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THE PITH OF POLITICS.

(By ARTHUR J PILLSBURY.)

Monarchies have been established on the ruins of republics, and imperialism, masquerading in the habiliments of free government is even now holding sway over millions of men.

These are historical and verifyable facts and justify lovers of free institutions in exercising a keen solicitude on behalf of a liberty that they love and of the perpetuity of institutions which they hold dear.

While this solicitude is not taking a right direction when it permits ambitious petifogogers to create panics by crying "wolf" at the spectre of imperialism it may properly prompt liberty-loving and patriotic men to study well the history of republics in order to determine those causes which led empires to be founded on their ruins. These causes are not far to seek.

* * *

Let us first learn how republics are *not* converted into empires. That will relieve our minds of a load of care.

History does not afford an example in which a republic, by allowing power to become more and more centralized, finally merged into an empire with a monarch on the throne instead of a president in the executive chair.

And history does not afford an instance where a republic, by annexations and extensions of authority over outlying provinces, gradnated into imperialism.

The foregoing would seem, at first thought, to be natural methods of evolution from republics into empires, but there is nothing which a real seeker after truth so needs to guard himself against as accepting as true things which only seem to be true at a first glance, and it is because people are so prone to do this that demogogues are able to mislead the multitude to their own advantage and the public injury.

* * *

Anarchy was ever the mother of monarchy.

It was not until the several states of Greece had so warred against each other that the Greeks had become disheartened with thebelief that they would never again be at peace with themselves that the spirit of imperialism resulted in the founding of the Macedonian empire.

The wars of Marius and Sulla reduced the republic of Rome to faction and anarchy so that the people were glad to do away with pretended self-government that they might enjoy security under an empire founded by Julius Cæsar.

The quarrels of the petty states of Italy and the want of order and security everywhere furnished the foundation for United Italy under the imperial sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel.

The anarchy of Marat and Robespierre was the foundation upon which Napoleon built his empire.

The ineffectual attempts of the English people to preserve order and give safety to life and property amid the contending factions of Independents, Presbyterians and Royalists made Cromwell dictator and finally restored Charles II to the throne of his murdered father.

This has been the course of history through all the ages and so will run its course to the end of time.

* * *

The first step in putting down anarchy is to make some strong man dictator and the next is to make that dictator king.

It is mob law that engenders imperialism and when, under attempted self-goverment, social order is sacrificed to mob law a dictator is soon found and the crowning of that dictator king may not be long delayed.

If the dictator be not crowned king in form he becomes such in fact and imperialism reigns in the habiliments of a pretended republic.

It is so in Mexico where the will of President Diaz is the supreme law of the land. His has been the master hand that brought order out of chaos in that long distracted land and if, unhappily, government under his wise administration has not been *by* the Mexican people it has been most fortunately *for* the Mexican people.

The pretended republics of Central and South America alternating between dictatorships and anarchy are unstable despotisms.

* * *

A country can grow in population, the arts may flourish and wealth may accumulate while a determined war is waging against some other country if only there can be order and security at home.

It was the eighty years in which the Netherlands waged their sanguinary war with Spain that marked the golden age of Dutch painting and letters and made the cities of Holland the financial and industrial centers of Europe.

France prospered as she had not before during the Napoleonic wars, and the northern states of this republic increased in wealth and population while putting down the greatest insurrection in human history.

There is no load which a brave people cannot carry if only they can have at home, peace, security and the orderly reign of law, and when these essentials can not be had otherwise there is nearly always some ambitious, forceful, magnetic man who will undertake to secure them through the instrumentality of a dictatorship and, if possible, perpetuate them through the instrumentality of a dynasty.

* * *

Where, then, are we to look for the real imperialists? for those who "put out most cherished institutions in great peril?" for those who make the issues which will "determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous and honored?"

The real imperialists are those who seek to breed those passions and prejudices, those enmities and jealousies which make men restive under the restraints of law, which incline them to "take the law into their own hands," as they call it, in order to right wrongs that they suffer, or fancy they suffer.

