

AN ADDRESS TO INDEPENDENT VOTERS.

Issued by the American Anti-Imperialist League.

The undersigned citizens of the United States regard with profound apprehension the course of the present administration in Porto Rico and the Philippines. Our prior acquisitions were of adjacent territory for the extension of the area of constitutional government and the creation of new states of the union. We made their few inhabitants citizens; our people settled them; we there established the institutions of freedom. For the first time in our history it is now proposed that the president and congress shall rule vast territories and millions of men outside our constitutional system. Officials sworn to support the constitution and deriving all their power therefrom have acquired colonies and assumed arbitrary authority to govern their inhabitants without consent and to tax them without representation. This policy offers to the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines no hope of independence, no respect of American citizenship, no representation in the congress which taxes them. This is the government of men by arbitrary power; this is imperialism.

We believe that it is the first duty of the American people to stamp with their disapproval doctrines so hostile to liberty and dangerous to constitutional government. If they are to remain free and their government is to continue representative, their servants must not have or exercise any but constitutional powers. Between the claim of freedom that all men are entitled to equal political rights and the dogma of tyranny that might makes right there is no middle ground.

We have not prior to this year supported the candidacy of Mr. Bryan. We do not now concur in certain of his views on minor issues. Yet his position on the supreme issue of the present campaign is so sound and his advocacy of it has been so able and courageous that we now favor his election as the most effective way of showing disapproval of Mr. McKinley's course. Without claiming any special political influence, we unite, for what our example may be worth to our fellow citizens, in this statement of proposed action in the presence of "a greater danger than we have encountered since the pilgrims lauded at Plymouth—the danger that we are to be transformed from a republic, founded on the declaration of independence, guided by the counsels of Washington, into a vulgar, commonplace empire, founded on phy-

sical force." We invite the cooperation of all independent voters to avert this great and impending danger.

- [Signed by]
- George S. Boutwell, Boston (ex-governor and ex-secretary of the treasury).
  - Charles Gordon Ames, Boston.
  - Melville B. Anderson, Leland Stanford university.
  - Francis Fisher Browne, Chicago (editor of the Dial).
  - John Beatty, Ohio (ex-congressman).
  - William Birney, Washington, D. C.
  - D. F. Bremner, Chicago.
  - Albert S. Cook, Yale university.
  - D. H. Chamberlain, Massachusetts (ex-governor of South Carolina).
  - Charles R. Codman, Massachusetts.
  - Henry B. Cabot, Boston.
  - Starr Willard Cutting, University of Chicago.
  - Noah K. Davis, University of Virginia.
  - John Dewey, University of Chicago.
  - Dana Estes, Boston.
  - Louis R. Ehrlich, Colorado.
  - Joseph S. Fowler, Washington, D. C. (ex-United States senator).
  - Edwin L. Godkin, New York (former editor the Nation and New York Evening Post).
  - William Lloyd Garrison, Boston.
  - Judson Harmon, Cincinnati (ex-attorney general United States).
  - F. D. Huntington, Syracuse (bishop of Protestant Episcopal church).
  - Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Boston.
  - William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago.
  - George Lincoln Hendrickson, University of Chicago.
  - Henry U. Johnson (ex-congressman, Indiana).
  - Edward Holton James, Seattle, Wash.
  - William R. Lord, Portland, Ore.
  - Louis R. Larson, Minneapolis (ex-judge).
  - John V. LeMoyne, Baltimore (ex-congressman).
  - Charles F. Lummis, Los Angeles (editor Land of Sunshine).
  - Joseph Lee, Boston.
  - George Gluyas Mercer, Pennsylvania.
  - Thomas A. Moran, Chicago (ex-judge).
  - Edwin D. Mead, Boston (editor New England Magazine).
  - Charles Elliot Norton, Harvard university.
  - Henry Loomis Nelson, New York.
  - Warren Olney, San Francisco.
  - William Morton Payne, Chicago.
  - Franklin Pierce, New York city.
  - Arthur Latham Perry, Williams college.
  - H. A. Rattermann, Cincinnati.
  - U. M. Rose, Little Rock.
  - Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati (Judge superior court).
  - Edward M. Shepard, New York city.
  - Moorfield Storey, Boston (ex-president American Bar association).
  - Edwin Burritt Smith, Chicago.
  - Albert H. Tolman, University of Chicago.
  - Edwin F. Uhl, Grand Rapids (ex-ambassador to Germany).
  - John J. Valentine (president Wells-Fargo Express company).
  - William Vocke, Chicago.
  - C. E. S. Wood, Portland, Ore.
  - Lew Wallace, Jr., Indianapolis.
  - Charles B. Wilby, Cincinnati.
  - George L. Wellington (United States senator, Maryland).
  - Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia (editor City and State).
  - John DeWitt Warner, New York city (ex-congressman).
  - Sigmund Zeisler, Chicago.
  - Charles Zueblin, University of Chicago.

