations can be had and are likely to advantage our commerce, industry and naval power and efficiency. The Bryan platform professes itself "unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution, and which people can never become citizens."

EXPANDED AMERICA. No. 7.

Why We Took Porto Rico and What We Are To Do With It.

Porto Rico was taken from the Spanish government primarily that a nation which once possessed the greater part of the continent of North and South America, and had lost every colony planted, because of having oppressed and plundered their people, might not have so much as one small island left in the western hemisphere to occasion another interference by Uncle Sam on behalf of humanity. This done the final word could be written at the end of the final volume of the unhappy history of Spanish influence in America, and almost the last vestige of a sixteenth century civilization could be erased from the new world.

But Porto Rico was also wanted for strategic reasons. If Cuba was to be an independent nationality it stood our country in hand to have a naval outpost betwixt that country and Europe. A growing commerce with South America likewise demands a home port in the western Indies.

In short Porto Rico was taken from Spain because the opportunity to take it was at hand, and because Porto Rico is necessary to our own national welfare, so necessary, in fact, that its being taken or left could not be submitted to the preferences of the illiterate and uninformed people of Porto Rico. Therefore, and in accordance with a Jeffersonian precedent, the consent of the governed was not asked. The interests of 80 millions of Americans outweighed the interests of the million beings who make shift somehow to live on that island.

There is no provision in the treaty of cessation for making Porto Rico a state in the American Union. Its future is to be determined by Congress, and Congress will determine its future as its necessities may require.

An interesting constitutional question has been raised by the followers of Mr. Bryan in regard to Porto Rico as to whether or not the Constitution follows the flag, "ex proprio vigore," as the lawyers say. The policy of the administration has proceeded on the hypothesis that it does not. The Bryan platform declares specifically that it does. The Republican party leaves the question for the unbiased determination of the Supreme Court, unswayed by partisan contentions, as all such questions ought always to be left.

It may properly be said, however, that there are two lines of decisions of the courts on this question. One followed by the great Thomas Marshall and followed by judges who stood for liberty and for a broad and liberal construction of the organic law of the land. The other line of decisions had Roger B. Taney for its progenitor and was first judicially enunciated in the infamous Dred Scott decision, though it was made to do political service in the interest of a forced extension of human slavery into the free territories of the republic under the contention of John C. Calhoun, who declared that the Constitution carried slavery thither ex proprio vigore. Pro-slavery judges followed the precedent thus established.

It is superfluous to remark that the Bryan forces have championed the old pro-slavery precedent, while the Republican congress took the view laid down by Thomas Marshall and a long line of progressive and liberty-loving jurists.

As to the people of Porto Rico, 85 per cent of them own no taxable property and are unable to read or write in any language, which makes self-government an unthinkable proposition. Porto Rico has an assessed valuation of about 100 millions, mortgaged for 26 millions and depressed by unproductive conditions. Therefore a sufficient revenue for enlightened government could not be at once obtained by direct taxation. To supplement the taxes a tariff of 15 per cent of our revenue was levied upon goods going to Porto Rico from the United States and coming from Porto Rico to the United States. All the money thus raised is to go to Porto Rico. This tariff expires of itself in two years, when it is to be hoped that a system of direct and internal taxation will make its continuance needless.

A great to-do has been raised over this tariff by the Bryanite party and press, but when the American people see and appreciate the truth that the tariff is only 15 per cent of what we pay; that every dollar that is collected at both ends of the line goes to Porto Rico for schools and roads and relief work; that the local government of Porto Rico can have the tariff annulled at any time by devising and putting into operation an adequate system of local taxation, and finally, that the tariff expires by limitation in two years from its enactment; when the people learn this to be true, as it is true, they will not only justify the tariff and the party that enacted it, but will discover that the Bryanites have made of it only another bogey of a bogey campaign.

Whether or not the Constitution is to follow the flag is for the Supreme Court of the United States to determine, but this much the Republican party has already determined; the American school-house must follow the flag, and the Constitution cannot follow effectively where the schoolhouse has not done the pioneer work of preparation. The tariff of 15 per cent of what we pay was imposed upon Porto Rico by the servanism of the Republican party. Local issues, everywhere in favor of the Democrats, have failed to influence voters to abandon the main issue.

"It is both right and reasonable that the administration which, despite some mistakes, carried this glorious war to a successful conclusion, should receive a vote of confidence. It is both right and reasonable that the policy of expansion, ever the policy of the American people since Jefferson annexed the Louisiana territory, should receive the approval of the American voters, Republican and Democratic.

THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY HERECY A-RAIGNED.

