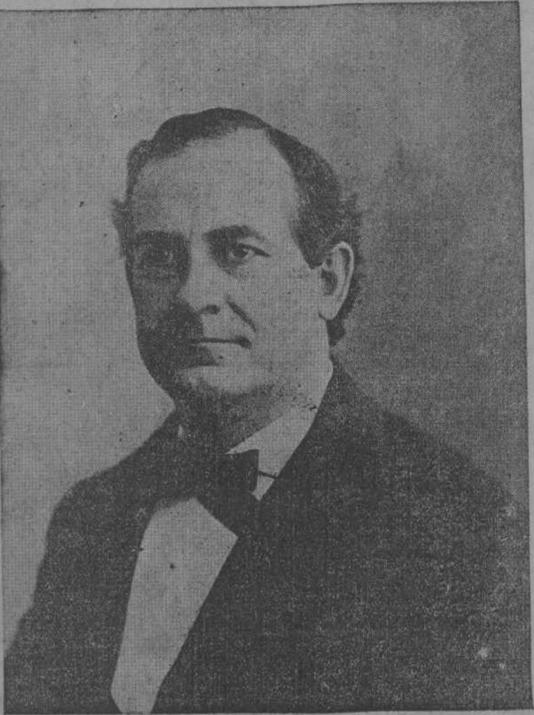


WILLIAM J. BRYAN ON NATIONAL EXPANSION.

A Special Article to the Readers of the Journal Giving His Reasons for Opposing Colonial Acquisition.

My Dear Reader I enclose an article on Jefferson vs Imperialism for next Sunday, yours Bryan



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.
(Photo by Townsend, Lincoln, Neb.)

THE advocates of imperialism have sought to support their position by appealing to the authority of Jefferson.

Of all the statesmen who have ever lived, Jefferson was the one most hostile to the doctrines embodied in the demand for a European colonial policy.

Imperialism, as it now presents itself, embraces four distinct propositions:

First—That the acquisition of territory by conquest is right.

Second—That the acquisition of remote territory is desirable.

"Not Self Governed."

Third—That the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is unsound.

Fourth—That people can be wisely governed by aliens.

To all these propositions Jefferson was emphatically opposed. In a letter to William Short, written in 1791, he said:

"If there be one principle more deeply written than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have no business to do with conquest."

"American Should Avoid Conquest."

Could he be more explicit? Here we have a clear and strong denunciation of the doctrine that territory should be acquired by force. If it is said that we have outgrown the ideas of the fathers, it may be observed that the doctrine laid down by Jefferson was reiterated only a few years ago by no less a Republican than James G. Blaine. All remember the enthusiasm with which he entered into the work of bringing the republics of North and South America into close and cordial relations. Some, however, may have forgotten the resolutions introduced by him at the conference held in 1890 and approved by the commissioners present. They are as follows:

"FIRST—That the principle of conquest shall not during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law

"SECOND—That all cessions of territory made during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration shall be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force.

"THIRD—Any Nation from which such cessions shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cessions so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

"Principle of Conquest is Wrong."

"FOURTH—Any renunciation of the right to arbitration made under the conditions named in the second section shall be null and void."

If the principle of conquest is right, why should it be denied a place in American public law? So objectionable is the theory of acquisition of territory by conquest that the nation which suffers such injustice can, according to the resolutions, recover by arbitration the land ceded in the presence of an armed force. So abhorrent is it that a waiver of arbitration made under such circumstances is null and void. While the resolutions were only for the consideration of the American republics the principle therein stated cannot be limited by latitude or longitude.

But this is a time of great and rapid changes, and some may even look upon Blaine's official acts as ancient history. If so, let it be remembered that President McKinley only a year ago (December 6, 1897), in a message to Congress discussing the Cuban situation, said:

"I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression."

And yet some are now thinking of that which was then "not to be thought of." Policy may change, but does a "code of morality change?"

In his recent speech at Savannah, Secretary Gage, in defending the new policy of the Administration, suggested that "philanthropy and 5 per cent" may go hand in hand.

Surely we know not what a day may bring forth if in so short a time "criminal aggression" can be transformed into "philanthropy and five per cent."

What beauty, what riches, the isles of the Pacific must possess if they can tempt our people to abandon not only the traditions of a century, but our standard of national morality! What visions of national greatness the Philippines must arouse if the very sight of them can lead our country to vie with the monarchies of the old world in the extension of sovereignty by force!

Jefferson has been called an expansionist, but our opponents will search in vain for a single instance where he advocated the acquisition of remote territory. On the contrary, he expressly disclaimed any desire for land outside of the North American Continent.

That he looked forward to the annexation of Cuba is well known, but in a letter to President Monroe, dated June 23, 1823, he suggested that we should be in readiness to receive Cuba "when solicited by herself."

