

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

one available means and you know what that is. I am for Bryan. . . .

The important business of the Congress was the adoption of a platform and recommendations. A canvass of the committee of 25 which prepared these showed that at the election four years ago one member had abstained from voting, seven had voted for Palmer, seven for Bryan and ten for McKinley.

Over the platform as presented by the committee there was no debate. Its terse, vigorous and frank statements seemed to receive unqualified approval. The debate was wholly over the question as to whether the Congress should advise the support of Mr. Bryan.

The opposition to such an indorsement of Mr. Bryan came almost entirely from members of the National party, who had been received also as members of this Congress, and who hoped the Congress would indorse a third ticket. The anti-imperialism of these men, who declared that they would not vote for Mr. McKinley, and could not vote for Mr. Bryan, seemed to be of an academic type. As George Gluyas Mercer, of Philadelphia, said, the trouble with the third party people was that they were "trying to take a whack at the universe," while the antis merely had the limited ambition to prevent imperialism.

It developed that the members of the National party distrusted Mr. Bryan's anti-imperialism. They pointed to the words of Senator Hoar which were hanging among the decorations:

They talk about giving good government; that one phrase conveys to a free man and a free people, the most stinging of insults. In that little phrase, as in a seed, is contained the germ of all despotism and of all tyranny.

And they declared Mr. Bryan had proposed to do that very thing, for had he not stated that if he were elected he would convene congress in extraordinary session and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose "to give independence to the Filipinos?"

The answer given by George Gluyas Mercer to this argument over a phrase, not a principle, was that as we had shot the original Filipino government to pieces, we should have to commit a momentary act of paternalism while repairing the consequences of our crime.

The Congress desired that the third party men should have the fullest encouragement to work against the reelection of Mr. McKinley and bade them Godspeed in their nomination of a National ticket; but the majority

believed in going to the greatest lengths in opposition to Mr. McKinley, and as this requires the casting of full votes, rather than half votes, against him, the congress passed its platform as originally offered.

The proceedings closed with a speech delivered on the evening of August 16 by Charles A. Towne—a speech which few who heard it will ever forget. Mr. Towne's brilliant arraignment of the administration policy in the Philippines was remarkable for its absolute freedom from the exaggeration and overestimate so common in partisan speech as to be discounted in advance by the sophisticated. It was still more remarkable for its vitalization of our ideals of a righteous national life. At the points in his speech where Mr. Towne appealed to these ideals his words dropped one by one into a breathless stillness. Justice, human rights, national integrity, stood forth the paramount political issue, and we knew what a great campaign we had entered upon.

ALICE THACHER POST.

THE KING AND THE ANARCHIST.

Every thoughtful traveler in Europe must be impressed with the superfluity of folks—that is to say, folks with nothing to do. In Italy this plethora seems more pronounced than elsewhere. At every hotel there are four servants where only one is required.

At Genoa there lined up in the hallway to speed my parting a fachino, four porters, three waiters, two chambermaids and a boots, while tapering off into the street were various able-bodied loungers, several old women and a full dozen small brigands. Each and every one in the line expected—aye, more, demanded—legal tender. All had rendered services, or said they had, and to omit any one from the pay roll was to call down curses loud and deep. The amount of tax ran from one lira (20 cents) to five centesimi (one cent), and a small handful of coppers was then required for the mob to struggle for in the street, so escape could be made under cover of the smoke.

At Venice you pay your gondolier a tariff rate per hour, and as he calls off the names of the palaces you pass (when you wish he would not) in a gibberish he thinks is English, you must pay him extra. Besides, if you are so reckless as to land along the way, the "hooker" who holds the boat expects a copper. At all churches old women open the doors and offi-

cious loungers offer information that is not desired, for expected coin.

To refuse to give to the beggars is to invite insult and insolence. Desperation is written on the dark faces that beseech you, and when you remember how, not many moons ago, this superfluous Italian populace exploded in one wild yell and made a dash for the baker-shop windows, you do not wonder.

Naples, Rome, Florence and Milan were placed under martial law, and at Milan alone in the month of May, 1898, 200 people were shot by the soldiers in the streets during my brief stay.

I saw volleys fired into crowds. The living would scurry away like frightened rabbits, into alleys, houses, side streets, cellars. But there on the sidewalks and in the streets lay the fallen and tumbled dead—men, women and children. In less than five minutes' time wagons with soldiers dashed up; the dead and dying were thrown like cordwood into the springless tumbrils, and with a cracking of whips the horses and wagons dashed away. Some of the soldiers remained and with hose and buckets and brooms every vestige of blood was washed away.

The newspapers made no reports—some of them denied that a volley had been fired.

And now the king of Italy has gone by a quick and painless route into the Beyond. He was only a man—not a great man, neither was he a bad man. Only a vain, ignorant, selfish man—with transient moods of wanting to do right—whose feet had been caught in a mesh of wrong, and he hadn't the power to get away. To kill him was absurd, for the wrong for which he stood still exists. It is the institution and policy, not the man. More volleys will be fired into the crowds that cry for bread. The death-carts will dump their victims into coffinless graves.

I shed tears for the homeless, the harassed the oppressed—for the women who hold hungry babes to famished breasts—for the ignorant and brutal who wrench at their bonds, and who by violence hope to achieve freedom.

For the dead king I waste no pity. He himself caused thousands of men to be killed. He lived by the sword and died by the bullet. What else could he expect? He invited his fate. He was only a slave at the last, and death has set him free.

Italy has less than one-half the population of the United States, yet she