

[Miscellaneous publications, 1898-1904].

WHAT IT STANDS FOR.

The American flag is *what it stands for*. There is no sovereign virtue in the bunting itself nor in the stitches that confirm it. There should even be Americans of moral courage enough to lower that when it is where it does not belong. It once floated in Mexico. Were they not patriots who hauled it down?

But there are too many Americans now who dare to haul down the Spirit of our flag at home. For more than a century the Stars and Stripes have stood for human rights and the consent of the governed. They do not stand for that in the Philippines to-day. They will not always stand for that in the United States if we misuse them elsewhere.

The men who corrupt our politics; the men who surrender conscience; the men who don't care—these are the ones who are really hauling down Our Flag. It is time for us to stop chatter about six yards of cloth and concern ourselves with the soul of which that cloth is only a token. And to begin with we had better lay quiet, firm hands upon the only dangerous enemies this nation has in the whole world. We shall need no cruisers to get them; nor weapons to lay them by the heels—more than

“That weapon which comes down as still
As snowflakes fall upon the sod,
But executes a freeman's will
As lightning does the will of God.”

Of the earliest to foresee and fight Imperialism the **Land of Sunshine** (from which above is quoted) is a magazine of **California** and **the West**. Absolutely free from “politics,” never free from citizenship. Every number since Aug, 1897, has editorially opposed the whole “Expansion” madness. Monthly. **\$1 a year**. Los Angeles, Cal. (OVER)

DODGING BEHIND WORDS.

People who try to cover the cloven hoof of empire with the petticoats of “Expansion” are as careless of the dictionary as of the constitution. The Philippines do not mean expansion. It does not expand the fire of freedom to pour water on it. A man is not expanded by filling his pockets with apples, nor by putting a bushel basket over his head. Expansion is enlargement in kind. If the ex-Spanish colonies applied for admission to this republic and we accepted them, that would be expansion. What is proposed to do with them is no more like expansion than the present administration is like

Lincoln's. But. . . unsnuffed speech can hardly be expected of those who have caught cold in their morals.— *Chas. F. Lummis, Editorial in the Land of Sunshine.*

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TO BE KEPT RIGHT.

We must combat the notion that our country can do no wrong. She can; and she will if we let her. Human nature would always be doing wrong if we did not try not to. Precisely because we are in a war, it is the time when every American needs most to remember his obligations, and to watch that the honor of his country be not left to a venal few or an intoxicated many.

EASY GAME.

What easy game the politicians find us! How confidently he counts upon our human frailty! How coldbloodedly buncoes our very virtues to serve his ends! He knows that we dislike trouble—and self-government, certainly, is some trouble. Well, . . . we can just leave things to him. He knows that all hearts. . . admire loyalty, and that most of us are more afraid of being called “traitor” by a traitor than we are of an army with banners. So he pledges us to support him, and himself to do only what we can decently support; and then. . . demands our “loyalty” to measures he would no more have dared to suggest

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beforehand than he would have dared put his head in the fire. But he is well aware that . . . we will follow him almost anywhere after once promising to follow him to good things. He counts on this as coolly as a business man counts his assets—and with as substantial reason. It is 90% of his capital.

WHILE THERE IS YET TIME.

President McKinley tells us that “we *have* expanded,” and that it is no longer a question. . . . But probably it is not yet too late in this country for a plain American to rise and ask: “How? When? Who's

'we'? What was the date and what were the ceremonials?" Certainly to annul the Constitution of the United States must have taken a specific act, by specific persons, at a specific point of time. These things do not come by evaporation nor as a dream in the night, without agent or chronology or responsibility. If there are no Americans left who might be curious, the historian at least will wish to know. . . . If for more than a century we have been wasting our own time and that of congress, and the thing can be so easily done without any help from us, let us know how, that we may save trouble next time.— *Chas. F. Lummis, Editorial in Land of Sunshine.*

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Address to the People of the United States.

A true republic of free men must rest upon the principles that all its citizens are equal under the law, that a government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, and that there must be no taxation without representation. These principles abandoned, a republic exists but in name, and its people lose their rights as free men.

Planting itself upon these lasting truths, the people of the United States solemnly declared in their Constitution that the citizens of each State should have the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States; that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction should be citizens of the United States and of the several States; and that the rights of none should be abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Constitution gives to the United States, no more than to the individual, the right to hold slaves or vassals, and recognizes no distinction between classes of citizens,—one with full rights as free men, and another as subjects governed by military force.