The real imperialist is he who preaches the doctrine of hate, who seeks to make the wage earner believe that the rich have no other purpose than to plunder the poor, who strive by a carping criticism of goverment to bring it into reproach before the people, who seek to divide society into classes and array class against class for the advance of their own political ends—these are the real imperialists.

* * *

And where are such as these to be found? Certainly not in the Republican party. Not a Republican orator will, in this campaign, be a hurler of firebrands into the midst of any assemblage of citizens.

Not a single Republican writer will be found appealing to passion or prejudice. Not one of them will dip his pen in gall in order to write bitterness into the hearts of his readers.

Can the champions of Mr. Bryan say as much? Why, every speech that he delivers is a covert appeal to the antipathies rather than to the reasons of men and his fellows upon the stump are but echoes of their imperial master.

Such is the fatuity of the human understanding that some millions of most excellent citizens will cast their ballots for Mr. Bryan in the forthcoming election, but they will not vote alone. With them will stand every voter in this republic who finds the restraint of law irksome, every voter who wishes to abolish the existing order and substitute another for it, every anarchist, every man who condones assassination for political ends, every man whose love for Grover Cleveland turned to hate on the duy that he overcame the mob in Chicago and established order with force of arms.

In short, there is not a single real imperialist in this republic who, having the right of suffrage and opportunity to exercise it, will not cast his ballot on the 6th of Novembor for William Jennings Bryan.

The writer will not aver that the election of Mr. Bryan would pave the way for imperialism, as no sanely reasonable man will aver that the election of Mr. McKinley will result in establishing an empire on the ruins of this republic, but the forces of imperialism are with Bryan, not McKinley.

The seeds of imperialism were sown in the Wardner riots, in the great streetcar strike at St. Louis, in the fury of the mob at Akron, Ohio, in every instance where the law is overridden and the officers of the law are overcome by mob violence, and every member of every mob will vote, if he vote at all, for William J. Bryan.

The people of America love liberty and respect law, and the danger from anarchy, and a resultant imperialism, is not great; but whatever there is of such risk lies in the election of Mr. Bryan, not in the election of Mr. McKinley.

ONE OF HIS TRICKS OF SPEECH.

Speaking at Chicago of what he calls "government by injunction," Mr. William J. Bryan said:

"The thing forbidden by an injunction would, without the injunction, be either legal or illegal. If it would be legal the judge usurps the functions of the legislature when he forbids it. If it would be illegal, the injunction of the court is unnecessary, for anyone who violates the law can, upon conviction, be made to suffer the penalties prescribed for such violation."

A very effective trick of speech is to so arrange a proposition as to make it appear equally bad for an opponent whether he take one horn of the dilemma or the other. Mr. Bryan is an adept in that species of literary slight-of-hand, and yet a scrutiny at all close, or a sober, second thought, will unfailingly disclose the shallow artifice and discredit the artificer.

When Mrs. Mulligan went into her barn with a candle to milk her cow her action was either legal or illegal. If it was legal, according to Mr. Bryan, anyone who had enjoined her from so doing would have "usurped the functions of the legislature" of Illinois, and if it was illegal, also according to Mr. Bryan, after the excitement over the burning of Chicago had subsided sufficiently to make it possible to secure an impartial jury, Mrs. Mulligan could have been punished for her illegal act.

But the punishing of Mrs. Mulligan for criminal carlessness would hardly have restored the burnt district of Chicago, put life into charred bodies or furnished homes and provisions for the thousands of impoverished people turned into the streets by that great conflagration, now would it?

The purpose of the injunction is to prevent the commission of a crime, to bring to a full stop at the very outset a proceeding that would be certain to result in public injury. After a wrong has been committed the punishment of the guilty does not restore things as they were. Only God can do that and He never does.

This is perfectly evident to one who gives the matter a moment of thoughtfulness.

And so it is with Mr. Bryan's tricks of speech, Scarcely one of them will bear close examination. They are satisfactory to him, for he is superficial in a high degree, but they will not satisfy anyone who is not as superficial as he. The danger is that people will swallow them without looking at them.

Those seemingly bright sayings of Mr. Bryan's should always be shaken before taken.

Must Be Thrashed Into Decency.

