

But the significant and controlling thing with me, as an anti-imperialist, is that all the issues of this campaign are, by Mr. Bryan's own statement, regarded by him and his party as distinctly subordinate to the issue of imperialism. The democratic platform says: "The burning issue of imperialism involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign." This declaration Mr. Bryan repeats and emphasizes. Mr. McKinley, in his bold avowal of imperialistic designs, since the Philadelphia convention, leaves nothing indefinite on his side. The islands are "ours"—not the people's who live in them, but "ours;" there will be "no scuttle policy," "no abatement of our rights;" "our" authority (not that of the inhabitants of their own country) must be made "supreme." This is Mr. McKinley's position and programme. The policy of death, destruction and dishonor will not be relaxed by him. The issue, so vital to us anti-imperialists, is thus sharply defined and accepted by the candidates of the two great political parties by whom the appeal to the country is to be made. Anti-imperialists should welcome the issue thus presented. The American crime in the Philippines is not yet, thank God, the crime of the American people. It will not be, if, in the coming election, the wicked acts of those temporarily in power are disapproved by a majority of American citizens, and the stain upon us as a nation—lesser only than the stain of negro slavery—becomes, as far as may be, wiped away. This should be, to those holding these views, an end worth the sinking of any lesser differences to attain. It is this that gives the contest its chief moral significance, and stirs deeply the hearts of so many patriotic Americans. On this issue, many of us have already resolved to cast our votes for Mr. Bryan, and to influence as many as we can to do likewise.

A PRAYER FOR THE USE OF ANTI-IMPERIALISTS.

The prayer offered by Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, at the opening of the Anti-Imperialist Congress at Indianapolis, August 15.

Almighty God, may the spirit of truth preside over the deliberations of this convention. We know that the judgment of man is fallible; but we believe there can be no honest difference as to the cardinal principles that govern

moral conduct. We seek to prepare ourselves for the work that is before us by making sure of our devotion to those simple precepts that must appeal with equal force to all those who are pure in heart. We believe that Thou hast created of one blood all the nations of the earth. We believe, therefore, that we do not err in judgment merely, but that we commit sin if we treat any of Thy creatures as we would not wish to be treated. We believe that in Thy sight all men have the same right to live, and that when we take the lives of others we do that which we know to be wrong. We believe that the right to live means also the right of self-government, by which men secure their lives; and we believe that when we kill other men to keep them from adopting our political faith, we do that which we would all acknowledge to be a crime if our moral judgment were not perverted by pride or prejudice or corrupted by greed of gain.

We believe that these self-evident moral principles apply with equal force whether we act collectively as a nation or whether we act as individuals. We believe that what is wrong for a man to do is wrong also for the nation. We believe that when a government commits any act which is wrong for the individual citizen, the citizen who votes to support that nation becomes involved in moral guilt and that his loyalty to such a government is treason against the law of heaven. We do not believe that good ever comes out of evil. We believe that national prosperity must be founded upon national righteousness, and that every departure from the path of rectitude must be atoned for either by national repentance or national ruin.

Grant us a Christian citizenship. Hasten the day when men shall cease to vote for policies which they would not execute. May we feel the reproach of increasing armies, and learn to loathe the man who glories in war. May we have too much faith in the sovereignty of Thy laws to fancy that we may lay the foundations of civilization upon the ruins of popular liberty. May we sheathe our dripping sword for shame, and be content to pave the way for the advance of civilization by the practice of plain and simple justice. May the physical courage of the battlefield find a nobler expression in the moral courage to trust the divine intuitions of the soul—to speak the truth and do the right always.

In this and in every moral conflict may we be guided by an unclouded inner light, which, if trusted, will lead

us all aright and keep our hearts in accord with the eternal forces that make for righteousness and peace.

PLATFORM OF THE LIBERTY CONGRESS OF ANTI-IMPERIALISTS, ADOPTED IN INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST 16.

This liberty congress of anti-imperialists recognizes a great national crisis which menaces the republic upon whose future depends in such large measure the hope of freedom throughout the world. For the first time in our country's history the president has undertaken to subjugate a foreign people and to rule them by despotic power. He has thrown the protection of the American flag over slavery and polygamy in the Sulu islands. He has arrogated to himself the power to impose upon the inhabitants of the Philippines government without their consent and taxation without representation. He is waging war upon them for asserting the very principles for the maintenance of which our fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. He claims for himself and congress authority to govern the territory of the United States without constitutional restraint.

We believe in the declaration of independence. Its truths not less self-evident to-day than when first announced by our fathers, are of universal application and cannot be abandoned while government by the people endures.

We believe in the constitution of the United States. It gives the president and congress certain limited powers and secures to every man within the jurisdiction of our government certain essential rights. We deny that either the president or congress can govern any person anywhere outside the constitution.

We are absolutely opposed to the policy of President McKinley, which proposes to govern millions of men without their consent, which, in Porto Rico, established taxation without representation and government by the arbitrary will of the legislature unfettered by constitutional restraint, and in the Philippines prosecutes a war of conquest and demands unconditional surrender from a people who are of right free and independent.

The struggle of men for freedom has ever been a struggle for constitutional liberty. There is no liberty if the citizen has no right which the legislature may not invade, if he may be taxed by a legislature in which he is not represented, or if he is not protected by fundamental law against the arbitrary ac-

tion of executive power. The policy of the president offers the inhabitant of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines no hope of independence, no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the congress which taxes him. This is a government of men by arbitrary power, without their consent; this is imperialism.

