

course the administration had determined to take in their cause. While he was doing this Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British ambassador at Washington, sat peacefully and contentedly in the adjoining room.

Is it any wonder that great tears stood in the eyes of those republicans from South Africa when they returned to their hotel in Washington? Is it any wonder if multiplied thousands of American freemen, who love justice and fair play, will turn against a party that will not even place a word of sympathy for liberty-loving people in its platform, and will not even so much as maintain absolute neutrality between a selfish monarchy and two little republics?—Hon. Webster Davis.

MALADMINISTRATION IN LUZON.

Telegram to Chicago Chronicle from Fort Dodge, Ia., under date of July 6.

Ernest Wheelock, of Algona, formerly private secretary to Gen. Wesley Merritt in Manila, and who has just returned from the Philippines, has given out an interview on information concerning the conditions existing there that is in startling variance with the generally accepted idea of the subject. Mr. Wheelock enlisted in the Thirteenth Minnesota, but was made Gen. Merritt's secretary, which position he occupied during that general's stay in the islands.

Mr. Wheelock indulges in a scathing criticism of the administration of affairs in our island possessions. He says that our rule in those lands is a maladministration, and that it is so recognized by all Europeans in Manila. He states that we have proven false to our promises to the Filipino leaders, and we have grossly ill treated the native people.

As to the drinking of the men there, he says that he has never yet seen a statement of it that was overdrawn, and confirms the statement of Miss Shonts regarding the multiplication of saloons in Manila since the American occupation. Wheelock does not blame the administration for this, but makes the statement in the interest of truth, being himself a republican.

"The misapprehension of the people of the United States," says Mr. Wheelock, "regarding the Philippine islands and the conditions of affairs there is only equalled by the ignorance of the Filipinos of what constitutes good, true Americanism. Why is it that after two years of occupation the Filipino and the American understand each other no better? Why is it that the people that received the armies of the United States in '98 with childlike glee should now despise with an awful

hatred the Americans and things pertaining to them?

"We found them suffering from heavy taxation and we increased their taxes. The cotton cloth that they use for clothing has been imported from Spain and passed through the custom house at Manila by paying a small preferential duty, and we put the imports of Spain on an equal footing with imports from other countries, greatly increasing thereby the cost of clothing in the island. The Filipinos accepted these increased taxes with great patience, waiting from August, 1898, to January, 1899, for the United States to declare their intentions with regard to the government of the archipelago. The proclamation of President McKinley promising everything to the islanders to a people who had become accustomed to broken promises during many generations, and its utter failure was most bitterly received and widened the breach that became a battlefield in February, 1899.

"Before leaving Manila I took pains to interview the leading business men to ascertain with as great a degree of accuracy as possible the consensus of opinion regarding the present condition of affairs, together with the cause and effect leading up to and from the same. It was the general opinion that it was more unsafe in the interior at the present time than ever before. It is true that there are no large armies of insurgents, but the islands are literally covered by bands of from 20 to 100 men, who lie in wait to pick off small detachments of Americans.

"To the uncertainty of the administration in dealing with the Philippine islands for so long a period after occupation by American troops must be attributed the trouble that has cost our country so much. About two months before I left Manila a gentleman by the name of Coombs, who was purchasing agent for the railroad, told me that a conductor on the road by the name of Messick had been arrested two weeks before and that no one had been allowed to see him or find out upon what charges he was confined. I went to the law office of John H. Voslef and detailed the facts to him and he took hold of the case, with the result that in two days he had succeeded in getting to Messick, and in a short time the latter was on trial and a free man. This is only one of the hundreds of acts of injustice that cast reproach upon the fair name of the United States. Until civil government is established and the army relegated to the barracks and the field,

there will never be peace and prosperity in the Philippines."

ST. LOUIS AND THE STRIKE. PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS.

For The Public.

A strike may be a strike the world over, even, as a spade is a spade. Yet as the utility of the spade depends somewhat on the nature of the material to be handled, so the significance of the strike is qualified by the character of the community in which it occurs.

St. Louis is not a city, and there are not wanting, among the inhabitants, those who despair of its ever being such. Though possessed of a complete municipal outfit, it is a big overgrown town, given over to blatant boasting of the biggest this, that and the other; utterly devoid of the civic sense; in all but material things (and in very many of these even) about half a century behind any city of its size in the country. Its distinguishing characteristic is individualism run to seed. Its local deity is creature comforts. Of public spirit there is next to none. Approach a typical prominent citizen with a measure purely pro bono publico, and he will tilt back in his chair, gaze at you with a half amused, half disgusted expression, and virtually say: "I am minding my own business. Why don't you mind yours?" Among the many causes assigned in explanation of this local temper, the most reasonable seems to be the climate. From four to six months of combined and continuous humidity and high temperature is apt to be demoralizing anywhere; but particularly so away from the coast with its occasional alleviating sea change. Be that as it may, it was upon such a community, such a conglomeration of individualists, each immersed in his own affairs, that the street railway strike was sprung on the 8th of May last; and if it be possible for one to regard such occurrence in the light of compulsory education he would have to hunt far and wide to find a place in sorer need of such a visitation. Whether or no the lesson taught will be retained and heeded remains to be seen. This much is certain; that eyes have been opened, the social conscience has been stirred, men formerly steeped in unthinking self-satisfaction have been made heartily ashamed not only of their municipal and state governments, but also of themselves as responsible therefor; "good citizens" who, when the charter and franchises of the Transit