We are in full sympathy with the heroic struggles for liberty of the people in the Spanish Islands, and therefore we protest against depriving them of their rights by an exchange of masters. Only by recognizing their rights as free men are all their interests protected. Expansion by natural growth in thinly-settled contiguous territory, acquired by purchase for the expressed purpose of ultimate statehood, cannot be confounded with, or made analogous to, foreign territory conquered by war and wrested by force from a weak enemy. A beaten foe has no right to transfer a people whose

consent has not been asked, and a free republic has no right to hold in subjection a people so transferred.

No American, until to-day, has disputed these propositions; it remains for the new Imperialism to set up the law of might and to place commercial gain and a false philanthropy above the sound principles upon which the Republic was based. In defence of its position it has already urged the fallacy of the Declaration of Independence and proclaimed a wisdom superior to that of the framers of the Constitution. As solemnly as a people could, we announced the war to be solely for humanity and freedom, without a thought, desire, or purpose of gain to ourselves; all that we sought has been accomplished in Cuba's liberation. Shall we now prove false to our declaration and seize by force islands thousands of miles away whose peoples have not desired our presence and whose will we have not asked?

Whatever islands we take must be annexed or held in vassalage to the Republic. Either course is dangerous to the physical and moral safety of the nation, inconsistent with our professions, and must result in foreign complications which will imperil and delay the settlement of pressing financial, labor, and administrative questions at home.

Impressed with the importance of these views, and recalling the declaration of the President that the war with Spain could never degenerate into a war of conquest, we have deferred action until it has become apparent that pressure was being brought to bear upon the President, to convince him that public opinion demands the inclusion of alien territory and great masses of alien people into the territory of the United States.

We stand by the President's declaration, and in order to give evidence of the opposition to a foreign expansion policy by a vast body of our people, have organized an Anti-Imperialist League, upon the following general plan:

1. The centre of the movement to be at Washington, with a local secretary there for executive work.
2. Committees of correspondence to conduct the work in such manner as to bring together the united efforts of men of repute throughout the country, without regard to party, to deal with the subject in all its aspects, as follows: The moral iniquity of converting a war for humanity into a war for conquest; the physical degeneration, the corruption of the blood, and all the evils of militarism which will ensue if troops are to be kept in the Philippines and elsewhere longer than absolutely necessary to enable government to be established which will protect life and property; the political evils and the necessity of preserving the Union upon the principles of its framers; the clear necessity

of large increase of taxes for the support of armies and navies, with a great probability that voluntary enlistment will have to be supplemented by drafts.

Committees of correspondence have begun work under the name of the Anti-Imperialist League, the first measure being to organize the moral forces of the country, for the purpose of presenting the following protest to the President and to the Congress of the United States:—

To the President and to the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , in the State of , protest against any extension of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands, in any event, or other foreign territory, without the free consent of the people thereof, believing such action would be dangerous to the Republic, wasteful of its resources, in violation of constitutional principles, and fraught with moral and physical evils to our people.

Name and residence. Occupation.

Every citizen believing in the above is urged to copy it, obtain immediately as many signatures as possible and send forward the signed protest to the secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, Washington, D. C., where the names will be enrolled, without liability to assessment, as members of the League, and the protest presented to the President and Congress.

Submitted on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, of which Hon. G. S. Boutwell is President.

ERVING WINSLOW, *Secretary.*

Boston, November 19, 1898.

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PROSCENIUM BOX

ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

Thursday, Dec. 14, 1899.

Retain this Check.

"IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY."

American League of Philadelphia (**Branch of American Anti-Imperialist League**) *WILL HOLD A MASS MEETING AT THE* American Academy of Music, Broad & Locust on the Centennial Anniversary of the death of George Washington, Thursday, December 14th, 1899, 8 P. M.

Seats will positively not be reserved later than 8 P. M.

Proscenium Box

TIME TO HANG.

We are gravely informed by the administration organs that it is now time to treat the Filipino "rebels" with greater severity: that "shooting and hanging" should now be resorted to. This is a logical sequence to the President's policy, and we are coming to it by such gradual, inevitable steps that probably it will not startle many when we arrive there. A few, but only a few, will shiver slightly at the thought of America, with the liberty torch still lighted at the mouth of our great seaport, taking her place in the long, dread procession of tyrant powers who shoot down the fighter for liberty with the bullet or strangle him with the cord; who send to the scaffold those who have aspired to nationality. But times have changed. The party which banished slavery in this hemisphere is to-day protecting it in another. It is the party, too, of great moral ideas. . . .