IMPERIALISM AND LABOR.

The effect upon wages of annexing new countries overrunning with the cheapest kind of labor is evident enough to anyone who will consider the question dispassionately, but perhaps a brief account of what I have seen with my own eyes in Egypt may serve to illustrate it. We hear a great deal of the political benefits conferred by the British government upon the Egyptians, but little or nothing is said of the industrial results of expansion, and yet these results are the most important.

Some years ago while I was living in Egypt I visited one of the cotton mills at Mansourah, the commercial center of the cotton region. These mills are owned by English, French and German capitalists and operated by native labor. In the main room of the factory the air is so thick with cotton dust that I found it difficult to breathe. A row of Arab girls of 12 or 13 years of age were standing there before a series of tubs manipulating the raw cotton.

"What are the hours of labor of these girls?" I asked the European foreman, who was acting as my guide.

"From four o'clock in the morning to six o'clock at night, with an intermission for dinner," he answered.

"And what is the pay?"

"Twelve and a half cents a day."

I could hardly believe this, and the next time I met the English manager of one of these mills I cross-questioned him on the subject.

"Is it true," I asked, "that you work your girls from four until six for 12½ cents a day?"

"Yes," he said, rather reluctantly. "I didn't quite like it when I first went to Mansourah, but the girls don't seem to mind it."

"Don't mind 14 hours' work a day?" I cried.

"Oh, that is not all," he replied. "When we are very busy they stay overtime from six till ten o'clock in the evening and we pay them an extra piastre (2½ or five cents) and sometimes young mothers come with their babes at the breast and put them down on the floor in the corner and go to work with the rest."

And all this, mind you, in an atmosphere which you can almost cut with a knife, so thick is it with cotton.

One thing has saved Egypt, and that is the absence of coal. It costs too much to bring it there for it to pay to introduce factories on a large scale. But there is plenty of coal

in the Philippines. Coal can be had at the entrance of the mines in Japan for 13 cents a ton, I am informed, and it will be as cheap in the Philippines. With coal at this price, with girls and boys ready to work for 12½ cents a day, what is to prevent the immediate flow of our capital to these islands and the inauguration of a competition such as we have never known before? Either wages will fall here to the 12½-cent level or our factories will be moved bodily to our new possessions and our own workmen left to starve.

Bishop Potter, of New York, has just been in the Philippines, and he tells us that the Filipinos take kindly to our factory system. Poor Filipinos! So do mice take kindly to cheese in a trap! The system will prove a curse to them as it has already proved to the girls of Mansourah, and at the same time it will impoverish our American wage-earners at home. It may be said that the natives are not forced to work. But this is not true. When their cupidity is not sufficient to make them toil, means are found to compel them. This has already been done in the mines of South Africa, and the British government imposes taxes upon the natives there with the avowed object of forcing them to seek employment in the mines for the purpose of raising money to pay the tax, that being the only way open for them to earn money. The same plan will doubtless be adopted by our capitalists in the Philippines if it turns out that Bishop Potter is mistaken and that the Filipinos do not take kindly to factory work.

We are told that we ought to establish a stable government in the Philippines. That is precisely what we ought not to do. It is the lack of stable government which prevents capital from going to countries where people are willing to work on starvation wages. It is an automatic arrangement of nature that in uncivilized or partly civilized countries franchises and monopolies are not well enough protected for capital to risk itself. If this were not so, all manufacturing industries would seek at once the country of cheapest wages, other things being equal, and the starvation of the home populations would follow. It is best for the world that the government of such countries should not be too stable, and by insisting upon a stable government in the Philippines we are doing our best to throttle our own industries.

It is clearly the interest of all wage-earners to oppose imperialism root and

branch, and if they have any doubt on the subject, let them consider the cotton operatives of Egypt.—Hon. Ernest H. Crosby, in American Federationist.

#### "INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH."

Hong-Kong special correspondence of the Montreal Daily Star, dated September 2, and published in the Star of September 2.

