

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