

to despise, and returns to the democratic principles of liberty, which we have been taught to revere, they will express their disapproval in the only way which the administration seems to respect, viz.: by means of the ballot.

Many have been confused by the pretense that national honor required the subjugation of the Christian Filipinos. How false and dishonorable is this claim, when we remember that the reason given for bribing with salaries, instead of subjugating the polygamous, slave-holding Mohammedans of Sulu, was, that they were a fierce and warlike people, who would savagely resist any interference with their institutions! How false and hypocritical is this plea of national honor, when we consider that instead of treating the Christians of Luzon as well as we did the savage Sulu Mohammedans, we adopted the suggestion of Mr. John Foreman, who advised our government: "The islands are a splendid group, well worth picking a quarrel and spending a few millions sterling to annex them." (See P. 556, Government Document, No. 62.)

What becomes of the national honor and the pretense of conferring the blessing of Christian civilization, when we pusillanimously hire the Sulu Mohammedans to float the stars and stripes over polygamy, slavery and despotism, while at the same time we kill Christians in Luzon by the thousands because they are guilty of only one crime—the same crime of which the American colonies were guilty in the days of George III?

Since we believe in killing Christians because they desire self-government, while we protect Mohammedans in the practice of polygamy, slavery and despotism, it is fair to ask whether we believe in the principles of Christian civilization, to say nothing of a desire or the ability to teach them to other peoples, who are already Christian.

A. B. CHOATE.

Minneapolis, Minn., Feb. 10, 1902.

SHALL WE ABANDON GREAT MORALS?

For The Public.

To denounce as "sentimental" or "academic" every protest against the present un-American foreign policy of the United States appears to be a favorite occupation of the administration politicians and of the subsidized administration press.

If the intent be to identify "sentiment" with "sentimentality," the effort is wide of the mark, for the one term is a gross perversion of the other. "Sentimental" may be predicated of that to which the reason has not contributed—the result merely of feeling. But a sentiment is an opinion derived from the cooperation of the intellectual and moral faculties.

The cultivation of just sentiments strengthens the character and enriches the individual life. It is sentiment that controls our relations with our fellow men in society. It is sentiment that originates law, and it is sentiment that induces obedience thereto on the part of every right-minded citizen. It is sentiment that effects every private contract, and it is sentiment that gives to every treaty its binding force. It is sentiment that dictates every just national policy. As an individual without sentiment is a poor creature indeed, so a nation whose policies evince its want, is a spectacle for men and gods.

It is perhaps natural that they who attempt the defense of policies permeated with that which Holy Writ declares to be the root of all evil should resort to an expression implying excessive sensibility. It might be expected that the apologists for highway robbery and murder on a national scale would object to considerations suggested by the Decalogue.

But to return to sentiment. What were Magna Charta and the English bill of rights? Sentiment. What was the declaration of Hampden: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute?" Sentiment. What was the assertion of our revolutionary fathers: "Taxation without representation is unjust?" Sentiment. What was the declaration of independence? Sentiment. What is the "bill of rights" in our federal constitution? Sentiment. What has been the demand for civil and religious liberty in all history? Sentiment. It ill becomes men to sneer at sentiment, who are to-day enjoying that constitutional liberty which is the product of some of the best sentiments of the race.

And the protest against certain governmental policies, we are told, is "academic," too; that is, theoretical, and not practical. The discussions eventuating in the declaration of independence were indeed academic, but they were at the same time eminently practical.

Our revolutionary fathers were disposed to square every political consideration with the moral law—a law whose obligation they knew could be impaired by no enlargement of terri-

tory, no increase of population, no development of trade—a law which they knew to be more binding on a village community than on an imperial state.

The constitutional creation of the fathers was not builded for a generation, or for a century, but for the ages. It was builded to be, not a republic to-day and an empire to-morrow, but a republic forever. Neither war, nor trade, nor colonization, were to be the glories of the nation they builded, but education, and science, and art, and the perfection of self-government. They builded a nation whose freedom from foreign alliances should be regarded as not more important to the weakness of its youth than to the strength of its later years—a nation which should be recognized the world over, not as the exploiter of the bodies and souls of men, but as a moral menace to every invasion of man's rights—the political emancipator of the race.

"Academic" this may be, but observance thereof is as binding on the national conscience to-day as it was yesterday, and no more obligatory to-day than it will be to-morrow. "Academic" this may be, but, if anything is practical for the statesmanship of the year 1902, it is these very considerations. Disregard of them means nothing more or less than the beginning of the end of the republic of the United States.

It is believed that if the fathers could have foreseen the blighting commercialism of the present day, and the infinite shame it is bringing to the national escutcheon, they would have provided positive constitutional guarantees against present abuses. That they did not make such provision can only be ascribed to their inability to anticipate such political apostasy on the part of their descendants.

JOHN SAMPSON.

No. 2420 14th St., Washington D. C.

Jan. 20, 1902.

JOHN P. ALTGELD'S LAST SPEECH.

An abstract of the speech delivered at the pro-Boer meeting in Joliet, Ill., March 11, by Hon. John P. Altgeld; furnished to The Public from Joliet under date of March 11.