Maryland is a close state, and it is especially significant therefore that its gold Democrats and independents are swinging once more into line for President McKinley as they did in 1896. Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte of Baltimore, one of their leaders, declares that he will vote for McKinley and Roosevelt because Bryan's candidacy is "a menace to American institutions and American credit." Of the Democratic party he says, "It must be thrashed into decency and common sense if it is to be once more a party worthy of power, and the more thorough and unmistakable the thrashing the better for it and the better for the country." Such talk as this from one of the Maryland independents forecasts another victory like that which broke Boss Gorman's grip four years ago.—Boston Journal.

The efforts to introduce foreign issues into the campaign have come exclusively from the Democrats. The Republican platform appeals directly to the American voter and his welfare and doesn't evade a single issue.

EXPANDED AMERICA.

No. 8.

The Acquisition of the Philippine Islands and What Is to Be Done With Them.

With the acquisition of the Philippine islands there came an inspiration in the shape of a new national motive. Always theretofore (except in the case of the annexation of Texas and the conquest of California, when an extension of human slavery was an incentive) the sole motive prompting each expansion of the national domain had been the national welfare. We acquired each territory just as a prudent man would acquire a new farm—for his own good and not to oblige some one else.

But in the annexation of the Philippines the nation assumed a great and honorable obligation. We interfered with Spanish policy on behalf of Cuba, but what Cuba had suffered at the hands of Spanish oppression and corruption the Philippines had also suffered. Cuba was near, the Philippines were far—that was the only essential difference—and the sympathies of the Great Republic were broad enough to reach to the farther side of the Pacific ocean.

The political party which, a generation ago, struck the shackles of slavery from four million American negroes has not only freed from outrageous oppression a million and a half of Cubans and a million Porto Ricans, but it has stretched its mighty arms across the sea and liberated ten million lowly people and set them forth to meet an advancing civilization.

* * *

The national obligation assumed was not alone to the Filipino people, but to people of other nationalities resident and having interests among them. It new markets, to acquire and hold strategic points of vantage, to open the way for American capital and American enterprise and bring to bear upon lowly and stagnant peoples an American inspiration for American needs that markets may be developed for American products?

It is not the spirit of commercial greed, but of commercial enterprise that prompts a nation to make available for its own people every coigne of vantage that comes within reach and likely to prove helpful in that world competition from which there is no escape except in oblivion. The life of that nation which does not look out for its own people will prove brief and inglorious.

* * *

Despite the hue-and-cry which the Bryan partisans are making in a bogy campaign there is little difference in declared policy between the great parties as to the Philippine question.

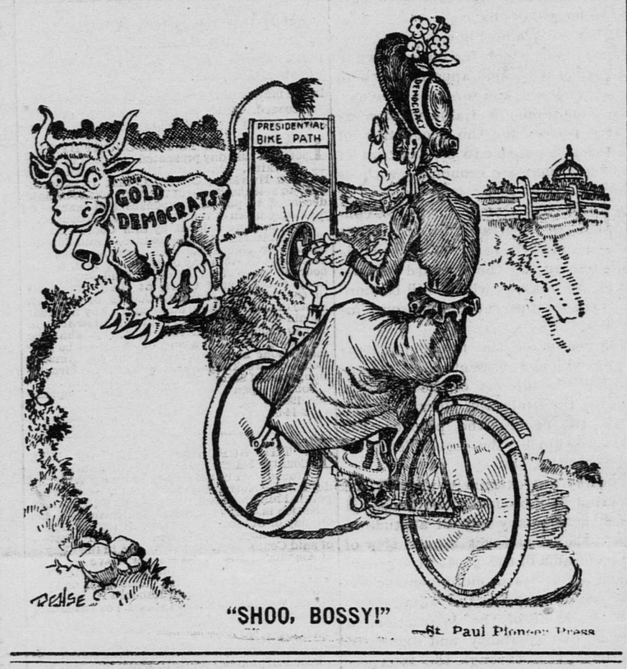
Mr. McKinley negotiated the treaty which resulted in their acquisition. Mr. Bryan procured the ratification of that treaty

The Republican platform declares for the establishment of a stable government in the Philippines. The Bryan platform echoes that demand.