To him Cuba was desirable only because of the island's close proximity to the United States. Thinking that some one might use the annexation of Cuba as a precedent for indefinite expansion, he said in a letter to President Madison, dated April 27, 1809:

"No Limit to Future Acquisitions."

"It will be objected to our receiving Cuba that no limit can then be drawn to our future acquisitions," but, he added, "Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it."

In the same letter, speaking of the possible acquisition of that island, he said:

"I would immediately erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba and inscribe on it a ne plus ultra as to us in that direction."

It may be argued that Jefferson was wrong in asserting that we should confine our possessions to the North American continent, but certainly no one can truthfully quote him as an authority for excursions into the eastern hemisphere. If he was unwilling to go further south than Cuba, even in the Western Hemisphere, would he be likely to look with favor upon colonies in the Orient?

If the authority of Jefferson cannot be invoked to support the acquisition of remote territory, much less can his great name be used to excuse a colonial policy which denies to the people the right to govern themselves.

When he suggested an inscription for his monument he did not enumerate the honors which he had received, though no American had been more highly honored; he only asked to be remembered for what he had done, and he named the writing of the Declaration of Independence as the greatest of his deeds.

"No Government by External Force."

In that memorable document he declared it a self-evident truth that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The defence and development of that doctrine was his special care. His writings abound with expressions showing his devotion to that doctrine and his solicitude for it. He preached it in the enthusiasm of his youth; he reiterated it when he reached the age of maturity; he crowned it with benedictions in his old age. Who will say that, if living, he would jeopardize it to-day by engraving upon it the doctrine of government by external force?

Upon the fourth proposition Jefferson is no less explicit. Now, when some are suggesting the wisdom of a military government for the Philippines, or a colonial system such as England administers in India, it will not be out of place to refer to the manner in which Jefferson viewed the inability of aliens to prescribe laws and administer government. In 1817 a French society was formed for the purpose of settling upon a tract of land near the Tombigbee River. Jefferson was invited to formulate laws and regulations for the society. On the 16th of January of that year he wrote from Monticello expressing his high appreciation of the confidence expressed in him, but declining to undertake the task. The reasons he gave are well worth considering at this time. After wishing them great happiness in their undertaking, he said:

The laws, however, which must effect this must flow from their own habits, their own feelings and the resources of their own minds. No stranger to these could possibly propose regulations adapted to them. Every people have their own particular habits, ways of thinking, manners, etc., which have grown up with them from their infancy, are become a part of their nature, and to which the regulations which are to make them happy must be accommodated. No member of a foreign country can be a sufficient sympathizer with these. The institutions of Lycurgus, for example, would not have suited Athens, nor those of Solon, Lacedaemon. The organizations of Locke were impracticable for Carolina, and those of Rousseau for Poland. Turning inwardly on myself from these eminent illustrations of the truth of my observation, I feel all the presumption it would manifest should I undertake to do what this respectable society is alone qualified to do suitably for itself.

"Alien Lacks Sympathy With Us."

The alien may possess greater intelligence and greater strength, but he lacks the sympathy for, and the identification with, the people. We have only to recall the grievances enumerated in the Declaration of Independence to learn how an ocean may dilute justice and how the cry of the oppressed can be silenced by distance. And yet the inhabitants of the colonies were the descendants of Englishmen—blood of their blood, and bone of their bone. Shall we be more considerate of subjects further away from us, and differing from us in color, race and tongue, than the English were of their own offspring?

Modest Jefferson? He had been Governor, Ambassador to France, Vice-President and President; he was ripe in experience and crowned with honors; but this modern lawgiver, this immortal genius, hesitated to suggest laws for a people with whose habits, customs and methods of thought he was unfamiliar.

And yet the imperialists of to-day, intoxicated by a taste of blood, are rash enough to enter upon the government of the Filipinos, confident of the nation's ability to compel obedience, even if it cannot earn gratitude or win affection. Plutarch said that men entertained three sentiments concerning the ancient gods:

They feared them for their strength, admired them for their wisdom and loved them for their justice. Jefferson taught the doctrine that governments should win the love of men. What shall be the ambition of our nation—to be loved because it is just or to be feared because it is strong?

UNCLE SAM WONT PAY MAHAN'S BILL.

Famous Author Refused to Pay Expenses in Coming to Serve on War Board.

Washington, Dec. 24.—The claim of Captain A. T. Mahan for travelling expenses incurred in returning from Rome, Italy, on the order of Secretary Long to serve on the War Board has been rejected.

The Comptroller of the Treasury holds that if an officer is granted leave of absence and goes away from his post of official duty for his own pleasure and recreation, or upon private business, there is no just reason why his return should be at the expense of the Government. A leave of absence to an officer is not in the nature of a contract that the Government may not at any time revoke before its expiration.

This view is in accord with a previous decision of the Comptroller, disallowing a similar claim of Captain F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N.

SENT DAUGHTER TO A BURGLAR'S CELL.