May we offer just one suggestion for the new programme? Let us be fully Spanish and, in Western parlance, "go the whole hog." There is something more effective even than shooting and hanging—a better fulfilment of the new destiny. In Manila there are underground dungeons, dark and appallingly damp, for they lie *at high tide below* the sea-level. It is said that the Spaniards put into these dungeons at *low tide* several hundred *Filipino rebels* who had insisted on making war when there was no war. This happened a short time before we came on the scene. After *high tide* these "rebels," or "patriots," as you please, were perfectly quiet. They broke the peace of the existing sovereignty no more. Let us try this means of repression. It is more in harmony with the new policy, infinitely more terrifying to those who may still nourish ideas of independence than death by bullet or rope.— *From City and State, December 21, 1899.*

The above is quoted from **City and State**, a strong antiimperialist paper, edited by Herbert Welsh, published every Thursday. Subscription, **\$2 a year**. One month's trial **free** on application. Address: **City and State, 1305 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.** [OVER.]

In fighting for Cuban liberty, after issuing to the world our celebrated self-denying ordinance "that forcible annexation would be criminal aggression," a thing "not to be thought of" under "our code of morals," we received no effective cooperation from the Cubans. It has been proved that we did receive most effective cooperation from the Filipinos. We found neither army nor independent government worth speaking of among the Cubans. But among the Filipinos an effective military force was created by Aguinaldo under Admiral Dewey's eyes, and an independent provisional government was formed at the same time, which Admiral Dewey did nothing to discourage; on the contrary, he reported the fact to Washington with apparent approval. . . . The Filipinos had, therefore, given a much better showing of practical results in capacity for self-government than the Cubans, and yet to the latter we gave an honorable assurance that we would deal fairly by them (and this up to date we have maintained), while to the Filipinos we not only withheld such assurance, but we have made them a base return for their faith in us, which no true man who considers the facts can contemplate without deep mortification. We have violated such an obligation as gentlemen hold sacred; we have declared war upon them by a claim of sovereignty, which at the time when it was issued was certainly unconstitutional; we have ignored their existing government; have called them rebels when they never professed allegiance to us; have declined their earnest plea for peace after the first accidental encounter; have killed their people, pillaged their homes and their churches (the junk shops of San Francisco are filled with the loot of the latter).— *From City and State, December 7, 1899.*

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General Lawton, the brave, perfectly faithful soldier, whose duty it is to die and not to question, is dead. He fell the victim of a bullet aimed by men who are fighting for independence, and to maintain the proposition that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed. The whole nation mourns General Lawton; but there will be great division of opinion as to the real cause of his death, and as to where responsibility for it lies. Our friends, the imperialists, say: You anti-imperialists are responsible for it; had it not been for the encouragement you gave the Filipino rebels, they would not have resisted our attempts to benevolently assimilate them. We say, no! and we think our answer is the true and reasonable one; the cause of Lawton's death, and much more suffering like it, resulted from the Administration's determination to abrogate the Declaration of Independence; it would have been prevented if the President or the Congress of the United States

had said, one year ago, the Philippine Islands are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent.
— *From City and State, December 28, 1899.*

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IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS.

President Schurman says:

"I believe that many of those who fought against the Americans were animated by the highest ideals of loyalty to independence. I think that Aguinaldo is one of the class, and that he is an honest man."

Secretary of War Root says:

"The struggle against the United States is prompted by selfish ambition of a military dictator, who has gathered all the forces of disorder, and with his bands occupies one-half of the island of Luzon."

President McKinley in his recent Western speeches insinuated that Aguinaldo had been paid "a bribe" for "peace"; that he "struck a blow" at us, and that it "was a foul one." Here is the testimony of three witnesses for the Administration. That of President Schurman is directly contradictory of the President and Mr. Root. Which statement is true?— *From City and State, January 4, 1900.*

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What is the fair explanation of this tremendous change in Mr. McKinley's attitude, a change which fair-minded men can scarcely credit until a close study of the facts has forced them to it—a change from the fullest recognition of those inherent political rights asserted by the Declaration to the most flagrant and merciless denial of them? With the voice of Washington and Lincoln he speaks to Cuba, but with the voice of Denby to the Filipinos. In the Philippine case the Denby policy is the controlling one. We will take and keep these people if it pays us to do so, just as the nations of Europe do; or if not, let them go to cutting their own throats or playing what pranks they please. So spoke Colonel Denby. Such is the situation. But the question is still open for the American people to decide: Shall we indorse the Denby policy, with its brutality, its violation of sacred obligations and of the American idea, and favor materialism? or shall we save our stained honor, saying to the Philippines what we

said to Cuba—assuring these islands that they “are and of right ought to be free and independent,” under a reasonable, fostering, American protectorate?— *From City and State, January 11, 1900.*

