

# The Public

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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NOTE.—Last week's issue of *The Public* was accidentally mis-numbered. Its number as printed was 47, when it should have been 48. There are, therefore, two issues with the number 47. The second of these will be treated in the index and in supplying copies upon orders, as No. 48.

Rudyard Kipling ought never to be reduced to the English peerage.

Senator Hanna's bribery case has been disposed of by a senatorial committee with the Scotch verdict of "not proven." The minority of the committee, however—comprising Senators Turley, Pettus and Caffery,—reported that enough had been proved to demand further investigation. Even the majority were forced to admit that an attempt was made to bribe an Ohio legislator to vote for Mr. Hanna; but they found no proof connecting Mr. Hanna with the attempt. But what they did find cannot be altogether comfortable to Mr. Hanna's scrupulous friends. While a partisan senatorial committee fails to see that Mr. Hanna was behind the discovered bribery, the public will fail to see that anybody else would have parted with \$1,750 to secure a vote for him.

Every month for many years the federal treasury department has issued a statement purporting to show the amount of money in circulation. This is arrived at by deducting from the total issue the amount in the national treasury, it being assumed that the balance is in circulation. Invariably appended to each statement, and based upon it, is a calculation of the amount of money in circulation per capita. According to the latest of these statements that amount on

the 1st of March was \$25.51. We are not of those who regard the per capita circulation of money as a very important consideration; but since the treasury department seems to think it so, it would be instructive to know whether Mr. Gage in making these reports merely follows an old custom, or really regards the statistics upon which his per capita calculations are based as justifying the results reported.

John D. Rockefeller's alter ego, the Standard Oil trust, by means of which he makes himself enormously rich at public expense, appears to have been driven at last into a close corner. Its officers have recently withheld its books from judicial inspection, on the ground that they would expose the criminality of the concern; and now, it is circumstantially asserted that the attorney general of Ohio has been offered \$400,000 to drop the proceedings. The attorney general virtually confirms the story by refusing to deny it. His language is: "I do not deny it, but you must not expect me to make a public statement about it now." Subsequently he makes this statement:

I am satisfied that my Cleveland friend, through whom the offer of \$400,000 for dropping the fight on the Standard Oil company was made, was innocent of any intention of wrong-doing. He was made a tool of.

We are asked to reconsider our conclusion that women should suffer legal penalties equally with men, and to take the ground that no woman should suffer the death penalty so long as women are denied that time-honored safeguard of liberty—trial by a jury of her peers. We cannot accept this view of the matter. To do so would be to plead for immunity for every woman criminal until women shall have been invested with all civil rights. That would be a reversal of

the right method. The way to secure to women their civil rights equally with men, is not by trying to put them out of the pale of responsibility to the laws that men make for society—thus in still further degree than now excluding them from society—but by insisting upon their being allowed to take their natural place in the work of making and applying the laws.

People of only moderate memories will recall that soon after the November elections Mark Hanna intimated through Washington dispatches that the campaign for McKinley's reelection would begin early in December. Some curiosity was felt at the time to know what the first step would be. In a few days the revelation was made. Before December had half gone, Mr. McKinley was in the south making campaign speeches for 1900. He then offered a bid for the southern vote by proposing hereafter to maintain Confederate graveyards at national expense. His next play was made in his February speeches at Boston, where he discussed the Philippine question, and hinted at the advisability of dropping the protection issue and going for foreign markets. Now comes the third play. This is made for him and not by him. Some of the trusts which have flourished under his administration have taken advantage of the ides of March to celebrate the close of his second year in office by arbitrarily increasing wages, just as a few months before they had arbitrarily reduced wages. This is supposed to be a master stroke. The expense to the trusts amounts to no more than a fair contribution to campaign funds; and though no workman gets an increase of more than 15 cents a day, yet that dole is relied upon to revive among the dependent working classes their dead enthusiasm for McKinley.

He must be blind, indeed, who cannot see that this much talked of increase in wages is a voluntary contribution to Mark Hanna's campaign fund. There is no increase among the employes of competitive business. It is only employes of trusts whose wages are advanced. That is proof enough that the increase is given voluntarily by the trusts, and not forced by conditions of the labor market. And being given voluntarily by the trusts, the inference is plain that their object is to remove from the minds of working men the deepening impression that McKinley prosperity is for trusts and speculators alone.

We speak advisedly when we say that in competitive businesses wages are not being raised. An illustrative instance is afforded by one of the largest competitive mercantile houses of Chicago. Its sales have immensely increased. There is every appearance in its business of exceeding prosperity. But its working force has been only slightly augmented, the old force being obliged to handle most of the new business at the old wages. And the wages of employes whose earnings depend upon their sales have declined, though their sales have increased. One salesman whose sales last year were fully \$10,000 greater than the year before, made something like \$200 less; and the firm, of course, reaped a smaller profit upon his larger volume of sales than they had the year before upon his smaller volume. This house is doubtless a fair example. It would appear to be true enough, then, as one of the McKinley trade papers pleasantly explained last summer, that the peculiarity of McKinley prosperity is that it means more business at a lower profit, and harder work for less wages.

In some instances the pretended increase of wages by the trusts, for political effect, is an unblushing fraud. The vaunted increase in the Cleveland factories, for example, still leaves wages there lower than they were when President McKinley took

his oath of office. Of how many other instances the same thing is true we are unprepared to say; but it is doubtless true of most, and we shall not be surprised to learn that when all things are considered the beneficiaries of this arbitrary increase of wages, now so assiduously advertised, will find their annual incomes no better than in 1896, and worse than in 1893.

As to employes who are not classed as "laborers" and are not organized in unions, their wages have notably fallen. Minor experts, clerks, bookkeepers, minor business men, all have suffered; and they are doomed to suffer more. From good incomes to poor ones, from well paid clerkships to badly paid ones, from \$50 a week to \$25, from \$25 to \$18, from \$18 to \$15, from \$15 to \$12, or \$10, or \$9, or even \$6,—that has been the course of wages for employment outside the mechanical and unskilled grades. And the end is not yet. Are these men to be bamboozled by the parrot cry of "prosperity?"

When trusts raise wages because they can't get help without doing it, workingmen of all grades may hopefully welcome better times. But when trusts raise wages out of their own goodness of heart, workingmen who are wise will ask themselves what kind of trap it is that the trusts are thus baiting with small chunks of generosity.

That bloody lesson which the Americans administered to the Filipinos on the 4th and 5th of February was by no means so effective as it was then expected to be. Six weeks have gone by and the Filipinos are still fighting. Not only do they keep up an irritating sharpshooting fire upon the American outposts, and almost daily engage the American line at one point or another in skirmishes, but they fight also within the American lines. Their marksmanship is observed to be improving, and American casualties are increasing.

Gen. Otis is now reported as estimating that this Philippine war, which was to have been over in a day, will be ended in three months. He is arranging, it is said, to utilize the reinforcements now arriving, by penetrating the jungle with parallel columns and driving the Filipinos out. That is more likely a movement of newspaper than of military design. It is exactly the kind of movement, at any rate, that the Filipinos are apparently trying to tempt Otis into making. So far as they are concerned, it could result only in scattering them temporarily; while it would carry many a poor American soldier to his death by exhaustion and disease.

The real trouble at Manila, as some of the reports begin to complain, is that the Filipinos refuse to play according to the rules of the deadly game. If they would only meet the Americans in a square stand up fight, the Philippine question could be settled quickly with modern guns. But they obstinately refuse to do this. It suits their purpose better to worry the American troops, which they appear to be succeeding in to their entire satisfaction. That at any rate is the inference to be drawn from the guarded official reports and the censored news dispatches.

American imperialists may congratulate themselves upon the approval which Cecil Rhodes bestows upon their policy, and increase their sanguinary enthusiasm as they contemplate the programme he marks out for them. Premising that it is the duty of the United States to help to give barbarians "a white man's government," he predicts that in the performance of that duty the United States will not stop with the Philippines, but will go on conquering until by force of arms Mexico, Central America, and all South America, as well as the West Indian islands, have come under its rule. This sounds like the passionate wail of an anti-expansionist. But it isn't. It is the hearty, whole-souled prophecy of as villainous an imperialist as ever tramped

upon human rights in the name of destiny and duty.

One of the autocratic fruits of our new military regime is ripening. Not long ago in Manila, Gen. Otis punished a native editor, by military law, which is nothing but arbitrary coercion, for having printed matter objectionable to the military authorities. Last week in Porto Rico, the American military governor suspended the leading paper of Ponce for criticising the military government. Before congress adjourned, a leading McKinley supporter in the lower house, said seriously upon the floor, that if some of the speeches made there in criticism of the president's policy had been made in Manila the speakers would have been tried by court martial and shot. How long will it be, at this rate, before American newspapers are edited at the point of the bayonet, and American orators allowed to speak only what the president approves. Is there nothing suggestive of the early appearance of such a regime, in the disposition of the imperialists to classify anti-imperialism as treason, and their critics as traitors?

Our imperialists have borrowed from the tory imperialists of England what they evidently regard as a seductive phrase—"trade follows the flag." This is their appeal to the instinct of commercial greed, for leave to make foreign conquests and establish foreign colonial systems. It would be only a freebooter's plea if it were true. But it is not true. England has been beguiled with this phrase; and that trade may follow her flag she has established an empire over the world, an empire such as that which the McKinley faction are trying to have this country build up for us. But Lord Farrer, in the *Contemporary Review* for December, has questioned the phrase. He showed that notwithstanding the enormous growth of the British empire during the last forty years, both in area and in population, there is no tendency whatever for trade within

the empire to grow any faster than trade with foreign countries. British trade with foreign countries at the beginning of the forty years was almost three times as great as with British colonies; and at the end of the period the proportions were precisely the same. Mr. Chamberlain undertakes to weaken the force of Lord Farrer's conclusion; but all he has been able to do is to show that trade with free trade countries, including colonies of the empire, increases faster than trade with protectionist countries. To the benefit of that showing American protectionists who have suddenly developed such a partiality for foreign trade that they are willing to spill blood to promote it, are welcome.