Emily Marlatt and Emma Tuttle Pleaded Guilty of Robbing Marlatt and Laughed.

Emily Marlatt, aged 18, and Emma Tuttle, sixteen years old, were imprisoned yesterday for burglary, the former in the Morris County Jail and the latter in the State Industrial School for Girls.

The girls were arraigned in court at Morristown Friday. Both pleaded guilty, and laughed as they did so.

Henry Marlatt, father of Emily, has a small meat market in Boonton. On the night of December 12 last the market was robbed of a sum of money. Marlatt suspected his daughter and Emma Tuttle, and had them arrested.

CARTER HARRISON GETS A BIG SCOOP.

Yuletide Reminder of His Victory Over the Franchise Grabbers.

Chicago, Dec. 24.—A scoop nine feet long lay on Mayor Harrison's desk when he arrived at his office in the City Hall today. It was a Christmas present from the Rescue Club, and bore this inscription:

To Hon. Carter Harrison: Souvenir of Greatest "Scoop" in Franchises of the Century. Dig Deeper for 1900.

The Rescue Club. The scoop is one of the kind used in soap factory vats, and is very heavy. The Mayor considers it one of the most unique Christmas presents he has seen.

Three Boy Skaters Drowned. Albany, N. Y., Dec. 24.—Three boys were drowned this morning at the old Tivoli reservoir. They were Fred Schewes, aged eight; Willie Schewes, aged fourteen; Frank Rapp, aged eight. The boys were playing shinny on the ice, when it broke and they went under.

BOOKS BURNED, HE DECLARES.

But, Anthony Toles Says, They Were Only "Useless Records" of Big Trust.

Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 24.—Attorney Toles, who represents the Standard Oil, says that none of the books of the company which are wanted for examination under the orders of the Supreme Court have been destroyed. Only useless records were burned, he says.

"So far as I know," said Mr. Toles today, "the books in question will be produced when the proper time comes."

Owing to the non-appearance of high Standard Oil officials whose testimony is wanted, no depositions were taken before Notary Mason today.

SUNKEN SPANIARDS REACH HONG KONG.

Isla De Luzon and Isla de Cuba Steam Safely from Manila.

Washington, Dec. 24.—The Navy Department learns that the Isla de Luzon and the Isla de Cuba, two of the vessels sunk by Dewey at Cavite and subsequently raised by Naval Constructor Capps, have safely made the voyage from Manila to Hong Kong under their own steam. They are to be docked and thoroughly repaired at Hong Kong, and because of their peculiar fitness for the service will be kept among the Philippine Islands for some time to come.

The gunboat Wilmington sailed today from Norfolk. She will touch first at San Juan, Porto Rico, and then proceed to the north coast of Brazil, where she will enter the Orinoco River and ascend that stream some distance. This will be the first time in many years that an American war vessel has floated in the Orinoco.

Warink Fund Now \$93,567.50. Former Mayor William L. Strong, treasurer of the Waring Memorial Fund, announced yesterday that the grand total reached \$93,567.50.

THROUGH LINE TO MONTREAL.

Vanderbilts Buy Roads in Vermont That They Will Consolidate with Harlem.

The New York & Harlem Railroad will soon become a portion of a through line which will connect New York City with Montreal. As at present operated it is purely a local line, carrying an immense suburban traffic into the Grand Central Station from the Harlem Valley, extending up to the extreme northwestern boundary of Connecticut. Through its control by the Vanderbilts under a lease the New York Central is enabled to reach the Grand Central Station from both New York and the New York, New Haven & Hartford from Woodlawn.

The Vanderbilts are understood to have completed the purchase of the old unused Lebanon Springs road and the Bennington & Rutland. The latter road has an entrance into Canada. By the construction of a few short connecting links a through line can be operated to Montreal. The Bennington & Rutland is a portion of the Central Vermont system.

DREYFUS ON THE STAGE IN CHICAGO.

Play Presented by Jewish Actors in the Heart of the Western City's Ghetto.

Chicago, Dec. 24.—"Captain Dreyfus," a four-act melodrama, by P. Tomashevsky, had its first performance last night at Glickman's Theatre, in the heart of Chicago's Ghetto.

All of the actors were Jews, the audience was made up of orthodox Jews, and the language of the play was Yiddish.

The play tells a story of Dreyfus and the persecutions Jews have undergone for centuries. At the close, the Captain returns to France in triumph.

E. F. Glickman, who played the part of Captain Dreyfus, was enthusiastically applauded, and N. J. Simon, as Major Esterhazy, was heartily hissed. Miss Brown as the Princess Von Matrinka, was especially strong.

Reception of Morton Commandery, No. 4, K. T. Morton Commandery, No. 4, Knights Templar, will hold its annual reception at Lenox Lyceum, Madison avenue and Fifty-ninth street, on the evening of Thursday, January 12. The drill will, as usual, be a feature of the occasion.