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No one can maintain for a moment that we have treated the Filipinos as we would have had a stronger power treat us. The missionaries that Christ sent to evangelize the world went poor and defenseless, trusting for acceptance of their mission with men only to the word of their Master and the power of love and truth. The missionaries for which President Schurman calls in large numbers will have to support them the army and navy of the United States, and the bitter memory in the Filipino mind of what those strong twin powers can inflict of suffering and loss upon the disobedient to add weight to their message. And yet we venture to doubt whether this *fin de siècle* gospel, provided with all these modern appliances, will accomplish so much as did the meager plan devised by the Founder. Before we expect missionaries to be successful with their message, we must, by just dealing, prepare the way to those they are sent to convert.— *From City and State, January 11, 1900.*

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General Otis has much to say about the self-restraint of his own troops, who were thus goaded on to hostilities, but he does not suggest that the situation was even more trying to the troops of the insurgent government, who saw their land occupied by foreigners, from whom they could get no assurances of anything looking toward the liberty and independence for which they had been fighting. Still, no clash of arms took place at Iloilo until hostilities had begun at Manila. Then, with a naïveté which one would hardly expect from such an experienced censor as General Otis, he tells us (p. 103):

“The territory was no longer Spain's, but we still hesitated to take decisive action, for fear of provoking the insurgents, or really giving them the excuse to attack us which they desired. Now this last obstacle had been removed by their determined onslaughts on Manila, *and it was very important, for overmastering political reasons, to take possession of these southern ports, through force or otherwise, as circumstances might demand. . . . We . . . concluded that exigencies compelled us to clear up the field which we were confronting at Iloilo.*” [Italics ours.]

It would have been interesting to know what overmastering political reasons required him, on February 7th, to ask permission to take Iloilo. The fact that the treaty of peace was then before the Senate, and the vote just coming on, may offer some solution.— *From City and State, January 18, 1900.*

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The report of General Otis, which has just issued from the Government printing-office, is quite enlightening on several points, although one who reads it may well wish that it were more complete than it is. We have only space now to refer to one or two points. It seems that a deputation of business men from Iloilo, on the island of Panay, requested that the authority of the United States should be established there; but when General Miller was despatched to take possession, and found the insurgent flag flying from two places, he reported:

“They have taken charge of the custom house and post-office. . . . The city is quiet, but the white citizens, especially Americans, are afraid. . . . The fact that these people are in possession of the city has changed the views of the many wavering ones. The longer they remain in possession, collecting customs, running post-offices, the more they will be confirmed in the idea that they can do it. I should recommend that force be used at once.”. . . (p. 62.)

General Miller, being a plain, blunt soldier, naturally thought that if we were going to take over these islands for ourselves, on the ground that the inhabitants were incapable of self-government, we had better do so before they convinced themselves and the rest of the world that they could conduct their own government without our generous assistance.— *From City and State, January 18, 1900.*

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The most staggering blow the imperialists have suffered was that hit them by General Otis in the report we quoted last week, when he speaks of “the overmastering political reasons” that made it desirable to take Iloilo, by force if necessary, at a time when Aguinaldo had asked for a peaceable settlement of the troubles begun February 4th, which request General Otis had refused. This, translated into plain English, means that General Otis, as an agent of the Administration, wished to slaughter men and destroy their property without moral right, without authority of an act of

Congress, for some “overmastering political reasons.” But what political reasons exist which justify killing men when war has not been declared? We know of no such reasons. Could it have been that the authorities at Washington found it necessary to have fighting in the islands, that such a state of affairs might put the peace treaty through and conclude a commercial transaction before dreaded rivals stepped in? That were a national crime, indeed! If these were not the “overmastering political reasons,” what were they? The Administration is on the defensive—it should reply.— *From City and State, January 25, 1900.*

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A prominent citizen of Philadelphia, well known for his intelligent and judicious activity in good works, recently formed one of a number of gentlemen who called on President McKinley. The object of the visit did not relate to Philippine affairs, but that subject seemed to be much on the President's mind; he spoke of it quite freely, and said in substance, with confident warmth, that we had to-day 60,000 missionaries at work in those islands, spreading Christianity and civilization among their inhabitants. These Christian missionaries are the soldiers of the army of the United States. The President's statement that they were missionaries is very important, if true; but is it true? That the President fully believes it true we have not the slightest doubt; but that fact alone should not wholly control the judgment and dictate the conclusions of his fellow-citizens.— *From City and State, February 1, 1900.*

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