The modicum of truth in the theory that trade follows the flag is easily extracted. A subject people trade with the governing country whose flag floats over them, whether they want to or not, simply because they have to. If another flag be substituted, they will trade with the country to which that belongs; again because they have to. To illustrate: Cuban trade followed the Spanish flag when Spanish law so decreed. It would now follow the American flag should the American congress command it to. But left to itself, it would follow no flag. It would then be determined, as all trade when free is determined, by the best interests of the persons trading. The notion that trade follows the flag is true only when the flag is made a symbol of coercion, and then it is as true of the black flag of piracy as of any other flag.

"I wonder," writes George V. Wells, apropos of the article on "Who Pays the Taxes?" which *The Public* recently republished from the *Des Moines Leader*,—if *The Public* will endorse the unwritten, half-concealed assumption in the argument, that the wages of workingmen would be raised, or workingmen be benefited, by economy in public expenditures.

By no means. The first effect of real economy in public expenditures in

any town or city would be to reduce taxes and improve the public service, which would tend to raise wages; but this very tendency toward higher wages would stimulate competition for opportunities to work, which would react upon the labor market and tend to reduce wages again. In the end, therefore, wages would be lower rather than higher. The only persons to benefit in the long run would be the owners of local monopolies, the largest of which and the one to ultimately absorb all the pecuniary profits of more economical government, being the site of the town—the building lots within the sphere of its influence. An extreme illustration may make the point clearer. If the government of a town could be carried on without any taxes at all, wages there would be no higher for the same work than in a neighboring town where taxes were high and public revenue wasted. But land values would be higher. That this would be so, may be clearly seen upon a little reflection. There would be extra competition for a chance to live and work in that town; and the necessary effect of the competition would be to reduce the value of labor, of which there would soon be an abundant supply, and to advance the value of land, of which there would be no greater supply than before.

It is refreshing to find in a trade paper like the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, of New York, an acknowledgment of the truth that "high wages promote rather than prevent the lowest cost of production." The *Journal's* reason for this conclusion is as sound as the conclusion itself. It is that high wages "encourage the introduction of labor saving appliances and increase the intelligence and the efficiency of workmen." In proof of its conclusion the *Journal* shows that—though the wages we pay are the highest in the world, the total cost of production, and especially the labor item in the cost of production, for nearly everything we produce, is lower here than it is anywhere else in the world,

and this is especially noticeable in the case of the products of the highest-priced labor.

All that is old to free traders. Mr. Evarts called attention to it when he was secretary of state, and Henry George made much of it in his work on "Protection or Free Trade." Since then it has been widely used in the free trade press and upon the free trade rostrum in answer to the false pretense of protected manufacturers that they must have protection against foreign goods to enable them to pay American wages. To that pretense it is a complete answer. If, as the Journal truly says, the total cost of production, and especially the labor item in the cost of production, for nearly everything we produce, is lower here than it is anywhere else in the world, and this is especially noticeable in the case of the products of our highest-priced labor, why should any American employer need a protective tariff to enable him to pay American wages?

In a letter to the Mobile Daily Item, E. Q. Norton concisely expresses the insincerity of those who advocate educational qualifications for the suffrage upon pretense that they want better government. He says that those who would deny the ballot to uneducated men, do not propose to give the ballot to the educated women; and yet, if they are really sincere in their demands that intelligence shall rule, they cannot refuse the franchise to such women.

The truth is that in this so-called democratic country of ours, democracy is still in its infancy. Each of us has learned that he is entitled to the same rights as everybody else; but that everybody else is entitled to equal rights with him, is a lesson which as yet but few have learned. It is that ignorance, and not so much a desire for the best government for all the governed, that prompts all the measures for suffrage restriction.

The 55th congress, which went out of office on the 4th, has appropriated the sum of \$1,566,890,016. This is \$522,309,743 in excess of the largest appropriation ever made before. The country was indignant with what was

called "the billion dollar congress," which went out of office only six years ago; but here is a congress that not only equals the enormous billion appropriations of its predecessor, but piles half a billion more on top of it, and twenty-two millions on top of that.

Of course the cost of the war must be deducted from the above mentioned appropriations, as being extraordinary expenses which any congress must have incurred. These are computed by Congressman Cannon, chairman of the house committee on appropriations, at \$482,562,083. If that computation were right, the appropriations by the retiring congress would still be, in round numbers, \$39,700,000 more than those of the billion dollar congress. But Cannon's computation is not right; it is grossly excessive. He includes in war expenses the \$20,000,000 purchase money for the Philippines, and the increased cost of our standing army, besides other expenses which are incurred not in prosecution of the war, but in prosecution of McKinley's imperial policy.

The total expenditures for war and navy for the entire year from January 1, 1898, to December 31, 1898, as reported by the treasury department, are only \$281,347,267; and this amount exceeds the ordinary expenses of army and navy, as indicated by the report for the year 1897, by only \$190,553,749. As the war is now over, the latter sum covers all its legitimate cost, except for unpaid bills. Is it possible that unpaid war bills amount to \$292,000,000? Unless they do, Mr. Cannon's computation of war expenses is excessive, and the congressional appropriations for other than war purposes are much more in excess of all previous appropriations than Mr. Cannon admits. The appropriations of the retiring congress, over and above the legitimate cost of the war, are probably about \$1,300,000,000—a good \$300,000,000 more than was ever before appropriated by one congress.

#### FURTHER LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

Last week we considered one branch of the legal relations of the United States to the Philippine islands. We purpose now to consider another. The relations to which our attention was then devoted were those growing out of the protocol exclusively; we now consider the effect of the treaty.

##### I.

Our former article, mentioned above, showed that the Philippine republic, at the time of the signing of the protocol last summer, was what is known to international law as a "de facto" government, its resistance to Spain having passed beyond simple or temporary acts of treason, mutiny or sedition, and assumed the character and proportions of civil war. In the prosecution of this war, the Philippine republic had expelled the "de jure" Spanish government from all the archipelago, except Manila, Iloilo, and a few other coast cities, where the Filipinos had the Spanish garrisons penned in. Not only was it a "de facto" government, therefore, but, with the exceptions noted, it was in possession of all the territory over which it claimed jurisdiction.

After the protocol, continuing its civil war with Spain, the Philippine republic so far completed the expulsion of the Spanish government that, at the beginning of the present year Spain occupied but little territory in all the Philippine archipelago, and governed none. Manila was governed by the United States, under the protocol, and all other important places were subject to the "de facto" government of the Philippine republic.

Any title, then, which the United States might thereafter acquire to the Philippines outside of Manila, must be derived from the Philippine republic, the "de facto" government in actual possession, and not from Spain, the "de jure" government, which had been expelled.

This conclusion rests securely upon the familiar principle of international law that when one government acquires territory from another by conquest, the deposed government cannot give title to a third government. Nor is it necessary, in order to divest a

deposed government of this power of transfer, that the conquest should be confirmed by treaty. It is enough that the conquest be actual.

Surely that principle applies as well when the conquering government grows out of a civil war against tyranny, and even though it be still only a "de facto" government, as when the conquering government is an invader. The moral right would be stronger in the former case than in the latter. And if that principle does apply, Spain cannot now convey the Philippines to the United States, for the "de facto" Philippine republic has already acquired the territory by conquest from Spain.

It follows that the pending treaty, even when it shall have been ratified by Spain, will afford no legal justification for the war which the United States is now waging against the Philippine republic. Spain cannot give any better title than she has; and the only title she has is to the right to carry on the civil war with the new republic for the recovery of her lost sovereignty. That right she may convey. That right the United States may purchase. But he would be a bold innovator who should contend that such a transaction would fall within any approved principle of international law.

## II.

It may be asked, however, whether the United States would not by the ratification acquire permanent sovereignty over the harbor, bay and city of Manila, and thereby over the archipelago.

Inasmuch as Spain was sovereign over Manila and its environs at the time of the protocol, when that place came into the possession of the United States, and would by ratification of the treaty transfer her sovereignty to the United States permanently, a colorable claim to Manila and its environs might be made. But that could form no valid basis upon which to set up a claim to the archipelago. The validity of such a claim would depend on whether the dog ought to be recognized as wagging the tail or the tail as wagging the dog—whether sovereignty over Manila should give sovereignty over the rest of the archipelago, or sovereignty over the rest of the archipelago should give sovereignty over Manila.

Upon that point the principles of international law are not obscure.

While it is true that title of sovereignty over an island which has been appropriated extends over the whole, though only a part be actually occupied, it is not true that lawful possession of one coast city out of several on such an island would give title to the whole island, much less to a whole archipelago. If Manila commanded the mouth of a river which drained the island of Luzon, and the United States were in lawful possession, not only of Manila, but also of the river course, then the United States would have lawful sovereignty over that island, provided the natives did not dispute it. If the natives did dispute it, the title would have to be abandoned, or made good by treaty or conquest. But when Manila is only one of several Luzon coast cities, and lies at the mouth of only one of several Luzon rivers; when the United States is not in occupation of the course of the river, the mouth of which it does possess; and when the natives, organized in a "de facto" government and occupying all the island outside of Manila, dispute the American title—when those are the conditions, there exists in the principles of international law no warrant for any contention that lawful title to sovereignty in Manila gives to the United States sovereignty over the Philippine archipelago, or even over the island of Luzon. Either contention would be utterly unfounded.

On the other hand, sovereignty by the Philippine republic over all the rest of the archipelago—even over the rest of the island of Luzon alone—would give to that republic a reasonable claim against the United States to sovereignty over the city, harbor and bay of Manila. While Manila does not comprise the island of Luzon, the island of Luzon might very well be regarded politically, as it is geographically, as including Manila.