company were corruptly procured, thought it none of their business to protest against what everybody in the town knew to be colossal robbery, have at last found their tongues. Not all will be able to forget very soon. But disgust and remorse are not repentance, and without the latter there is no more salvation for the city than for the individual. If the individual must come to himself, no less must the city. If it be true that he who ruleth his own heart is better than he who taketh a city, no less true is it that the city must own itself and run itself if it is ever to attain to the goal of justifiable self-satisfaction. These truths are beginning to percolate and find lodgment. Nevertheless, it is not because of social repentance, general enlightenment and devotion to tardily recognized but eternal and unchanging principles of right, that those in a position to know declare such another strike to be utterly improbable here. No. But because "it is money that talks," and the million or so of dollars which the strike has cost the Transit company—to say nothing of the losses borne by the large retail establishments—will cause the holders of public franchises to think long and hard before they permit a self-seeking and ambitious general manager to involve them in such an expensive experiment. This view gains weight from the fact, quite generally recognized and admitted, that the fight was won by the men who made it and from well-nigh unavoidable conviction that victory belongs to unionism, now and in the future.

The strike was a blow for unionism—all statements to the contrary notwithstanding. It was not superinduced from without by the wiles and machinations of "professional agitators"—those naughty men from elsewhere. It was home sown and home grown on soil specially prepared for it by the good citizens of St. Louis. It was, to change the figure, a turning of the worm against the heel of a combine more distinctly devoid of soul than any of the smaller corporations which preceded and were absorbed in it. It was the quoad hoc of suffering labor—that ultimate as inevitable as death. For, deny it, as we may, and conduct business and found empires on the denial, as we do, the truth remains that things were made for man, not man for things; and "God's still in His Heaven."

There is, after all, much sense packed into that somewhat over-worked phrase: "Soulless corpora-

tions." A case in point is that of a St. Louis mercantile house, having a continental reputation. Time was when its founder was its head and heart, when his individuality permeated the whole concern. It was then a happy place in which to work and dishonesty was practically unknown. It grew and became a corporation or stock company. The head retired; and his successor in authority having but one idea, viz.: the indefinite increase of this year's dividends over those of last year, deterioration of the personnel at once set in and proceeded until now the relations between employer and employed and between the employes themselves are such as to give the house the local soubriquet of "a hell on earth." This is practically what took place in the case of the railway business and was the radical cause of the strike. Before the consolidation the condition of the employes may not have been—indeed was not—ideal. But the relations between them and the superintendents of the various lines were sufficiently human to have prevented anything like what has recently occurred. It is the independent testimony of individual strikers, that had they been working under their old managers, they would have told the strike movers to go to grass, sooner than follow them. Consolidation, brought about by political jobbery and accompanied by immense watering of stock, meant elimination of soul and degradation of the human. Blind as it doubtless was and absurdly extravagant as the demands with which it opened may have been, the protest made by the strike was natural, human and just.

In his "Story of the Strike," published on June 14, the editor of the *Mirror* said: "The strikers were identified with lawlessness chiefly through the incapacity of chicanery or ambition of small politicians. The disgrace of union labor, as of the city of St. Louis and state of Missouri, is due to bad government. Bad government is due to the bad citizenship of good citizens," and he closed with this question: "When will we all leave off politics and choose our leaders for character, for calmness, for principle, for common sense?"

His statements are unquestionably true. The most deplorable thing about the whole wretched business, worse than the killings and maimings and the denuding of women—worse because less excusable—was that same "bad citizenship of good citizens" which lay at the bottom of all else

and out of which the whole thing grew. To it is to be traced not merely bad government—government indescribably bad because unfaithful and inefficient, from the occupant of the gubernatorial chair down to the collector of the garbage at the area gate—but also that upon which bad government thrives and propagates itself, viz., the unnatural and irrational connection between public utilities and private corporations, the prostitution of the civic service.

If democracy is not an illusion, things are as they are simply and solely because those who know and care are so vastly outnumbered by those who neither know nor care, and conditions will remain unchanged for the better until those who know care enough to sacrifice themselves upon the altar of social service. As Stephen and Mary Maybell have so well put it:

There must be a repentance, a renunciation of the social crime, a turning of the spirit of each one from using into serving society—from living and working for self, unto living and working for society.

We shall elect decent, capable and honorable men to office just so soon as we ourselves are decent and honorable enough to be ready and eager to serve in any capacity for which we are fitted. Not before.

The self-styled Son of Man said he came not to be waited on but to wait on others. He made himself a servant of servants. We call ourselves Christians. Wherein is our right to the name?

GUSTAVUS TUCKERMAN.

A SOCRATIC DIALOGUE.

"I think I got some capacity for cross-examining witnesses, which was very useful to me afterwards, from reading Plato's dialogues and getting familiar with Socrates's method of reducing a sophist ad absurdum."—Senator George F. Hoar in his *Scribner* article on "Harvard College Fifty-Eight Years Ago."

Socrates Redivivus—Well met, Gorgias. I have been anxious to hear you explain, as your friends tell me you can with an unrivaled mastery of the rhetor's art, a passage in your oration to the Ephors which puzzled my poor understanding.

Gorgias Hodiernus—What passage was that, Socrates?

Socrates—The one where you said that it "was due to Mr. Bryan, more than to any other man," that the treaty of Paris was not defeated, or at least amended so as to put the Philippines on the same basis as Cuba.

Gorgias—It is true, Socrates, I made that statement to the Ephors, and by