At a great pro-Boer meeting held at the opera house here to-night, ex-Gov. Altgeld declared that all friends of humanity owed a debt of gratitude to Gov. Yates for issuing a proclamation soliciting assistance for the Boer women and children who are perishing in foul concentration camps which the British are maintaining in South Africa.

He said that the kind people of

America had raised a large sum of money with which to relieve the distress of the Boer women and children, and now we are unable to send it to them. And he then made the startling declaration that we, the most powerful people of the world, could not even perform an errand of charity, because Lord Pauncefote, the British ambassador at Washington, objected to it; that while we were boasting of our power and of our prestige, and claiming to be a world power, we could not even send a chest of medicine, or a basket of bread, to perishing women and children, because the English ambassador was opposed to it.

Gov. Altgeld further charged that Lord Pauncefote has for several years meddled in American affairs, and that our state department and Secretary Hay were mere vest pocket conveniences for the British ambassador.

There were 18 counts and specific charges in Gov. Altgeld's indictment.

1. That just before the beginning of the Spanish war Lord Pauncefote, representing the aristocracy of the old world, meddled in our affairs, and tried to unite the governments of Europe in making a joint protest against America's interference in behalf of Cuba.

2. That when the American people asserted themselves, and our government was compelled to go to the rescue of Cuba, then England issued a strong neutrality proclamation, forbidding all of her subjects everywhere from furnishing us aid, or doing anything that would in any way be a violation of the strictest neutrality.

3. That the treaties between England and the South African republics recognized the latter as independent nations, except only as to the right to make treaties with foreign countries; that Chamberlain had repeatedly declared in and out of parliament that they were independent nations, and that England had no right to interfere in any manner with their internal affairs; that Gladstone and Morley and Brice and that great body of English people who have made England great, were in favor of doing justice to the Boers, but that the aristocracy, to which Lord Pauncefote belonged, the stock speculators, the gamblers, the whisky-drinking, cock-fighting, strutting, brutal element that was running the government, wanted the lands and

the gold fields of the Boers, and brought on this war.

4. That had our government at that time been true to our traditions and intimated to England that we should regard the destruction of the two young republics of South Africa as an unfriendly act toward all republican governments, England would have stopped, she would have arbitrated, and the horrors that have since been enacted in South Africa would not have happened.

5. But that instead of being true to the sentiment of our people and republican institutions, our state department was so manipulated by Lord Pauncefote, the British ambassador, that it gave England positive assurances of our moral support in everything she might do; that these assurances were given with so much ostentation as to attract the attention of the world.

6. That Chamberlain publicly boasted that while there was no written alliance between the two governments, there was what he called an understanding between statesmen which he said was of far more importance than written treaties.

7. That in consequence of the stand taken by our government other countries were deterred from interfering, and from helping the Boers.

8. That consequently, through Lord Pauncefote's manipulation, our government has rendered Great Britain greater service than it could have rendered by sending armies and navies into the war.

9. That we have thus made ourselves moral partners in guilt, and morally responsible for the murders, the burnings and the infamies practiced in South Africa by the English aristocracy.

10. That through Lord Pauncefote's manipulation Secretary Hay's son was sent as consul to South Africa, and was ostentatiously sent by way of Lord Salisbury's office to get his instructions; that this was done on purpose to show the other nations that our country would stand by England.

11. That then the inter-oceanic canal treaty was negotiated by Secretary Hay with England, by virtue of which we were to furnish all the money, and do all the work, and get the right of way, but were not to fortify it, but were to leave it in such a condition that the English navy could at any time render our property worthless; and that this pusillanimous treaty was defeated by a republican senate.

12. That the British censor in South

Africa has repeatedly stopped and opened our mails which the United States government sent to its own officers in South Africa; that in some cases the censor held these mails back for weeks, and then kindly wrote an indorsement on the envelope, permitting them to pass. Gov. Altgeld held up before his audience fac similes of the envelopes with the English censor's indorsement on them, showing how the mails of the American government were thus tampered with, and he charged that no other government on earth would submit to such an insult; but that through the influence of Lord Pauncefote our state department was prevented from even making a protest.

13. That in 1898 the American people declared that concentration camps could not be tolerated on American soil; that now for nearly two years England is maintaining concentration camps in the Bermuda islands, which are a part of America, where she is imprisoning not only men, but eight and ten year old boys, and that no protest has been made by our government against this practice.

14. That instead of maintaining strict neutrality between England and the Boers, as England compelled her subjects to maintain between us and the Spaniards, we have allowed the English to maintain a regular supply camp at New Orleans for the purpose of supplying the English with munitions of war, and have shipped over 150,000 head of horses and mules, beside other munitions of war, without which England could not possibly have continued the contest; that we have violated all the laws of neutrality, and that although many of our people have protested against this outrage, Lord Pauncefote's influence over the state department is so strong that not even a protest has been made against it.