"The Democratic national leaders have been narrow and stupid beyond belief, and the Journal and Examiner have warned them time and again of the inevitable results of their stupidity. The Democratic press and the Democrats in congress urged and brought on the war, and then the Democratic leaders, under the control of Bailey, and influenced by petty jealousy, forced the Democratic party into an attitude of opposition to the Democratic policy of expansion, to the very principles of Jefferson, the father of American Democracy.

"The suicidal attitude of the Democratic leaders began with the opposition to the annexation of Hawaii. These leaders proposed driving a Democratic congress into caucus to oppose annexation. The Journal sent its representative editors to Washington and fought this caucus and broke it up, and prevented the Democrats from making a formal and conspicuous idiot of itself on that occasion. But the narrowness of the leaders continued and developed a tendency to oppose every Republican act, even though it embodied a Democratic principle.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERS DO NOT SPEAK FOR THE DEMOCRACY.

"Democratic defeat is not due to the Democratic people or to Democratic principles, but to Democratic leaders who, having, as we say, brought on the war, refused to share the honors of the war or to acquire for the people the lasting benefits of the war. The Democratic leaders do not speak for the Democracy, and Republicans have everywhere been elected with the aid of Democratic votes.

This has been the misfortune of the trust problem. Those who believe in the cure of economic ills by vociferous declamation have so caught the public ear that it is difficult for one who has done real investigating to command a hearing.

In its origin the trust was a perfectly natural attempt on the part of those who had suffered from a disastrous and excessive competition to get together and, somehow, so arrange their affairs by agreement as to live and let live.

To accomplish this a real, bona fide trust was created, the competing firms agreeing upon trustees who were empowered to handle the joint business, each firm continuing to own its property and to manage that property locally under only a general direction of the trustees.

Some of these trusts contented themselves with merely making economies in management by acting co-operatively, while others sought to use their newly acquired power in raising prices to consumers, boycotting traders who bought elsewhere and otherwise exercising monopolistic and despotic functions.

The result was that legislators began to make war upon illegal associations of corporate organizations, and the net results up to date of this anti-trust legislation is that all these illegal combinations of corporations have been driven into great single corporations instead.

The last condition is worse than the first. There are few, if any, trusts left, and the trust-forming craze has spent itself, but there are many gigantic corporations in the places of the trusts which control vast enterprises and, at present at least, seem to be superior to legislative control.

How to control these great corporations, which are not trusts at all, is the real trust problem. The injurious effects of these great corporations are, mainly, that they seek to acquire a monopoly in the article produced, with the view of advancing prices unjustly to consumers; that they engulf all the smaller producers in one large concern and reduce independent producers to salaried men or wage earners; that they employ unfair means in breaking down competition; that they restrain production and so retard progress, and that, by unscrupulous methods of stock manipulation, they rob speculative investors.

It will suffice, in this article, to show the attitude of the two great political parties toward the real trust, or monopoly problem.

The Bryan party is vehement. Metaphorically speaking, it chews soap and expatiates great, billowy breakers of suds over the trust monstrosity, but proposes very little that is of practical utility. Being an enemy to the protective tariff, it proposes to kill all industries involved in "trusts" by putting their products on the free list, thus burning the house to be rid of the rats, punishing labor with capital, the innocent with the guilty. In short, the Bryan policy is one of indiscriminate destruction. As there are no longer any trusts or combinations of corporations, but instead great single corporations, it will be seen that the Bryanites are mostly how-wowing up the wrong tree.

The policy of the Republican party is different. It does not want to punish labor in order to punish capital. It does not want to break down a home monopoly merely to become subject to a foreign monopoly. It does not desire to tie the hands of legitimate industry by making it difficult for capital to associate itself productively, for it knows that upon such productive association of capital the industrial health and progress of the nation depends, but it does most heartily desire to restrain the evil tendencies of capitalist combinations without hampering beneficent tendencies.

The Republican party sought to do this, first, by giving congress power to act. As the situation now stands, the several states have no power over interstate commerce and the national government has no power over commerce within the several states. Therefore, there is no single law-making power competent to deal with both state and interstate monopoly.

The Republicans in congress proposed to the states a constitutional amendment which would give congress full power to control all sorts of monopolistic combinations. The Bryanite congress voted the proposition down and there it rests.

The well-being of the American people demands that the trust problem—which is a very real problem—be handled with determination, wisdom and power, not with sensation, spectacularism and frenzy. The former is the Republican way of dealing with great problems. The latter is the Bryan method. The former will lead to an ultimate solution of the difficulty. The latter will lead to confusion confounded.

The voter must make choice between these two policies. The prudent voter does not need to be advised which policy to choose. The imprudent voter does not readily submit to being advised. So the case of the "Real Trust Problem" is submitted without argument on this simple statement of facts.

AFTER THE BATTLE. The Examiner Indulges in Sober Reflection After the Sound Drubbing the Democracy Got Two Years Ago.