## III.

In the light of the foregoing considerations, which rest upon indisputable facts and acknowledged principles of the law of nations, the American war now in progress for the overthrow of the Philippine republic and the subjugation of the Philippine archipelago, is a war of conquest. It is unauthorized by the Spanish pro-

ocol. And it can gain no authority from the Spanish treaty when that shall have been finally ratified; for Spain cannot convey to the United States any right in the Philippines—with the possible exception of Manila city, bay and harbor—for the all-sufficient reason that prior to any act that can possibly be construed into a validation of the treaty assuming to make such a sale, Spain possessed nothing there to sell.

Unless the United States government intends, therefore, shamelessly to make wars for the mere sake of fighting and conquering, it should lose no time in coming to an honorable understanding with the Philippine republic. In that way alone can it save the real honor of the nation and add to the real glory of the flag.

## IV.

There is still another reason founded in international law, why the United States cannot consistently subjugate the Philippines. This reason would have force even against such a treaty with Spain as might otherwise be valid. We refer to that principle of international law to which, though it is not generally adopted and therefore is not incorporated in the body of international doctrines, this country is committed—the principle of self government.

The United States was first committed to this principle by the declaration of independence, which holds it to be axiomatic that governments are instituted to secure equal rights, and that they derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." The principle was recognized again in the Ordinance of 1787, under which Illinois, among other new states, was admitted into the Union. It was recognized still later in the Louisiana purchase, when we stipulated with France, of whom we bought, to vest in the inhabitants of our new territory the rights of American citizens. Similar recognition of the principle was made in connection with the purchase of Florida, and upon the annexation of Texas; and it was repeated when the Mexican territory was acquired, most of which has since been carved into independent states. The principle was again acknowledged in international intercourse upon the acquisition of Alaska. Even

in dealing with the Indian tribes, we have always acknowledged their sovereignty as to matters exclusively concerning themselves. Ungenerous and halting as our recognition of the principle of self government has often been, incomplete as is its application even now among ourselves, we have never deliberately repudiated it, and our statesmen have frequently proclaimed it as our ideal.

Lincoln had this principle in his thought when, in his memorable oration at Gettysburg, he referred, in behalf of the American people, to their devotion to "government of the people, by the people and for the people." McKinley could not have been wholly indifferent to it when, in two messages to congress on the Cuban question, he said that "forcible annexation" would, under our code of morals, be "criminal aggression."

But except in the treaties through which the United States has acquired new territory from other nations, this American principle of government was not brought under international consideration until 1885, when it was considered briefly at the African conference in Berlin.

The United States was represented in that conference by John A. Kasson, as its plenipotentiary. In that capacity Mr. Kasson, one of our greatest diplomats, distinctly committed his government, on that occasion, to the doctrine of self-government as a principle of the law of nations. And he did so with reference to classes of people far below the Filipinos in point of civilization.

The conference was laying down international rules for the appropriation of territory on the coast of Africa. Two paragraphs under consideration related to the conditions which would be regarded as justifying an appropriation. To these principles Mr. Kasson, in behalf of the United States, officially proposed an addition. That was on the 31st of January, 1885. His proposition was as follows:

Whilst approving the two paragraphs of this declaration as a first step, well directed though short, it is my duty to add two observations to the protocol:

(1) Modern international law follows closely a line which leads to the recognition of the right of native

tribes to dispose freely of themselves and of their hereditary territory. In conformity with this principle, my government would gladly adhere to a more extended rule, to be based on a principle which should aim at the voluntary consent of the natives whose country is taken possession of, in all cases where they had not provoked the aggression.

(2) I have no doubt as to the conference being agreed in regard to the significance of the preamble. It only points out the minimum of the conditions which must necessarily be fulfilled in order that the recognition of an occupation may be demanded. It is always possible that an occupation may be rendered effective by acts of violence which are foreign to the principles of justice, as well as to national and even international law. Consequently it should be well understood that it is reserved for the respective signatory powers to determine all the other conditions from the point of view of right, as well as of fact, which must be fulfilled before an occupation can be recognized as valid.

Mr. Kasson's proposition was not adopted, because the first clause "touched on delicate questions, upon which the conference hesitated to express an opinion;" but it was reproduced in the protocol for the purpose of presenting "the views put forward by the plenipotentiary of the United States of America."

Commenting upon this, Prof. Westlake, of the University of Cambridge, from whose "Chapters on the Principles of International Law," page 138, we have made the foregoing extract, disagrees with Mr. Kasson as to "an uncivilized population." He objects to the principle that "except in the case of unprovoked aggression justifying conquest, an uncivilized population has rights which make its free consent necessary to the establishment over it of a government possessing international validity." But Prof. Westlake holds, nevertheless, that it cannot be doubted that if an accession of territory was made—

at the expense of a civilized population without its consent, or was attended with proceedings of great inhumanity to an uncivilized population, this would be a good ground of objection on the part of any power that pleased to take up the cause.

So it appears that upon general principles of international law, as understood by Prof. Westlake, the territory of a civilized people ought not

to be appropriated without their consent; and that the United States is committed, not only as a matter of national polity, but also in an international conference, to the proposition that this principle applies even to the uncivilized.

What right, then, has the United States, treaty or no treaty, to undertake to appropriate the Philippine islands against the will of the Filipinos?

Without ignoring acknowledged principles of international law if the Filipinos be civilized, without repudiating its own declared views of what international law ought to be even if they be uncivilized, it has not so much as the shadow of such a right.

## V.

To sum up the subject, the considerations of last week's article and those of this together—

The United States is making war upon the "de facto" government of the Philippine republic.

It is doing so for the purpose of making conquest of the Philippine archipelago, under color of purchase from Spain.

It bases its claim of purchase upon a treaty which has as yet no legal force.

It can set up for that claim at present no other legal sanction than the protocol, which distinctly restricts the occupancy of the United States to the harbor, bay and city of Manila, and is, therefore, for any further occupancy, no sanction at all.

It can find in the treaty with Spain no sanction for its claim of purchase, even after that treaty shall have been finally ratified; because Spain has no sovereignty in the Philippines to sell.

It could not justify its attempted seizure of the Philippines against the will of the inhabitants, irrespective of the invalidity of the treaty; because, in the first place, international law does not permit the subjugation without their consent of civilized people, and, in the second, the United States is committed to the proposition that consent of the governed is the prime condition of all government.

## VI.

The American government is publicly charged by Prof. James, of Harvard university, in connection with

its war upon the Filipinos, with having engaged in piracy. Prof. James is right. If there were a friendly power to intercede for the Philippine republic, or an international tribunal to which it could appeal, the United States would be compelled, upon principles of international law, to abandon her Philippine policy. She maintains it now by force, and by force alone.

## NEWS

The American censorship of the cable at Manila is reported as becoming more strict, and official reports as published give less information than ever; so that but little more is positively known of the situation in the Philippines than that almost daily conflicts are occurring between the Americans and the Filipinos, in which the latter appear to be driven back repeatedly from the same places. Regarding the censorship, the staff correspondent at Hong Kong of the Chicago Record says it is becoming so strict that he finds it "impossible to send dispatches giving a satisfactory explanation of the present situation."

Our account of last week brought such news as had then filtered through, down to the 1st, when an attack was made upon the American line at the water works and another at San Pedro Macati. On the night of that day unusual quiet was reported, the Filipinos being supposed to be busy in throwing up defenses in anticipation of having to meet American reinforcements; and from later reports this unusual quiet would seem to have continued through the 2d, for no account appears of any fighting on that day. But beginning with the 3d there has been fighting every day without exception.

San Pedro Macati was fired upon by Filipinos on the 3d from Guadalupe church, which they had captured from the Americans a fortnight before, as reported by us two weeks ago. They are reported to have been driven out by shells from a gunboat on the Pasig river; but they could not have been driven far, for on the 4th a large body was discovered attempting to re-enforce them. The gunboat thereupon advanced under a heavy fire and poured shot into the jungle and also shelled the Filipino position at Guadalupe. This is reported as having "ef-

fectually but temporarily" scattered the Filipino forces. From the village of San Jose, a suburb of Manila, also on the 4th, the Filipinos fired upon a gunboat, which thereupon shelled that place and other Manila suburbs. On the 5th there was an all night battle waged at two points for the possession of the Manila water works. The double attack was made by the Filipinos in the night and the battle continued until along in the forenoon of the 6th, when an American brigade succeeded in dispersing the assailants. Desultory firing and a skirmish occurred on the 6th after the affair at the water works, and fighting was renewed on the 7th. A body of Filipinos having taken a position where at a favorable opportunity they might injure the Manila water pipes, they were discovered and a sharp skirmish followed, in which the Filipinos were driven to their position at Guadalupe. But on the 8th they forced their way back. On the 8th, also, sharpshooters persistently annoyed the Americans at San Pedro Macati, as they had previously been doing daily both there and at other points. The Filipinos have an advantage in sharpshooting, because they use Mausers, which have a longer range than the Springfields with which the Americans are armed. They are also supplied with smokeless powder.

The hot season is now well on in the Philippines, and the American troops are beginning to feel its severity. At 3 o'clock on the 7th the temperature was at 84 degrees; and the heat was so oppressive that on the American lines 25 men were prostrated during the day. The temperature on the 8th rose to 87, and the humid air was like steam; but there were fewer prostrations.

Reinforcements for both army and navy are hurrying to Manila. The hospital ship "Relief" sailed from New York on the 2d, and on the same day the transport "Portland" sailed from San Francisco. On the 3d the transport "Sherman" with 1,700 men touched at the Island of Perim, Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, having left New York just a month before; and the transport "Sheridan" with 1,800 arrived at Gibraltar, leaving there on the 4th. Five regiments of infantry and part of one regiment of artillery, numbering in all 7,500 men, stationed now in different parts of the United States, are under orders to go to Ma-

nila. It is understood that they are to relieve volunteers already there. On the 4th Gen. Lawton's command of 700 arrived at Singapore; and on the 5th the transport "Valencia" sailed from San Francisco. The transport "Senator" has arrived at Manila. The total army and navy strength at Manila, on the way there, and now under orders to go, is 41,000. Gen. Otis has announced that he would confer with Aguinaldo, but only to require unconditional surrender. Admiral Dewey is reported to be in almost a dying condition, from the strain of his responsibilities and the unhealthy climatic conditions.