There is no room under the free flag of America for subjects. The president and congress, who derive all their powers from the constitution, can govern no man without regard to its limitations.

We believe that the greatest safeguard of liberty is a free press, and we demand that the censorship in the Philippine islands, which keeps from the American people a knowledge of what is done in their name, be abolished. We are entitled to know the truth, and we insist that the powers which the president holds in trust for all of us be not used to suppress it.

Because we thus believe, we oppose the reelection of Mr. McKinley. The supreme purpose of the people in this momentous campaign should be to stamp with their final disapproval his attempt to grasp imperial power. A self-governing people can have no more imperative duty than to drive from public life a chief magistrate who, whether in weakness or of a wicked purpose, has used his temporary authority to subvert the character of their government and to destroy their national ideals.

We, therefore, in the belief that it is essential at this crisis for the American people again to declare their faith in the universal application of the Declaration of Independence, and to reassert their will that their servants shall not have or exercise any powers whatever other than those conferred by the constitution, earnestly make the following recommendations to our countrymen:

1. That, without regard to their views on minor questions of domestic policy, they withhold their votes from Mr. McKinley, in order to stamp with their disapproval what he has done.
2. That they vote for those candidates for congress in their respective districts who will oppose the policy of imperialism.
3. While we welcome any other method of opposing the election of Mr. McKinley, we advise direct support of Mr. Bryan, as the most effective means of crushing imperialism.

We are convinced of Mr. Bryan's sincerity and of his earnest purpose to secure to the Filipinos their independ-

ence. His position and the declarations contained in the platform of his party on the vital issue of the campaign meet our unqualified approval.

We recommend that the executive committee of the American Anti-Imperialistic league and its allied leagues continue and extend their organizations, preserving the independence of the movement; and that they take the most active part in the pending political campaign.

Until now the policy which has turned the Filipinos from warm friends to bitter enemies, which has slaughtered thousands of them and laid waste their country, has been the policy of the president. After the next election it becomes the policy of every man who votes to reelect him, and who thus becomes with him responsible for every drop of blood thereafter shed.

[The following resolution was adopted later.]

Resolved, That in declaring that the principles of the Declaration of Independence apply to all men this congress means to include the negro race in America as well as the Filipinos. We deprecate all efforts, whether in the south or in the north, to deprive the negro of his rights as a citizen under the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the United States.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE LIBERTY CONGRESS.

When the Anti-Imperialists assembled in Tomlinson hall, Indianapolis, on the morning of August 15, they read these words in strong black letters clearly printed on a white banner hung conspicuously over the stage:

I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That, by our code of morals, would be criminal aggression.—William McKinley.

Because William McKinley had violated the principle he so rashly gave voice to before foreign temptations raised their heads, this Congress had assembled. It was first of all a congress of men protesting against a policy which they regarded as most inimical to the life of the Republic. Secondly, it was met to advise as to the best methods of defeating an administration responsible for that policy. Their ideal for the Republic was expressed in words placed just below Mr. McKinley's famous repudiated principle:

Behold a republic standing erect, while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved, while other flags are only feared.—William Jennings Bryan.

Beneath these inspiring negative and positive statements of the same thing from the lost leader and from the ascendant leader, men from all parts of the nation, of diverse political training and party affiliation, American and foreign born, white and black, cultivated men, strong men, able men, deliberated earnestly and carefully, with unusual regard for the rights of all who were there, or who were in any respect represented.

Standing here Prof. A. H. Tolman, of Chicago, read the declaration of independence as perhaps it has never been read before, placing delicate emphasis upon such portions of King George's acts of misgovernment as were like the violations of human rights of which the present administration has been guilty. The audience showed by its startled applause at these points its discovery of a new value in the historic part of the declaration.

Able speaking as well as careful deliberation characterized the Congress.

Edwin Burritt Smith, of Chicago, evoked a double round of applause by the declaration:

There are currents of destiny, but they set away from despotism toward human freedom.

The venerable ex-governor of Massachusetts, George S. Boutwell, in accepting the presidency of the congress made a most impressive and affecting speech. Among other things he said:

Mr. Long says what we call imperialism is only a cry and that the anti-imperialists are few in number and of no considerable importance. He says their voice is only a cry. That may be true; a census has not been taken, and we do not boast of numbers. But 19 centuries ago a cry was heard in the wilderness of Judea—heard by only a few; but now the echoes of His voice are heard the world over. And now we are crying for an open path of justice for all people, repentance for the wrong that has been done in the past and reformation in the future. . . .

China has always followed the maxim: "Use that which is thine own, so as not to injure others." That contains every provision of the decalogue. Through centuries the Chinese empire has gone on, while Assyria and Rome and Carthage have withered and died—died because they took into their possession that to which they had no right. It is to such an entertainment that we are invited; it is to such a history as these nations have made that our eyes are turned, and we are asked to imitate it. . . .

How is the overthrow of the administration to be accomplished? In my youth I had no disguises. I turned aside and left the democratic party when it surrendered to slavery. In my age I leave the republican party, now that it has surrendered itself to despotic and tyrannical motives. (Great applause.) I helped create the republican party, a party at that time of justice and principle and honesty. I now believe it is a party of injustice and despotism, and I will help to destroy it. And how? There is but