15. That now after the humane people of America have raised funds with which to buy medicine and furnish other relief as a matter of charity to the women and children who are perishing in British concentration camps in South Africa, our Secretary of State Hay has refused to even apply for a passport for an American citizen to carry this charity fund to South Africa; that Lord Pauncefote's influence at the state department at Washington is more potent than that of 70,000,000 American people.

16. That through the influence of Lord Pauncefote, we are going to send a special embassy to the coronation of King Edward, so as to indorse the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and at least by our conduct apologize

for the acts of the fathers in establishing republican institutions in America founded on the rights of man.

17. Gov. Altgeld further declared that Gen. De Wet with his fighting farmers was a more important factor in the progress of the world than was King Edward VII.; that De Wet and his farmers represented the aspirations and the hopes of the toiling millions of the earth, in all lands, who do the world's work, and make civilization possible; while King Edward VII. represented simply the parasitic classes that eat the substance of other men's toil.

18. The governor further declared that England was on the downward grade, and will in time pass off of the maps of the world; and that if every Boer in South Africa were shot down, the glory of their heroism would live through the eternities and be forever an inspiration to mankind.

Domiey—Do you think the administration is pro English?

Trumley—No, but I am afraid I should be thinking it was pro English if it was running cheap excursions down to New Orleans, so that the common people could see the embarkation of the South African mules.

G. T. E.

"I had no idea that my gambling at Monte Carlo would create so much of a sensation," said the rich American.

"Well," said the friend, "there is a strong local sentiment in America. People couldn't understand why, if you were determined to gamble for high stakes, you should not leave the money in Wall street. — Washington Star.

Crokerly—Is Heeler a wire puller?

Plattster—He's more than that. He's a wireless puller.

G. T. E.

Dorothy—We have had a lovely autumn.

Margaret—Yes, I've enjoyed every minute of it. Indeed, I have been wickedly happy; but I'm going to begin next month and worry like everything.—Life.

The Pusher—Don't you believe all that Gov. Taft says?

The Doubter—I believe more.

G. T. E.

Upon the other hand, if there were no such thing as a cold in the head, perhaps every man you met would have a remedy for trusts, or something like that.—Puck.

BOOK NOTICES.

In "The American Farmer," by C. M. Simons (Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth avenue. Price, 50 cents) an attempt is made to interest the agricultural class in the Socialist party. Besides containing an interesting compendium of the history and present condition of agricultural industry in the United States, Mr. Simons's monograph explains the philosophy and expected development of socialism from the point of view of the "scientific" cult of which Marx was the founder and the German leaders in socialist politics are later expositors. The philosophy and programme of this socialism is, in their estimation, to use the language of the monograph, "nothing more or less than a series of deductions from observed social facts." As soon as any new social facts appear, still following this text, socialism "must admit them into its premises, and if necessary modify its conclusions." It is difficult to forbear reflecting, at this point, that if that were practiced more assiduously by socialist thinkers with reference to all the large social facts that have already appeared and still exist, "scientific" socialism might be more truly scientific. Like the other literature of this cult, Mr. Simons's appeal to the American farmer is marred by loose generalizations and eccentric analyses, due to disregarding manifest and decisive facts in social experience; but the book presents an outline of "scientific" socialism so much more precise and lucid than is usual with the propaganda literature of the subject that it would be for that reason alone, if for no other, a book which all who are interested in social phenomena ought to read.

PERIODICALS.

—The Comrade, for March, makes a specialty of the Paris Commune of 1871.

—Both the leading article and the leading miscellaneous editorial of the Open Court for March are on the subject of taxation, the former by Judge A. N. Waterman, of Chicago, and the latter by the editor, Dr. Paul Carus. If the enterprising single tax letter writers who have recently enlivened the columns of the Chronicle do not make the mail of Judge Waterman and Dr. Carus lively, it will not be because these distinguished thinkers have offered no openings. It is almost inconceivable that men of their ability and acquirements should be capable of falling into elementary errors so manifest and gross.

—The Atlantic Monthly for March (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), a magazine which is admirably doing for the serious thought and cultivated literary taste of the time what the heavy reviews and picture book monthlies hardly more than profess to do, surpasses its previous issues in the importance, variety and human interest of its contents. In light literature there is an installment of Cable's "Bylow Hill," and a complete story by Florence Williamson. Poetry is represented by "An Italian Rhapsody," from the pen of Robert Underwood Johnson, and an essay, by William Roscoe Thayer, on "Dante as a Lyric Poet. In history, Goldwin Smith writes of "England and the War of Secession," and Charles E. Bennett of municipal reform in the Rome of the first century, while Rowland E. Robinson describes, in the guise of dialect narrative, an old-time New England town meeting. An article on vivisection is contributed by Henry Childs Merwin. The Philippine question passes under review in two phases, the educational problem and the economic. Trusts "in the light" of the census is an important article which might better be described as "in the colored light" of the census. The most significant article of all, however, is by Edwin Burritt Smith, on municipal self-government, in which he argues against submitting the local affairs of cities to state control. The radical character of this article may be inferred from its conclusions that state control over local affairs violates the principle of self-government, "endangers the state in the vain effort to serve the city," "relieves the people of the city of local responsibility," and "corrupts and paralyzes both state and city administration."

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