Provision has been made at Iloilo for quartering American troops in the custom house at an expense of \$40,000 to be met from the public revenue of Iloilo. One report has it that all is quiet there and business brisk; while another declares that business is dead and skirmishes beyond the city continue at intervals. A third mentions continuous operations of Filipino sharpshooters against the American outposts.

An agreeable reception of troops upon the Island of Negros was reported on the 6th by Gen. Otis, who cables to Washington the following congratulatory address from a native commission to Gen. Miller:

Government congress inhabitants of Negros to Gen. Miller, Iloilo: We affectionately salute you and congratulate ourselves for the happy arrival of Col. Smith and troops under his orders, and beg you to send this salute and congratulations to Gen. Otis, Manila, as representative of the government of the United States in the Philippines.

Pursuant to the arrangement between the German and American governments, which we reported last week, the American authorities at Manila have assumed responsibility for the protection of German interests there; and the German warship, Kaiserin Augusta, has left Manila bay.

Two members of President McKinley's Philippine committee, J. G. Schuerman, President of Cornell University, and Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan, have arrived at Manila. They came in on the 4th on board the cruiser Baltimore from Hong Kong. This commission was appointed to act as an advisory board to the president.

It consists of five members—Admiral Dewey, Gen. Otis, Chas. Denby, President Schuerman and Prof. Worcester. Denby is the only member of the commission not yet at Manila.

Nothing has yet been done in Spain with reference to ratifying the Paris treaty. The attempt to carry out its provisions has resulted in the resignation of the Sagasta ministry, as we reported last week, and now in the dissolution of the cortes. A nominal success was achieved on the 22d of February by the Sagasta ministry, in connection with the appointment of the committee to examine the bill for the cession of the Philippines to the United States. Four ministerial candidates were chosen, and three in opposition. But it became apparent in the voting that the opposition could muster a majority, and this encouraged their leaders to propose a counter measure on the Philippine matter. Consequently, on the 1st of March the Sagasta ministry resigned, hoping that the queen would dissolve the cortes. But the queen at first decided to appoint a new cabinet. For that purpose she asked Silvela, the conservative leader, to undertake the responsibility of forming one. Accordingly, on the 4th the following cabinet was sworn into office:

Senor Silvela, premier and minister of foreign affairs; Senor Dato, minister of the interior; Marquis Villaverde, minister of finance; Senor Duran, minister of justice; Gen. Polievaja, minister of war; Marquis Pidal, minister of public affairs and of the colonies; Admiral Camara, minister of marine.

Upon entering upon its duties the new ministry adopted a policy of protection to industry, commerce, and agriculture; reform in municipal and provincial administration; sweeping army and navy reforms, and general financial reorganization. And as the first step, it decided on the 5th to abolish all ministerial pensions. Ex-Premier Sagasta tendered to the new premier the support of the liberal party, of which he is leader, on all questions relating to the integrity of the nation and the perpetuation of the dynasty. Having seated a conservative cabinet, the queen decided to dissolve the cortes. This was accordingly done on the 7th. A new chamber will be elected in April, and the cortes will reconvene in May. The effect of the dissolution of the cortes upon the Paris treaty has not yet been determined. It is held by the new premier, however, that the treaty can be ratified without the sanction of the

cortes, and therefore that the dissolution will have no effect in that particular.

During this ministerial crisis in Spain the prosecutions of military officers, previously begun, upon charges of misconduct in the American war, have proceeded. Admiral Cervera is being prosecuted for the disaster to the Spanish fleet at Santiago. Capt. Diaz de Moreu of the destroyed Cristobal Colon is also under prosecution in the same connection. Another victim of these proceedings is Gen. Linares, who was in supreme command in Santiago at the time of the capitulation. His second in command, too, is to be tried. And so are Admiral Montejó, the Spanish commander of the battle of Manila bay, and Capt. Gen. Augusti, late governor general of the Philippines.

China is now threatened in a new direction. Italy comes forward with a demand for a share of Oriental spoils, and threatens to back up the demand with a squadron. Specifically, the Italian demand is for a 99 years lease of San Mun Bay as a coaling station and naval base, on the same conditions as those under which Germany holds Kiao-Chou. This bay is one of the indentations made in the Chinese coast by the Eastern Sea, and is located a little to the south of Ning-po. The demanded concession includes three islands off the coast of Chekiang province, with a right to construct a railway from San Mun Bay to Po Yang lake, and preferential mining rights within a "sphere of influence" covering the southern two thirds of Chekiang province. The Italian minister of foreign affairs, in answer to questions in the Italian chamber of deputies on the 3d, confirmed the reports on this subject, and said that notice of the intention of Italy had been given to the other nations in China, all of which were friendly to the project. The United States was one of the nations to receive this notice. Great Britain is understood to be engaged directly in instigating the Italian government. China has objected to granting the demand. The Chinese foreign office returned the dispatch, with a declaration that the Chinese government is unable to accede to its requirements; and the terms of the refusal were resented in Rome as "insolence." Preparations are making there to enforce the demand with a fleet. Meanwhile diplomatic inter-

course has been suspended by Italy and marines have been landed at San Mun Bay, from an Italian war ship. At last reports Italy was in possession, and the Chinese government was offering to apologize for the terms in which it had couched its reply to the Italian demand. In China it is believed that the Italian seizure of San Mun Bay is the beginning of a concerted attempt on the part of the European powers to parcel out the Chinese empire.

In addition to her difficulties with European powers bent on partitioning the empire among themselves, of which the Italian invasion noted above is a flagrant instance, China is wrenched with civil war. Vague reports of it have reached this country at intervals during a period of many months, and brief accounts of the matter were given on page 11 in Nos. 8 and 16 of *The Public*. According to the latest mail advices, thousands of rebels in the central provinces of Hoonan, Honan, Nganhoei, Kiangsee, and Hoop have succeeded in combining their forces and in establishing their authority over an immense territory. In a succession of terrible battles they recently defeated the imperial troops, and four walled cities and 75 walled villages had already been captured by them. They were then preparing to make still further important captures. Famine caused by oppressive taxation is the only explanation of the rebellion so far reported.

Passing from the subject of civil war in China to politics in the United States, we note the final adjournment of the 55th congress. This occurred at noon on the 4th. The president had signed the bill appropriating \$20,000,000 for the purchase of the Philippines, and the house had refused to sustain its committee's report vacating the seats of congressmen who had accepted commissions from the president in the volunteer army. The objection to their holding seats was constitutional, and stress was laid upon the danger of permitting presidential appointees, and especially military officers, to acquire a foothold in the house of representatives. Owing to the failure of the report, which was largely opposed by democratic votes, Mr. Bailey announced that he would not be a candidate for democratic leader in the next house. The Nicaragua canal question was disposed of for the present by a compromise

clause in the river and harbor bill, appropriating \$1,000,000 for the purpose of enabling the president to investigate all isthmus canal routes, especially the Panama and Nicaragua routes, and report his conclusions to the next congress. The aggregate of appropriations for this session was \$673,658,400, and for the whole term of the 55th Congress, \$1,569,117,104.

Another bit of political news relates to the senatorial deadlocks. That in Nebraska was broken on the 8th by the election to the United States senate of Monroe L. Hayward, the republican candidate for governor last fall, who was defeated by the fusionist. He was elected senator on the 43d joint ballot. It was the longest deadlock in the history of the state. The senatorial deadlocks yet unbroken are in Delaware, Pennsylvania, California, and Utah.

Interest in municipal politics centers upon Chicago, where ex-Gov. Altgeld is making an independent canvass for mayor on the principle of "municipal ownership and the Chicago platform," his object being as already explained in these columns to cut off possibility of control by a reactionary faction of the democratic party of Illinois and through that possibility of the nation, and to bring the question of municipal ownership of municipal utilities at once into practical politics. During the week Altgeld has addressed several extraordinarily large public meetings. No democratic convention nomination has yet been made. The republicans nominated Zina R. Carter on the 7th, upon a platform proposing to extend street car franchises for 20 years upon the payment of compensation to the city, with a reserved right to the city to purchase the plants at the expiration of those extensions.

Closely related to the issues of the Chicago municipal election is the repeal of the so-called Illinois "Allen law." This law empowered city councils to extend street car franchises for 50 years. It was adopted two years ago by a republican legislature and signed by a republican governor. But public sentiment expressed itself so strongly against franchise extensions that another republican legislature has now repealed the law, and on the 7th the same republican governor signed the repealing act.

Another municipal campaign of

general interest is that at Toledo. The republican mayor, S. M. Jones, who has become well known over the country for his opposition to plutocratic policies, was a candidate for renomination. Gov. Pingree, the republican governor of Michigan, spoke for him last week, explicitly denouncing the present leadership of the republican party. In the course of his speech Gov. Pingree said:

I have no hesitation in saying that the leadership of the republican party is now within the control of the bondholders. This does not mean that the republican party is the party of the monopolists, by any means. It simply means that the course of the party is dictated too much by commercial greed, by men like your Ohio boss, who rules from Cleveland, wielding a scepter which does not belong to the republican party. It is foreign to its history and to its principles. I hope you will tear that scepter from his grasp and dash it to pieces here in Toledo tomorrow. Trusts, corporations and money must not rule our party. It was created as a party of the entire people. It was such in Lincoln's time. But it is slipping away from its original principles. Its leadership is largely in the hands of corporate wealth. I do not condemn corporations and rich men, but I would keep them within their proper spheres. The republican party is not their property, to use as they see fit. Money getting is not the sole aim in life. It should not be the principal object. It is not safe to intrust the government of the country to the influence of Wall street. This is the common statement, I know, but it has a serious meaning. I do not believe I can too vividly paint the evils that must result if the trusts and monopolies are permitted to rule the land. These evils cannot be too bluntly or forcibly stated. The more you can shock people with the strength of your condemnation of these things, the sooner they will come to a realization of their seriousness.