The Republican platform declares that there shall be accorded to the Filipinos, "The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties." Mr. Bryan's platform concedes this but demands that we *now* declare for their ultimate independence and protection from outside interference.

As to the conclusing declarations of Bryanism the Republican party insists that we cross those bridges when we get to them.

In the language of Kipling, "A policy is a blackmail levied upon fools by the unforeseen," and it is a very foolish



"SHOO, BOSSY!" —St. Paul Pioneer Press

is definitely known that but for American interference in the Philippine islands at the conclusion of the war with Spain a series of atrocities similar to what have recently taken place in China would have taken place at Manila resulting in forcible interference on the part of other nations and the subjugation and parcelling out of the Philippine islands, piecemeal, among the nations of Europe. Thanks to American energy the foreign residents in the Philippines have been protected, order has been established, the integrity of the Philippine group of islands has been maintained and the Filipino people are being put in the way to move forward.

International law requires that whoso destroys a government must establish another in its place. We had destroyed the Spanish government in the Philippines because we had destroyed the instrumentality whereby that government maintained itself—the Spanish navy. Our nation could not refuse or neglect compliance with this law except at the sacrifice of honor and prestige among the nations of the earth, and of being set down as a marplot and a meddler, an ignominy to which no patriotic American would willingly submit.

* * *

While our national obligations to the Filipino people, to other peoples resident in the Philippine islands and to the civilized world in the light of international law were the paramount and all compelling motives which prompted the Republican administration to acquire the Philippine islands, that administration was not unmindful of the great industrial and commercial advantages likely to accrue to the nation by reason of such acquisitions.

Such material advantages would not have proven sufficient of themselves for, if we had been at peace with Spain and she had offered to sell us the Philippines it is not at all likely that we would have bought them. An independent harbor for a naval or coaling station we might have purchased but not more.

Nevertheless, great commercial and industrial advantages are certain to accrue from our possession of the Philippines. Their resources are tremendous, their possibilities boundless, their necessities for an awakened industrialism imperative and the field of American investment and enterprise will be well nigh limitless.

The Philippines are at the threshold of Asia and as Asia is to be the theatre of world development during the coming century their possession by the United States will prove a great national advantage in a world competition for Asiatic trade.

* *

And is it, as Mr. Bryan pretends that he would have us believe, an ignoble thing to seek to seize a great, national advantage in the field of commerce? There are 15,000,000 wage earners in the United States. With our incomparable industrial engineries these workers are able in half to three-fourths of a year to produce more products than the home market can consume during the entire year. Are they therefore to remain idle and dependent the rest of the year, or is it the part of true patriotism for our government to reach out for

taining at this stage of public knowledge of the Philippines and the capabilities of the Filipinos for self-government to announce an ultimate policy regarding them.

* * *

As to standing between them and the outside world, the Republican position is that where responsibility rests there must sovereignty abide. When the Philippines become independent they must assume responsibility to the world. As long as the United States must stand responsible to the world for them it must hold sovereignty over them.

This is common sense, not criminal aggression.

Finally, the Republican contention is that the United States, being a nation with all the sovereign powers of a national existence, can do what it ought to do and will not plead a constitutional incapacity for doing what needs to be done in order to fully discharge its solemn duties to the Filipino people as a whole, to other people resident or interested there, to the other nations of the earth and to its own citizens and their industrial and commercial interests.

On that platform the Republican party takes its stand before the people and the nations.

A government for the Philippines is now being established under the executive power of the president, as Jefferson established a government for Louisiana and Monroe for Florida.

When peace has thus been restored and congress has become fully advised as to the facts, territorial forms of government will be established in the islands giving larger measure of self-government.

Finally, after the American school house has done its work, doubtless a more responsible and altogether self-governing form of government will be accorded the Filipinos. Then, if they want it, *independence*, but if this consummation be reached in the course of two generations it will be quicker done than prudent statesmen now deem probable.

THE PITH OF POLITICS.

(By ARTHUR J PILLSBURY.)