The strictness of the censorship notwithstanding (at Manila), I am happy to be in a position to communicate the following most recent and interesting authentic official document from the revolutionary battlefield. It will serve to show how the imperialists prevaricate when they assure the world in general, and the citizens of the United States in particular, that the Filipinos desire the American sovereignty, and that by resisting it the revolutionists work against the wishes of the inhabitants in the Philippine archipelago. It is the letter with which Gen. Juan Cailles, a Filipino, answered the letter received by him from one of the agents of President McKinley at Manila, inviting the said general to surrender his arms. The letter of Gen. Cailles is accompanied by an act containing the manifesto of the most authoritative persons in the province in which the general is operating. These persons are the genuine representatives of the most peaceful elements, of those whom President McKinley mentions in his letter as desiring the American sovereignty, and the act is signed by Capt. Pedro Guevara, A. D. C.

General Encampment, La Laguna Province, July 12, 1900.

To Mr. Vincent Reyes, Santa Cruz.

Dear Sir: As I have promised you, this morning I convoked to a great assembly in this general encampment the local presidents of the province and the military officers of the brigade under my command, in order to inform both parties of the proposals of the enemy which have been sent to me for consideration through your courtesy, and in order that the said proposals may be discussed, and that, at the same time, a copy of the act which shall be extended and distributed upon the decision of the grand assembly be sent to you.

By the annexed act of reference you and the enemy will understand that the purposes of "freedom" which the military and local officers have sworn to stand by before the sacred banner of the Philippine republic, remain firm in the heart of everybody, with tendencies to grow warmer still but never to grow cold.

You had already my private answer—now I send you the answer of the whole province and of my brigade. In both answers you will recognize the bond which unites the subordinates with their leader in the demand for the independence of the mother country. For that very union you must not be surprised that order prevails in this province, although in a relative way in spite of the efforts of our enemy to disturb it with assaults, with fire, with mur-

ders, and worse, apart from what people of evil living would do in these circumstances, in which the local police are often compelled to hide themselves, in view of their limited number, at the appearance of the forces of the enemy. The order is maintained not by the Americans, but by my forces who blindly obey my orders.

The Americans must not forget the protestations that I ordered to be posted at the door of the building in which I had my residence in that city. In those protestations, in view of the help of the towns and the decision of my subordinate officers, I expressed the sublime thought: "Independence or death."

By my resignation to suffer all the consequences and hardships of an unequal and almost suicidal war and by the fact that no one of my military and local officers has presented himself to the American authorities, you must be convinced, and yourselves likewise, that that sublime thought beats lively in the heart of everyone, because the anxieties for "freedom" and "independence" tempered the will and being of the true sons of the Philippines.

I will go no further for fear that, launched on this field, you should judge me passionate should I express my real sentiments. Good-by, and do not forget this motto of the authorities and inhabitants of La Laguna—"Independence or Death."

I remain, yours affectionately,  
(Signed) JUAN CAILLES, General,  
Military Governor.

The "act of reference" is as follows:

In the general encampment of the province of La Laguna, on this 12th day of July, 1900, at a previous calling of the military governor, gathered in solemn assembly, the local presidents of all the towns, as well as the officers of the military columns, under the presidency of the said military governor, Gen. Juan Cailles, in order to deal and discuss the proposals made by the enemy to the above-mentioned military governor, so that the latter may surrender with the brigade under his command through the citizen, Senor Don Vincente Reyes, on the 4th of July. As soon as the secretary of the military government had finished the reading of the proposals, they were unanimously and without any discussion, rejected, inasmuch as everyone in his own name and the name of his respective subordination declared that "they proclaimed before heaven and the world" that they will die rather than recognize, even tacitly, the American sovereignty in the Philippine archipelago, which has never before been under the dominion and sovereignty of the United States government, and, therefore, they consider not only as untimely, but ridiculous, as well as the pretended amnesty with which they like to disguise the granting of pardon and the forgetfulness of crimes which they have never committed nor can they commit, against the government at Washington, inasmuch as the violent incidents and the present American-Filipino war have not been provoked by the government of the Philippine republic, apart from the "sine qua non" condition which involves all pardon or amnesty, which requires the avowal of being vanquished and of being the author of some crime, before it can be extended to anybody. That the conduct of the Philippine people cannot be more consistent with that prescribed in the international law, as well as the proceed-