Nevertheless, Mayor Jones was defeated in the republican convention, though by a narrow vote. He attributes his defeat to the bossism of Senator Hanna, and now appeals to the people as an independent candidate. In his address he says:

The republican convention of this city has to-day repudiated the administration of the mayor's office for the last two years. The principles that have guided me and upon which I will go before the people as an independent candidate are: Equal opportunities for all and special privileges to none; public ownership of all public utilities; the wealth created by the people should be for the people's benefit rather than for the private profit of the few; no grant of new or extension of

existing franchises; the abolition of the private contract system of doing city work, a source of corruption equally as great as that occasioned by the granting of franchises, and the substitution therefor of the day-labor plan with a minimum wage of \$1.50 a day of eight hours for common labor, organized labor to be employed on all public work. As no criticism has been entered against the administration of the mayor's office it follows that my defeat for renomination in the convention to-day is a repudiation of these principles. In the convention to-day I made the battle of my life to enlist the support of the republican party for these principles, but the cunning of the manipulators won the day, and, I believe, stifled the will of a majority of the republicans. Asking for the support of all who believe that the people and not the machine should rule, I announce myself as an independent candidate for the office of mayor.

A new national party was organized at Cincinnati on the 2d by a convention of about 100 delegates called together by the Union Reform party of Ohio. Its brief platform is as follows:

Direct legislation under the system known as the initiative and referendum. Under the "initiative" the people can compel the submission to themselves of any desired law, when, if it receives a majority of the votes cast, it is thereby enacted. Under the "referendum" the people can compel the submission to themselves of any law which has been adopted by any legislative body, when, if such law fails to receive a majority of the votes cast, it will be thereby rejected.

R. S. Thompson, of Springfield, Ohio, is chairman of the national committee of this party.

The craze in the United States for organizing trusts would appear to have reached its climax in the creation of the anthracite coal trust, the organization of which is just reported. It includes all the anthracite coal mines of the east, and all the railroads that control access to them. J. Pierpont Morgan is credited with this consolidation, which is said to represent a capitalization of \$900,000,000.

We gave, in No. 42 of the Public, a list of some of the prominent trusts that had then been recently organized. It included a thread trust with \$300,000,000 capital; a chewing gum trust, with \$20,000,000, and a carbon trust, with \$10,000,000. Since then, and it is less than two months ago, many more trust organizations have been perfected. Among them are a tin plate trust, a rubber goods trust, a

car manufacturing trust, a whisky trust, a cast iron pipe trust, a paper bag trust, and a plumbers' supplies trust. The whisky trust, with \$98,000,000 capital, is an adjunct to the Standard Oil trust.

Besides the trusts actually formed, a great number of gigantic ones are either in process of formation or secretly established. A consolidation of all the iron and steel industries, outside the Federal steel trust, with all the tin plate industries, is among these. Its capitalization is, or is to be, \$400,000,000. Another is a gas light, heat and power trust. A woolen manufacturers' trust is another. And another is a copper trust. Still another involves the consolidation of the smelters and refiners of precious metals. Even an ice trust figures in this list, as also does a soap trust. A beet sugar refining trust is to be noted with the rest. In nearly every line of business there is a rush to combine establishments, and thereby shut off competition, dispense with an army of agents and other employes, and maintain or increase prices. Most of the great trusts are organized under the incorporation laws of New Jersey. In 1898, according to the Philadelphia Press, 1,103 companies were incorporated in New Jersey with a total capitalization of \$810,840,000—an average to each company of \$735,000. As most of these companies are of small capital, it may be inferred how enormous the capital of the few remaining ones, the great trusts, must be.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—American Ambassador Choate was received on the 7th by Queen Victoria at Windsor castle.

—John M. Cook, head of the Cook tourist agency, founded by his father, Thomas Cook, died on the 4th in London.

—President McKinley on the 4th appointed and the senate confirmed William R. Merriam, of Minnesota, as director of the next census.

—The Oklahoma legislature, on the 7th, passed a bill prohibiting the practice of Christian science in that territory, but the governor has vetoed the bill as an interference with religious liberty.

—Friends of Carl Schurz have just celebrated his 70th birthday with banquets, and steps have been taken to honor him further by endowing a Schurz chair of German literature at Columbia university.

—Commander Taussig, of the Ben-

nington, took formal possession of Wake island on the 17th of January last, in the name of the United States. His report was received at San Francisco, by way of Honolulu, on the 7th of March.

—Ex-Congressman Jerry Simpson, of Kansas, made a speech before the Chicago single tax club on the 7th, at a large special meeting. Besides advocating the single tax, from the point of view of a working farmer, he took occasion to denounce imperialism and to urge Chicago single tax men to support ex-Gov. Altgeld for mayor.

—Joseph Hempel, an employe at the Lexington avenue cable power house. New York city, received an accidental electric shock of 2,000 volts, while at the switchboard on the 7th. The current tore off all his clothing, turned him black from head to foot, and burned a hole in the floor, through which he fell. Yet he survived.

—By the explosion on the 5th of 55 tons of powder at the naval powder magazine of La Goubbran, France, near Toulon, some 60 persons were killed and 100 wounded. Some of the killed were blown to fragments, and the shock was felt 100 miles up the coast. It is suspected now that the explosion was caused by some public enemy.

—Rev. S. P. Cadman, a Methodist clergyman of New York, has excited public attention by reading a paper before the New York Methodist Ministers' association, in which he rejected all parts of the Bible that are repugnant to human reason, and maintained that neither a book, a church nor a ministry, but the living Christ, is the true source of inspiration.

#### IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, and closes with the last issue of that publication at hand upon going to press.

Senate.

February 27 to March 4, 1899.

On the 27th reports of the conference committees were agreed to, after which consideration of the army reorganization bill was resumed. The most important amendment proposed was by Senator Gorman. It provided that on and after July 1, 1901, the regular army should be

reduced to the number as provided for by law prior to April 1, 1898, exclusive of such additions as have been or may be made, under this act, to the artillery, and except the cadets provided for by this act, who may be appointed prior to July 1, 1901.

The amendment was agreed to and the bill passed. Then the sundry civil appropriation bill was taken up. Consideration of this bill was continued on the 28th, when it passed. On that day, also, the committee report on the bribery charges against Senator Hanna was submitted. The bill appropriating \$20,000,000 pursuant to the treaty

of Paris was passed March 1; whereupon the naval appropriation bill was further considered and passed. The 2d was devoted to the adoption of conference reports, and to the consideration and passage of the Alaska criminal code, and of the fortifications appropriation bill. The deficiency appropriation bill was passed on the 3d, as was the army appropriation bill. On the 4th the senate acted upon conference reports and at 12 o'clock noon adjourned without day.

House.

On the 27th the army appropriation bill and the fortifications appropriation bill were passed, and the conference reports disposed of. The 28th was devoted to routine business, appropriations for public buildings and conference reports. The work of March 1 was of similar character, except that the senate amendment to the army reorganization bill requiring reduction in 1901, elicited an extended discussion, which resulted in the passage of the bill as amended by the senate. The 2d and 3d were devoted to routine business and the conference reports, and conference reports occupied the time on the 4th until noon, when the house adjourned without day.

## MISCELLANY

### SUBJUGATION.

For The Public.

Warships are moving apace  
To give waiting greed new pleasure,  
Enliven our soldiers' leisure,  
And fill to its brim the measure  
Of a nation's deep disgrace.

Our valiant fighting, they say,  
Is making the rebels tremble;  
For strength they only disassemble  
Forces they dare not assemble  
To face our battle array.

"We are now in Destiny's hand."  
Vainly for peace we besought her;  
She bids us on to the slaughter,  
Spilling worthless blood like water  
Wherever our vessels land.

Plain is the lesson we teach;  
Slow the insurgent at learning.  
For the worm there is no turning,  
When our Christian heel is spurning  
The rights we piously preach.

With an army to save mischance,  
"Benevolent assimilation"  
Will teach him civilization,  
And hope of emancipation,  
"When he sees the elephant dance."

Lost is the old-time pride  
In our country's boasted glory;  
Stale grown its ancestral story  
Of war with the British tory  
Who is now our loving guide.

So, let our flag be unfurled  
Where our murderous shots resounded,  
Where our hoodwinked dead and wounded,  
With their sense of right confounded,  
Earned but the scorn of the world.

We are played in this cruel game;  
While its movers, smooth and wily,

Count their well-planned chances; dryly  
Wink at each other, and slyly  
On "the people" shrirk the blame.

But a reckoning day will call  
The true and the false asunder;  
Clear Destiny's hand of blunder;  
Some Daniel, 'mid fear and wonder,  
Read its words on the White House wall.  
D. H. INGHAM.

#### CHAS. LAMB TO ROBERT LLOYD.

Robert, friends fall off, friends mistake, they change, they grow unlike us, they go away, they die; but God is everlasting and incapable of change, and to Him we may look with cheerful unpresumptuous hope, while we discharge the duties of life in situations more untowardly than yours. Humble yourself before God, cast out the selfish principle, wait in patience, do good in every way you can to all sorts of people, never be easy to neglect a duty though a small one, praise God for all and see His hand in all things, and He will raise you up many friends, or be Himself an unchanging friend.—From the lately published correspondence of "Chas. Lamb and the Lloyd's."

#### THE CAREERS BEFORE OUR YOUNG MEN.

The power to "start in business," to make a career, has been taken from our educated young men. The boy comes from the district school, the high school or the university, quick-witted, able, competent, and seeks employment. What does he find? This: That he must choose between farming, a trade, a profession or a clerkship in some corporation. The mercantile world, as it was organized 30 years ago, no longer exists. Ability does not count except as corporations can use it. When they are supplied the boys must go to farming or go into politics, and maybe turn "political strikers." Or perhaps they may lose their self-respect through idleness and drop into vice and it may be fall into criminal practices—possibly become lobbyists.

