

to think that a historian should have no convictions, and who would deny the dignified term of "historical writing" to books that openly confess the author's sympathies. To such we would most heartily commend this little production, as a good specimen of the possibility of combining facts and feelings.

J. H. DILLARD.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

When President McKinley inaugurated his Philippine policy with the epigrammatic assurance that destiny determines duty and a demand upon the Filipino republic to surrender, nothing stirred the ire of his supporters more than to call it a policy of imperialism. But as time goes by and the imperial policy becomes more familiar, that word loses its harshness to American ears. Even at this early day both the idea and the word have become so acceptable, or at least, inoffensive, that a text-book in support of American imperialism upon historical and constitutional grounds is published by a leading house, not in advocacy of the policy as a future possibility, but in elucidation of it as a present fact.

This book, "The Administration of Dependencies; a Study of the Evolution of the Federal Empire with Special Reference to American Colonial Problems," a very able book, by the way, bears the imprint of the Putnams and comes from the pen of Alpheus H. Snow. Repugnant as is the policy it supports, it is a work which constitutional lawyers will welcome and which public writers and speakers, whatever their own views on the subject, will find invaluable.

Mr. Snow's purpose is to show that the apparently minor clause in the Federal constitution which empowers Congress to "dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," was intended to lay the foundations for an American empire, in

which the Union of the States should be the self-governing imperial power, and its territorial acquisitions mere dependencies, attached to but outside of the republic—belonging to the house but not within the household.

In pursuit of this purpose he begins the history of the clause in question with the French and English occupation of America, showing that under these regimes the difference between the government of the "realm," that is, of the French or English people at home, and the government of the outlying dependencies which went to make up the "empire," was marked and natural. However little or much the people at home might actually or nominally exercise the right of self-government, the dependencies were governed by the executive authority. The power of the British parliament, for instance,

was different when sitting as the parliament for the British "empire," including the American colonies, from its power when sitting as the parliament of the "realm." This difference came to be recognized by the law of nations, and the American colonists took refuge in it when the British parliament, by passing the stamp act, assumed that Great Britain and the colonists formed one political organism. The American colonists resented that as usurpation, the pamphleteers of the time maintaining that the British government had only a general authority of regulation over the colonies, which were dependencies and as such could not be taxed for the benefit of the home government. With this theory before them the makers of the Federal constitution adopted the clause in question, namely, "The Congress shall have power to

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dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." And by that clause the constitution recognized the American Empire as distinguished from the American Union of States.

Able as Mr. Snow's book is, it is able only as the brief of an advocate and not as the elaborated opinion of an unbiased judge. As he frankly says in the preface, the book is the result of his conviction that the constitutional clause he discusses was intended to express the true principles of the administration of dependencies the correctness of which he set out to ascertain. He started with a case to prove, and he has made a plausible historical argument.

Upon the assumption that his conclusion is sound, the American Union is a republic with reference to its citizens, but an emperor with reference to the inhabitants of its territories. Not only is that inferentially Mr. Snow's conclusion, but he puts it into words: "The old conception of an empire as a kingdom composed of kingdoms, and of an emperor or a king who rules over other kings, is passing away; and in its stead has come the conception of the empire as a state composed of distinct and often widely separated populations or states of which a state is the

central government or emperor." And this is the constitutional relation, as he maintains, of the United States to all its dependencies—Porto Rico, Arizona, Alaska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, the Philippines and, of course, the District of Columbia. Each may be dealt with in the discretion of the imperial republic.

LITERARY NOTES.

"A Little Lump of Coal" is the title of a song appropriate to the times, published by the Balmer & Weber Music House Co., St. Louis. The words and music are by William Henry Lynch, who writes on this subject from his heart. Mr. Lynch has arranged that the profits derived from the sale of this little song shall go into a fund for supplying the poor with fuel, Messrs. Balmer & Weber acting as Trustees.

That unique and valuable little magazine, Why? published by Frank Vierth, at Cedar Rapids, the publication of which was temporarily suspended in the Fall, has again appeared, the first number of its sixth volume having been issued in January. The main article in this number is a condensation by Joseph Faldy, of political economy as expounded by Henry George.

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