On the 10th of November, 1898, after the smoke of battle had so far cleared away that the editor owner of the San Francisco Examiner and New York Journal was able to see where the new Democracy was "at," in an editorial signed by W. R. Hearst, the following unflattering declarations were made:

"The vote of this election is a vote of approval for the war and the principle of expansion, and for the greater conservatism of the Republican party. Local issues, everywhere in favor of the Democrats, have failed to influence voters to abandon the main issue.

"It is both right and reasonable that the administration which, despite some mistakes, carried this glorious war to a successful conclusion, should receive a vote of confidence. It is both right and reasonable that the policy of expansion, ever the policy of the American people since Jefferson annexed the Louisiana territory, should receive the approval of the American voters, Republican and Democratic.

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On the next day, November 11, 1898, the Examiner returns to the charge as follows:

"In the exultation of Republicans in their general success, in the chagrin of Democrats over their defeat, the great moral victories of the campaign should not be lost to view. The people rebuked the Democratic leaders for their cowardice and trimming at the time of our great national crisis, but this fact rendered all the more remarkable and noteworthy the rebuke of individual Republicans who have not been true to their public trust."

NOW FOR A POSITIVE DEMOCRACY. On the very next day, November 13, 1898, we find in the Examiner the following clarion call to take up a positive instead of a traditional nagging policy:

"The Democratic party, defeated because of the pusillanimous stupidity of its leaders in Washington, has the chance of a splendid regeneration, by taking up the forgotten doctrine of national expansion and giving all its energies to the furtherance of the national MAXIMIST DESTINY. It is high time to stop snarling at everybody's advance by the Republicans, whether good or indifferent. Give the people some patriotic rallying cries. Set the Democratic standard well in advance of individual progress!

"When it was proposed to annex Hawaii many of the Democratic leaders opposed taking this rich offering so freely tendered. Why? Generally because the annexation was favored by the Republican administration. Therefore the people were practically unanimous for annexation, and the Democratic leaders lost the confidence of the masses by their stupid, purlind opposition. They became mere stumbling blocks in the path of progress.

"Then, when it came to securing military bases in the West Indies those same Democratic leaders chattered and haggled over items of war expenditures. Now again they are giving evidence of opposing the popular will in the matter of the ANNEXTION OF THE PHILIPPINES. It is high time to call a halt. The Democratic party will not follow such leadership. The people already have repudiated it."

The reader will fail to note that the Democratic leaders whom Mr. Hearst has so splendidly condemned in the foregoing paragraphs, and exhorted to repentance, are still leading the Democracy in the same old way; that they are still manifesting the same "pusillanimous stupidity" of "opposing everything advocated by the Republicans," and still manifesting the same "stupid, purlind opposition" to Jeffersonian principles, with the result that they will again be repudiated by true Democrats as they were two years ago.

Sandalwood, which sometimes feeds a bushman's fire, is exported to China for idol incense.

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ORDER IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The American Filipino has little real reason for exulting over the disturbed condition in the Philippine islands. Order is being established there with a facility that must be disheartening to those who habitually rejoice at their country's discomfitures. Bryan papers still point the finger of scorn at General Otis' statement made some months since, to the effect that the "back of the insurrection is broken," but evidence is accumulating to show that the back of the insurrection was broken then and has not been patched since.

As evidence to the truth of this nothing has been more pertinent than the testimony of the Rev. Father McKinnon, who was chaplain of the First California regiment, and afterwards took hold of reorganizing the schools in Manila and who has but recently returned from there. As his testimony, as here given, is taken from the Examiner interview with him it can not be suspected of being an overdrawn statement of the case. It runs as follows:

"The islands are progressing very favorably, and their products this year will be greater than at any time in the last decade. Lieutenant Conners, who has had charge of the sanitation in Manila, has made that city almost as healthy as San Francisco. The people of Manila were never more content, and there was never more money in circulation than there is at present.

"The back of the rebellion is broken, and I do not believe that there will ever be a determined stand made against our soldiers. I believe that one hundred men can march from one end of Luzon to the other. The Filipinos would not attack a full company of soldiers, so wholesome is their respect for them.

"General MacArthur has made a splendid record, and is very popular with the people. His word goes with them, for they know he will keep it. Judge Taft has also made a good impression on the people."

Will some fuming and foaming denunciators of imperialism stop a moment between bursts of eloquence to tell the people what he means by imperialism anyway? No Bryanite writer or speaker has done that yet.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

"WHITE" BICYCLE. Breaks World's Records. At the Saucer Track, Los Angeles. "Ride a 'White' and keep in front and save repair bills." Hardy Downing, the middle distance champion, Feb. 22, broke all world's records from 1 to 15 miles on a 1900 White Bicycle. H. B. Freeman broke the one mile competition record Feb. 18th, on a 1900 "White" Bicycle.

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