The corporation jobs—professional, mechanical and clerical—are given, first, to the sons of favorites of the stockholders and directors. Any small jobs left over are given with more or less show of generosity to young men who are permitted to do the work for which some of the favorites referred to get the pay. Brains, ability, power, in the young man without capital will eventually bring, if his life is spared to maturity, a fair living salary, no more, unless, as sometimes happens, an unusually bright man comes to know too much to be put off with only a salary.—Gov. Pingree at Detroit, Feb. 22.

The public ownership of public resources is simply the people receiving

what belongs to them. Every possible good that springs out of the collective life, out of this unit which we call the municipality, must be equally shared by all the citizens of that municipality.—Prof. George D. Herron.

#### IF NOT TRUE, A GOOD INVENTION.

To the Editor: I inclose a translation of some extracts from a letter of Talleyrand to Chevalier de Boufflers, said to have been found since the removal of the fifty years' restriction. If genuine it affords an illustration of the maxim that history repeats itself.

ALEXANDER S. BRADLEY.

"Paris, Nov. 25th, 1782.

"Dear Friend:— . . . You have doubtless heard of the arrival here of Mr. John Adams, who claims to be an envoy of the American people, but is, of course, a mere tool of that ambitious soldier of fortune, Washington.

"We are making history to-day, and it will record the disgraceful policy of the government in completely abandoning French sovereignty in the American colonies, wrested by France from the grasp of England. You will ask why the triumphs of our army and navy, and not least of all our diplomacy, should have such a miserable result.

"First, this M. Adams, who to the manners of a Cossack joins both rugged talents and 'Yankee' shrewdness, appeals to French honor. He claims that M. de La Fayette assured the rebels that his majesty would allow them to establish their independence, not merely of England, but of all governments such as are recognized among enlightened nations. Such an assurance would be quite characteristic of the Quixotic marquis, but he neither affirms or denies making it, probably following some one's advice. (On croit qu'il suit un conseil.)

"Then the envoy skilfully touches the chord of sentiment, especially when, among his friends the disciples of Rousseau, he quotes from the 'declaration of independence' that governments 'derive their powers from the consent of the governed.'

"What madness to pretend to govern with abstract ideas, rhetorical generalities, and incomplete notions of equality! (Quelle demence de pretender gouverner par des abstractions, etc.)

"These sophistries are always on the lips of subverters of social order.

"Calonne says that M. de La Fayette considers chivalry a part of the law of nations, and we all know that such theories hold firm possession of his wooden head.

"But M. Adams reaches the climax of

impudence in asserting that the ragged and half starved guerrillas under Washington, armed with rusty firelocks and pitchforks, except a small nucleus equipped by our liberality, overcame the disciplined forces of England. While it seems to be true that the English (with a view doubtless to render our position harder) made some unimportant surrenders to the rebels in the absence of our forces, yet all was due to the intervention of France, and it was an act of treachery to deny her sovereignty. In fact it has always existed, by virtue of the discoveries of Cartier.

" . . . But, in addition, the interests of humanity required that we take possession and guarantee to the ignorant and disorderly population, so long in a chronic state of rebellion, the blessings of a stable government. They are widely separated, dissimilar, and discordant communities, few of which could govern themselves under any circumstances, and an independent nation composed of such elements is an Utopian dream. If left to themselves they would degenerate to the condition of the aborigines, called Illini Indians, but they will doubtless fall a prey to some nation not possessed of the fantastic notions of honor which seem to inspire M. de Vergennes. Faithfully yours,  
C. M. DE TALLEYRAND."

#### GOV. LIND ON DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Under the new economic conditions which have obtained and which have made capital, through organization, such a potent factor in society and in legislation, it has become necessary that the individual citizen should be given more efficient means for his protection. The exclusively representative method is no longer a safeguard as has been so prominently demonstrated in the recent franchise scandals in one of our sister states. Instances of similar character, though not so flagrant, are not wanting in our history. The only remedy, it seems to me, against such abuses, is to afford the people a constitutional method by which they can initiate needed reforms, by direct action, on the one hand, and exercise the veto power on questionable or corrupt legislation on the other. This involves the introduction of no new principles in our form of government. There are no stronger reasons for trusting the people to pass upon men than upon measures. We do not think so in regard to constitutional enactments, which is legislation in its highest and most important form. The people now have the power to initiate reforms, and legislation in the matter of locating county seats, and in

some municipal undertakings. This power, with proper restrictions as to the time and frequency of its exercise, should be extended to other important questions. By the provisions of our constitution the people now have the veto power at the polls on any legislation by which it is proposed to change our present laws governing railroad taxation. We are, therefore, already committed to the principle involved in the second branch of the question. The constitution could, and in my judgment should, be so amended as to enable a minority in the legislature, by appropriate action, to refer enactments, at least such as extend corporate privileges or authorize the granting of franchises, to a vote of the people before becoming operative.—Gov. Lind, of Minnesota, as reported in *The Literary Digest*.

#### CHILDREN CANNOT UNDERSTAND THESE THINGS.

"Say, papa, the teacher wants us to find out all about expansion and the Fil-Fil—what is it?"

"The Filipinos, you mean?"

"Yes, what are they?"

"They are the people who live in the Philippine islands, away over in the Pacific ocean."

"Well, what have we got to do with them, papa?"

"We own the islands now. By 'we' I mean the people of the United States."

"How did we get them?"

"Well, we bought them—partly."

"What is it the people mean when they say 'expansion'?"

"The people who think we ought to keep these islands and get other lands in distant parts of the world are said to be in favor of 'expansion,' while those who think that the United States ought to be satisfied with what we have here at home and that those islands are not worth the trouble and the danger of looking after them are said to be opposed to expansion. You understand that, don't you?"

"Y-e-s, but if they don't want to keep these islands why did they go ahead and buy them?"

"We didn't exactly buy them. We took them away from Spain during the war, and then after the war was over we allowed Spain a large sum of money for the improvements in and around the islands, such as harbors for the ships, roads, public buildings, and so on. We were quite generous with Spain."

"Why did we take these islands? Are they nice?"

"As a matter of fact, my son, we took them because we had to take them."

"Why did we have to take them?"

"Oh, I suppose I'll have to begin at the beginning. You know Spain is a cruel nation and has persecuted her colonies for many years. The people of the United States sympathized with the Cubans, and after one of the Spanish generals by the name of Weyler had starved thousands of Cuban women and children and then after that, when some one blew up our battleship, the *Maine*, we couldn't stand it any longer, so we went to war to free Cuba and drive the Spaniards out of the western hemisphere—that is, this part of the world. You understand that, don't you?"

"Yes, I guess I do. But Manila isn't in Cuba."

"I'll explain that, too. When one country declares war against another it must fight the ships and soldiers of the other country wherever they are found. Now, Commodore Dewey had one of our fleets over at China when the war broke out, so he went right to the Philippine islands and had a fight with the Spanish ships there and sunk nearly all of them. Those that he didn't sink he captured. That was the battle of Manila that you heard so much about."

"Yes, I know about that."

"Then he helped the Filipinos; those are the people who live on the islands—he helped them to fight the Spaniards."

"But I thought the Filipinos were fighting our soldiers."

"Not at that time. When our soldiers first went over the Filipinos were supposed to be our friends."

"What did they get mad about?"

"Well, after our soldiers captured the city of Manila and we asked Spain to give us all the Philippine islands these natives began to be suspicious. You see, they had been fighting Spain for years, and now that the Spanish soldiers were about to be driven out of the islands they wanted to take hold and run things for themselves."

"They wanted to be like the Cubans, didn't they?"

"That's it, exactly. When we went into the war we promised the Cubans that we were going to help them to drive out the Spaniards and then protect them until they could start a government of their own. But we didn't promise the Filipinos anything of the kind."

"Then the reason we didn't get Cuba was that we promised the Cubans that they could keep the country for themselves?"

"We promised that we would look after them until they could get set-

tled down and recover from the war."

"Well, why didn't we promise the Filipinos that, too?"

"There was really no occasion for that. They didn't begin to ask any favors of us until after the war began, and you see we had spent so much money that we had to get something out of it. The Spaniards were not fit to govern the Philippines, and so, in the interests of humanity and to help the persecuted Filipinos, we compelled Spain to turn the islands over to us."

"What was the matter with Spain. Didn't Spain know how to govern the Filipinos?"

"No, these Filipinos had been fighting Spain for years, trying to get an independent government of their own."

"And now they're fighting our soldiers, aren't they?"

"Yes, but that's because they have been misled by their generals. These generals have told the natives over there that instead of getting their liberty they are simply going to have a new master in place of the old one. They think that the United States is going to rule over them now, the same as Spain did before."

"Well, that isn't so, is it?"

"Certainly not. Spain is a corrupt and dishonest power, while the United States is a progressive and humane nation. We want to do what is best for these people. Of course we can't turn the islands over to them because they don't know enough to govern themselves. They are not sufficiently civilized."

"Then they're not as civilized as the Cubans are, are they?"

"Well, opinions differ as to that."

"But the Cubans are going to have a government of their own, you said."

"As an experiment, my son. No one can tell at this time just what will happen. Most of our statesmen seem to think that Cuba and Porto Rico and all of those Philippine islands will be a good deal better off if they're annexed to the United States. We can give them all the advantages of a free government and attend to their business affairs much better than they could do it themselves."

"Well, if we want to help them I don't see why they are fighting our soldiers."

"That is because they are ignorant and do not understand the situation. They think that we want to take some advantage of them. It will require time to pacify them and get them to understand the president's policy of

'benevolent assimilation,' as he calls it."

"What does that mean?"

"'Benevolent assimilation' — ah — well, it's rather difficult to explain it so that a boy of your years can understand. 'Assimilation' means to make similar, to make alike. For instance, we have in this country all kinds of people. We have Germans, and Irish, and Scandinavians, and so on, who are quite different from one another when they arrive in this country, but after they've been here for awhile and become acquainted with our form of government and take up with our customs and habits they assimilate, as it were, and all become Americans, and they're very much alike after awhile. Now if we crush the rebels in the Philippine islands we will send large numbers of Americans over there to develop the industries of the country and help along the process of 'benevolent assimilation.'"