The San Francisco Examiner has come to the rescue. In outer darkness it has made a great light to shine. If it has not been transferred into a statue of liberty enlightening the world, it has, for the nonce, become a firey serpent set up in the wilderness of the new Democracy. The Examiner has found out what imperialism is. In President McKinley's letter of acceptance the Examiner has discovered a concrete example of imperialism, has attracted to it the attention of a hitherto bewildered public, and now all men see and know what imperialism really is. More wind has been pumped into the inane of imperialism by Bryanite orators since the Fourth of July last than was required to destroy the city of Galveston, and yet it was not until the 11th day of September, when men had read the Examiner, that they knew what imperialism really was. That it must be something very bad they felt very certain, but just what they knew not. Now they know and, knowing, dare maintain.

"For instance," says the Examiner in explaining what imperialism is, "the President says of his instructions to the Philippine commission: 'Until congress shall take action, I directed that upon every division and branch of government of the Philippines must be imposed the inviolable rules:

"'That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the rights of a speedy and public trial; to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.'"

And so on, including all the blessed safeguards to human liberty embodied in our bill of rights and which have been the heritage of English and American people since the great Charter.

"Therefore, what the President really says," continues the Examiner, "is this:

"'Until congress should direct otherwise I ordered that certain provisions of the constitution of the United States selected by me should be enforced.'

"In other words, William McKinley sets both himself and congress above the constitution. He picks out certain parts of the constitution which are to be enforced until he or congress orders otherwise, and the rest is not to be executed at all. Of course, if he has the power to do that he has equally the power to order his officials to ignore all parts of the constitution alike. If that is not imperialism, what would be a good, handy name for it?"

* * *

The writer agrees with the Examiner that the foregoing is imperialism, if there is such a thing in America, but if it is not, a good, handy name for it would be "common-sense conduct."

But the American people will never become greatly terrified at an imperialism whose first overt act is to extend to a lowly people the safeguards of the Anglo-American bill of rights, the incarnation, bone and very bone, flesh and very flesh, of human liberty, the foundation for self-government, the antidote to tyranny, the spirit of just laws made perfect.

And think of what must have been the effect of the blow which our imperialistic President thus dealt to those far away, stranger peoples! How it must have stunned them! Having never, in all their lives or the lives of their ancestors, known liberty or justice or security or the safeguards of Anglo-American common law, to have the exalted head of a mighty and conquering nation, with a few strokes of his pen, hurl at them, unasked, the safeguarding rights and privileges which cost the British people centuries of sacrifice and whose extention to a black brotherhood bathed the Great Republic in blood—to have this great beneficence fall upon them as the rain from heaven, as dew out of the starlight, to come to them as unsought as the light of the sun, as the balm of the atmosphere, as salvation by the free and unpurchased grace of Almighty God, without their asking, without their effort to be made recipients of the greatest boon known to human civilization! Is it a wonder that those humble peoples have not yet awakened to a full realization of what American imperialism stands for? And is it a wonder that the assignees and devisees and legatees of Fort Sumpter and Fort Pillow stand aghast at it?

And, fellow citizens, this is imperialism. Not Russian imperialism nor German imperialism, the imperialism of the Shah of Persia, nor yet the imperialism of Spain, but American imperialism, the imperialism of President McKinley and the Republican party. Are you afraid of it? Does it impress you as jeopardizing our institutions? Has its exercise by our great, magnanimous President alarmed you or has it exalted him in your eyes? Do you not feel a certain thrill of pride in having espoused such an imperial policy?

* * *

And what shall we say of the Examiner's objection to this imperialism, that if the President has the power to do this great and grand thing he will also have the power to do something that is not so great and grand, something that may even be harmful?

Just this: Inasmuch as, when power is delegated to a man there is no way under the sun whereby he may be made to use that power for good and only for good, we should be very careful what sort of man we give power to. That is all that we can do about it.