"Then they'll all be Filipinos, the same as the natives, won't they?"

"Oh, my, no! You don't understand at all."

"But all the people who come into this country get to be regular Americans, don't they?"

"You must remember, my son, that when white men, Anglo-Saxons, we may say, go into a country which is occupied by one of the dark races, which is inferior in intelligence and has not kept pace with the modern advancement in commerce and the useful sciences, the white man naturally dominates. He runs things. That's always the case. The enterprising and intellectual white man becomes the real power in the country. You can see that right here in the United States. The Indian hasn't been able to compete with the white man."

"Has he had that, what is it you call it—benev—ben—"

"'Benevolent assimilation.'"

"That's it — benevolent assimilation?"

"Well, the rule holds good, as I said. The Indian is lazy and lacking in enterprise and it's natural that the white man should beat him out and take his place. It was never intended that this great land of ours should be overrun from one end to the other by packs of savages who never built any towns or made any roads or laid out any farms, or did anything else to develop the country."

"Did the Indians live all over this country once, papa?"

"Yes, my son, they had their camps right here where Chicago stands."

"What's become of all of them?"

"There are some of them left out west, but, naturally, they are disappearing. In a little while they will be gone—all of them."

"This—what you call it—assimilation didn't seem to help them much."

"Of course assimilation doesn't improve a people unless the people turn in and assimilate."

"Maybe these Filipinos are afraid that they'll get crowded out the same as the Indians."

"Oh, pshaw! What do those Filipinos know about the history of the American Indian? No, the only trouble with them is that they want to govern themselves. After we get that fool notion knocked out of them and get plenty of troops over on the islands I don't think there'll be any more difficulty. Now don't ask any more questions. They ought to keep these complicated questions out of the public schools. Children can't understand them. They ought to be left to statesmen."—George Ade, in The Chicago Record.

THE PROBLEM OF THE GREAT UNWASHED.

For The Public.

This article was written with especial reference to pending legislation in New York relative to public bath houses; but it will be of interest wherever the public water supply is municipalized.

City growth produces conditions faster than fitting solutions; these latter follow slowly and not without friction. It is best so, for if changes were made lightly, confusion and great injury would frequently ensue.

Many honest investigators, who by diligent study and examination discover undoubted evidences of corrupt or inadequate municipal machinery, propose to substitute changes that if adopted would work greater injury than the abuse displaced.

Any change from a confessedly bad system is not necessarily a betterment. There are innumerable bad methods; there can be only one right way.

A true conservatism will insist upon reasonable assurances that a proposed change is for the better before altering forms that are through long experience in a measure bearable. This sentiment, however, should not be pushed to the absurdity of preferring defective service to proper methods.

No function of municipal organization is more important than the supplying of water, for it touches our health and our lives, while most others only affect our convenience or our property.

1. Importance of Water Supply:

We cannot, if we would, avoid contact with the great unwashed. They meet

us at every turn. They produce the clothes we wear and handle the supplies we consume. They ride with us in the same cars and live in the same atmosphere that all breathe; and, therefore, ordinary selfishness impels us to eradicate the evil in order to escape the danger. Crowded and congested cities make a common brotherhood of all men; and if not for ethical reasons, then for the preservation of health we must abolish uncleanness. All contagious diseases are filth diseases, and epidemics are impossible where cleanliness is observed. The tenement house commissioners' report of 1894 presented a phase of the situation worth considering; they said:

The freer use of water by the tenement house population would aid them very materially in their struggle for existence by assisting the elimination from their systems of the poisons absorbed in their sunless and airless dwellings. That several hundred thousand people in the city have not proper facilities for keeping their bodies clean is a disgrace to the city and to the civilization of the nineteenth century. These facilities have been used and are abundant in many enlightened nations, and they are being increased in every way possible. The amount of money annually spent in charity in this city amounts to millions; and the question arises whether it be not greater economy to spend more for the preservation of health and the prevention of disease, because less would then be required for the support and care of the sick and helpless.

The cultivation of the habit of personal cleanliness has a favorable effect, also, upon character, tending to self-respect and decency of life. Says Dr. Jane E. Robbins, of the College Settlement:

It may be distinctly understood that the men and boys living in crowded tenements, as a rule, do not take baths during the winter.

2. Tenement Houses:

The facts reported by the tenement house commissioners are not mysterious; anyone with eyes open can observe them. Consider the appalling conditions that prevail. They report that out of a population of 225,033 affected by their inspection, only 306 persons have access to bathrooms in the houses in which they live.

Facilities for bathing must be provided if we would have a clean people. How shall these facilities be provided is the problem. This is readily supplied by the commissioners who drafted a legislative measure which provided for the erection by the municipality of public baths.

They evidently were of the opinion that if bathing facilities were at hand personal uncleanness would disappear; for they report "that it is evident

that the bathing habit is growing among the masses of the people, and it is also evident that the practice stands greatly in need of encouragement by means of increased opportunities;" therefore, to furnish this important essential to personal cleanliness, they reported that in addition to the free floating baths, maintained in the summer months, the city should open in the crowded districts fully equipped bathing establishments on the best European models, and with moderate charges. The committee makes the above recommendation in the interests of the public health. Hundreds of thousands of our population are without sufficient bathing facilities, while it is evident that the bathing habit increases among them in proportion to the opportunities afforded. Here then is your proposed remedy—public bath houses.

### 3. The Proposed Remedy:

I do not believe in the plans proposed by the commissioners. I am opposed to them most earnestly because they are not sufficient, necessary or desirable.

The spirit animating the commissioners and most others, who, after consideration, propose municipal bath houses, is the aristocratic sentiment that "we must do something for the poor." A gracious consideration for those below by a superior class. I confess that I have little patience with this view, which threatens alike the independence of the citizen and the security of a republican government.

### 4. Its Drawbacks and Shortcomings:

It has a Roman "bread and circus" flavor that is repugnant. The evils of the plans proposed are greater than the evil itself. Picture to yourself one of these institutional bathing establishments. A waiting crowd in line, those already admitted are hurried through their ablutions. We file in with the impatient crowd. Scattered about are attendants, men with a "little brief authority," who yell instructions to us: The gong is soon enough sounded which notifies us to make way for the next crowd.

Certain days and hours are allotted to women. The plan is truly institutional; much like a soup house in spirit. We have had enough, and if we continue dirty for the rest of our lives never again shall we venture to take a public bath—not unless we become hardened paupers. Nor have we washed the babies. No public bath scheme can meet their necessities; and for them the problem presses as hard as ever.

### 5. Objections on Economical Grounds:

Neither is the proposed scheme of public bath houses economical either for the bathers or the municipality. The initial outlay for the purchase of a site in a crowded district where land is necessarily valuable, and for the construction and equipment of suitable buildings, the continuing expense of maintenance, repairs and supplying water, are additional burdens in added taxes. There is, further, the individual personal expense for towels and soap, loss of time consumed in going to the bath and home again, etc.

### 6. Its Impracticability:

Besides this method is not immediately practicable. The constitutional requirement that bonded debts of municipalities must not exceed ten per cent. of the assessed valuation makes it almost certain that no bonds can be issued for a long time in the future for any purpose not already projected and authorized; because we have now almost reached the limit of our debt creating power under the law.

### 7. The True Remedy:

The plan of public bath houses is closed, it seems to me, by considerations of efficiency, economy and practicability. What then is the remedy? How do the folks who observe personal cleanliness manage to do it? Surely not by public baths. They bathe in the privacy of their homes, in their own tubs, at their own pleasure. The solution is simply to extend the plan already in successful use by those who usually propose public baths; and that is, bath tubs in every suite of living apartments.

This is the natural, rational method of procedure. Is this plan practicable?

### 8. Abundance and Waste of Supply:

The cost of New York city's water system, including all expenditures for plants in use, abandoned and dismantled, from 1836 to January 1, 1895, as given by Edward Wegmann in his recent work on the water supplies of the city of New York, is \$71,719,148.30. The present system gives us a storage of seventy thousand million gallons, insuring a daily supply of 280,000,000 gallons. The total consumption in 1894 was 183,000,000 gallons, or an average per capita of one hundred gallons per day, which is far in excess of actual consumption.

The late Colonel Waring, in an article in Harper's Weekly, February 6, 1897, declared that it is a fact well known to those who have made a study of the matter, that less than one-third this amount per capita would suffice for the most liberal needs of any community.

He then, upon the authority of Sir Frederick Bramwell, who made an investigation of water waste, showed that more than half the consumption is pure waste which never reaches the consumer, but is lost in the mains and pipes by leakage which, with some small effort, can be prevented. We have, therefore, a liberal water supply which, if rightly conserved, is sufficient to meet the requirements of a population exceeding 8,400,000.

### 9. Vexatious System of Charges:

With this more than superabundance of water, we pursue a policy, in its distribution to the people, based on the plea of a constantly threatened water famine. The water is doled out under regulations of the Public Water Works' Department, which imposes a charge based upon the front width of houses with an additional charge for every additional story and family, and a further charge for every additional water closet or urinal, as but one water closet is allowed to each house. Besides this, there are charges for bath tubs, stationary washtubs, fish stands, saloons, barber shops, and, after a number of other vexatious charges, to cap the climax of injustice, a charge on bakeries for the average daily use of flour, of three dollars a barrel per annum.

### 10. Political Abuse of Discretionary System:

Should the commissioner believe, however, that the water consumed is not fully charged for, by these regulations, he in his discretion may compel the owner to attach a meter at his own expense, and all water registered thereon is charged for at the rate of ten cents per hundred cubic feet. The commissioner is vested with too much discretionary power. I will not charge that this power is abused. I do not know that it is, but it does afford him the opportunity to deal severely with political opponents, and exempt friends and favorites. Vesting a public official with such absolute powers, makes possible the corruption of city government.