The power that has been given to William McKinley has been used in a way that has reflected so much glory upon the country as to thrill every American heart with pride in his Americanism and in that sort of imperialism for which Americanism stands. Therefore, the public duty is plain—to continue the imperial power of the presidential office in the hands of the man who has shown by nearly four years of crucial test that he is worthy of every confidence that can be reposed in any man of woman born. A man who, without being asked, is capable of conferring upon a hostile and wrong-headed people the priceless boon of Anglo-American liberty as guaranteed in our constitutional bill of rights, has shown himself incapable of any act of despotism or infidelity to any moral or political obligation. Another might do as well, but we know what William McKinley will do, for we know him by his fruits.

* * *

While we are about it let us look at one more aspect of this bogy of imperialism. The kernel of the Bryanistic objection to Republican policy is that the Republican party is attempting to hold distant islands which it does not intend shall ever be states in the American Union.

Granted. The Republican party does not expect that the Philippine islands will ever be states in the American Union.

The Bryanites also contend that on account of being far distant and filled with stranger peoples, alien to our institutions, the Philippine islands never ought to be states of the American Union.

Granted also.

Now, let us suppose that, because bound in honor so to do, the Philippine islands are held as territories to be fitted for statehood, that the bill of rights granted to them through William McKinley, through the imperial powers of the presidential office, and unasked, be confirmed to them by congress; that this great republic, patiently and with fidelity and by virtue of its ample sovereignty, establishes schoolhouses, fosters industry and, with unselfish devotion, finally equips the Filipino people for statehood, and then, because the Philippines are so far away, and because it would suit the Filipinos better, instead of admitting them as states, grants them their majority and bids them go with a parent's blessing, would that be a dangerous sort of imperialism?

The Republican party has not committed itself against such a policy. Our great President, in his letter of acceptance, says: "It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it and as rapidly as they are ready for it.

Is not this wiser than to give them self-government without preparing them for self-government and before they are ready for self-government. When that readiness for self-government can be attained is not now knowable, and to make promises in advance of knowledge of when such promises can be fulfilled is unwise and likely to prove a prolific source of misunderstanding hereafter.

WHO KNEW BEST?

When the Maine was blown up and the press and the people who clamor joined in a cry for our American navy to go down and shell Havana without waiting for an investigation, and the President witheld the order and waited his time, who was right, the President or the press and the people who clamor?

When the clamorous press and the clamorous people demanded that the belligerency of the Cubans be recognized forthwith, and congress tugged at its tether and threatened revolt against the administration if belligerency was not recognized, the President stood firm and waited the orderly process of events and bided his time, who was right, the President or the press and people who clamor?

When the administration seemed slow in declaring war, even after the report on the destruction of the Maine had been filed, and congressmen, afraid of their constituents, went to the White House to read the riot act to the President and force him to flaunt the red flag of defiance in the face of Europe as well as of Spain, and the President waited until he could, through the establishment of relations of cordiality with Great Britain, make it to the interest of the continental nations of Europe to keep their hands off, which was right, the President or the press and people who clamor?

When at last war with Spain was declared and raw levies of impatient but patriotic volunteers were trying to make themselves into soldiers, and the press and the people who clamor demanded an immediate invasion of Cuba, and the President stood firm and waited the issue of the naval combat, but finally, when all was ready, struck the single blow which ended Spanish power on the western continent, which was right, the President or the press and the people who clamor?

And the same press and those same people who clamored against the President and his policy, and were confounded—confessedly confounded—by the issue of events, which justified the President and were their own condemnation, are now, almost without exception, clamoring for the election of William J. Bryan and the defeat of William McKinley, the wise, prudent, tactful Nestor among American statesmen.

The American voter must sit in judgment between this great, patriotic, farseeing statesman and the press and people who clamor. Which is in the right?

Collapse is Coming

soon or late, when the stomach and digestive and nutritive system begin to fail. It must be so. Food is the body's life. But food must be digested, before it can nourish the body. It is not what we eat but what we digest that feeds us. Don't neglect the first warnings of stomach trouble. The timely use of Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery, which is a medicine for the cure of diseases of the stomach and organs of digestion and nutrition will in ninety-eight cases out of a hundred result in a permanent cure. The percentage of cures is based on actual figures and facts, recorded in the treatment of hundreds of thousands of sick people. The "Discovery" *always* helps. It *almost always* cures.

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