### 11. How Its Cost Can Be Met:

There is enough water. The solution of the problem is to be found in the most matter of fact conclusion that the water ought to reach the intended user who is, under the present system, denied this because of the direct charges made for its use. Economy in use means economy in expenditures; therefore this whole difficulty may be overcome by abolishing the direct rates and substituting a tax on real property.

The theory that charges should be

imposed according to use, is made to apply to water consumers alone. In the matter of police, schools, parks, fire departments, the administration of justice, public highways, street cleaning and illumination, a different principle is acted upon; if these municipal utilities were, like water, charged to the landlord, according to the use the tenants made of them, it is certain there would be other social problems demanding investigation and solution. What far reaching effects this simple change in the levying of the rates would have, is illustrated in the development of the modern office buildings, which supply light, heat, water and elevator and janitor service, for one charge included in the rent. Office buildings that cannot furnish these accommodations are fast becoming vacated or altered.

If the charge for water were included in the tax levy, it would not profit a landlord to save water, and therefore he would make ample provision for tenants. This would compel the owners of rookeries, lacking in water accommodations, to either put them in or build anew, on penalty of vacancies.

#### 12. How It Will Benefit Labor:

But this change in the incidence of the water tax would be beneficial not alone to the tenants of overcrowded and congested residential districts. The average health of the whole community would be bettered, and the danger of epidemics reduced—to the advantage of all the inhabitants.

Further than this, it would attract manufacturers to the city, thereby furnishing employment to many whose demands for dwellings and for storekeepers to supply them with necessaries, would create a greater demand for real estate, which in turn, would increase real and taxable values.

#### 13. Who Will Fight the Proposition:

This reform will find loud and lusty opponents. Men who own unimproved real estate, at present exempt from contributing toward the maintenance of the water service, will protest on the ground that since they do not consume any water they should not be compelled to pay for water service of whatsoever kind.

But vacant lots no more require highways, police, fire, schools, parks, elections, etc., than they do water. The absurdity, the injustice of the objection is clearly manifest. For every rational man knows that the taxable value of land results from these public improvements.

#### 14. Antique Methods:

Time was when a householder of what is now New York was obliged by municipal regulation to illuminate the highway by hanging a lantern before his door; when he had to clean the streets and pay toll to private companies for using the highway. We have developed since those days, and now permit the free use of these utilities, meeting the expense by a general tax upon the property of the inhabitants.

Shall we proceed along this line of development, or return to the old-fashioned, clumsy and inefficient plan, when each man carried in one hand a lighted lantern to pick his way home at night, while with the other hand he grasped his sword ready to defend himself against the assaults of highwaymen? If, however, we want to maintain an advanced civilization, we will abolish as rapidly as possible all tolls, fees and special charges now levied upon the individual user of public benefits, and collect the revenue necessary for the proper maintenance of these utilities, from the real estate within the benefited area.

#### 15. Equities:

The present system practically gives a bonus to the owners of properties lacking in this great essential—water. Vacant lots are almost entirely exempt. But a city is not made up of vacant lots. They are an abuse in a city so overcrowded as this. Water and other municipal benefits are provided that they may be used. If the owner of vacant lots neglects his opportunities, that is his own loss and should not be made a burden upon the activities of other people. These vacant lots would have no value whatever were it not for the benefits the municipality offers to its citizens. As a piece of land they are without value; as a place whereon one may enjoy the benefits and security of good government they have a value proportioned to the benefits that can be enjoyed and the number of people competing for the chance to enjoy them.

You can readily judge whether the municipal water works is of benefit to these land owners by inquiring what the effect would be on the value of their lands if water were to be had only by the owner's private enterprise and expenditure of money. They would object most strenuously, from purely selfish motives, to the disestablishment of the police water works, or any other useful municipal institution.

#### 16. Cost of Maintenance:

It now costs about \$500,000 a year to maintain a water bureau for the care

and collection of the water revenue. This would be saved. To raise the same revenue by a general tax that is now collected by a tax upon water consumers, would increase the tax rate less than two mills on the dollar of taxable value of real estate.

It is the custom to value unimproved real estate at about one-third its true value, and improved real estate at about sixty per cent. of its true value, for the purpose of taxation. If valuations were made in conformity with the law, at full and true value, the shifting of the water tax from consumers to real property, would not increase the tax rate one mill on the dollar.

To make a concrete illustration, take a "double decker" tenement with a complete water supply throughout. The water rates would amount to about \$150 per annum; whereas, if the cost for water were included in the tax levy, it would cost the property assessed at 60 per cent. of true value, (or about \$12,000), \$24 per year. If the tax valuations were legally made at true values, then one mill on the dollar would make the additional charge for water only \$20, and this whether the water was or was not used. As against this, consider the case of a private mansion, valued at 60 per cent. of true value, and taxed on \$1,000,000. The water tax would add \$1,200 to the general tax, whereas such a mansion now pays in direct charges for water less than \$150 per year—another instance of the poor paying the taxes for the rich.

BENJAMIN DOBLIN.

We no longer view human problems from the standpoint of how to escape from overwhelming evil. Men have adopted a better civilization and better organization of life as a last resort, rather with a view to achieving incoming and overwhelming good. We no longer view the problems of human society simply as matters of escape from wrong. The question is, How can we with some degree of finality establish a basis of positive, economic and social right?—Prof. Geo. D. Herron, in Chicago, Mar. 6.

I believe that any society, which desires to found itself on a high standard of integrity of character in its units, should organize itself in such a fashion as to make it possible for all men and all women to maintain themselves in reasonable comfort by their industry, without selling their affections and their convictions. At present we not only condemn women to attach themselves to "bread winners," licitly or illicitly, on pain of heavy privation and disadvantage; but we have the great

prostitute classes of men, for instance the dramatists and the journalists (to whom I myself belong), not to mention the legions of lawyers, doctors, and platform politicians who are daily using their highest faculties to belie their real sentiments; a sin compared to which that of a woman who sells the use of her person for a few hours is too venial to be worth mentioning; for rich men without convictions are more dangerous in modern society than poor women without chastity.—George Bernard Shaw, in the introduction to his play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession."

### THOSE WICKED FILIPINOS.

For The Public.

Those wicked Filipinos are the worst of human kind.  
 'Tis shocking to consider their depravity of mind.  
 They helped us thrash the Spaniards, and to drive them o'er the sea,  
 And now they have the impudence to claim they should be free.  
 'Tis shameful that such notions should find lodgment in the head  
 Of any Asiatic. It will take a heap of lead  
 To penetrate their hearts, and let the daylight through their brains,  
 And make surviving relatives content to wear our chains.  
 Now who would think such heathen cared a farthing for home rule?  
 Those frowsy-pated rebels must have spent some time in school,  
 And learned of Thomas Jefferson, that theorist of ours,  
 Who said that from the governed governments derive just powers.  
 But we are Christian people, and we have the biggest guns;  
 Our cannon shall proclaim so loud, that he must heed who runs:  
 "The ancient Declaration is played out. Its force is spent;  
 Our new brand of philanthropy will pay us five per cent."

What could induce those miscreants to fire upon our flag?  
 Perhaps someone has told them how we Yankees love to brag  
 About our brave forefathers, who expelled the foreign horde  
 Which came to subjugate them, and to rule them by the sword.  
 Don't speak too loud of Lexington, of Concord, Bunker Hill,  
 Though memories of those glorious fields yet cause our hearts to thrill.  
 It now seems quite unfortunate, though Britain's flag they furl'd,  
 That those embattled farmers made their shot heard 'round the world.  
 Those poor benighted Malays do not stop to count the cost.  
 They pour out blood and treasure for a cause that must be lost.  
 We mow them with machine guns; men, women, children fall.  
 The smoke from their burned villages seems one vast funeral pall.  
 They may have heard by some means of the bold illegal way  
 The men of Massachusetts dumped the tea in Boston bay;  
 And how our old-time heroes pledged with one united breath

Lives, fortunes, sacred honor, and chose Liberty or Death.

We hear of women fighting in the Filipino ranks.

No well-bred, cultured lady would be guilty of such pranks.

But Filipino Amazons perhaps no worse have done

Than famous Molly Pitcher, who at Monmouth served a gun.

It seems quite inexcusable that Aguinaldo's men

Should lurk in bushy thickets, and infest each marshy fen.

Perhaps that wily leader thinks to play on us the game

That Carolina's "Swamp Fox" found the road to deathless fame.

Why can't those people love us, and in quietness accept

The fate we deem most fitting? We have proved ourselves adept

In meeting circumstances that from time to time arise;

In juggling with our principles we too are worldly-wise.

The war of liberation has been hustled out of sight;

A war for subjugation we are now prepared to fight.

A criminal aggression 'twould have been a year ago;

Now 'tis assimilation, most benevolent, you know.

Our twenty million dollars will buy out Spain's robber claim.

A hundred thousand soldiers we will muster in to tame

Those bumptious Filipinos who assert their rights to live

On terms quite incompatible with those we choose to give.

The Golden Rule is out of date; don't pay it any heed.

Our Destiny is beckoning. Let's push where it may lead.

We go in for expansion over all that we dare take.

Who called our simulation of benevolence a fake?

J. K. RUDYARD.

Fair Traveler—We had a lovely voyage. Escaped storms and fogs and icebergs and—

Little Flossie—And the big letters, auntie?

Fair Traveler—What do you mean, dear?

Little Flossie—Why, in my map there's a big L and an A right in the middle of the ocean. I'm glad your ship didn't go up against them.—The Capital.

Uncle Josh—I know I was foolish, but I wasn't dreamin' of meetin' a bunco man. You see, it happened in Buffalo.

Uncle Hiram—Well?

Uncle Josh—Well, of course, I never s'posed you'd meet a bunco man anywhere except in New York.—Puck.

Papa—See the spider, my boy, spinning his web. Is it not wonderful? Do you reflect that, try as he may, no man could spin that web?

Johnny—What of it? See me spin this top. Do you reflect that, try as he may, no spider could spin this top?  
 —Stray Stories.

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