

NEWS

terposed obstacles. An example of such obstacles is a license tax. When licenses are arbitrarily required, government permission must be obtained before individuals can engage in these occupations. But the requirement of licenses is arbitrary. It is in itself a governmental interference. In the absence of that, these businesses are open to all who choose to engage in them. That is the natural test of a private function, and such businesses are therefore in their nature private.

But no one can go into the street car business without the active cooperation of government. It is not a question of taking out an arbitrarily required license; it is a question of the nature of the business itself. No one can engage in it unless he obtains from government permission to prevent other people from doing the same business. He must, in other words, obtain from government the authority to exercise a governmental function—the function, in this case, of regulating the use of the highway.

The question, therefore, of municipalizing street car systems, is not a question of socialism. It does not call upon us to say whether government shall assume new functions, but whether it shall resume old ones. It is not a question of having government go into private business; but one of ending the custom of enabling private corporations to go into the government business.

To argue, as is often done, that American municipalities are too corrupt to resume these functions, is to argue in a circle. In what does municipal corruption chiefly consist? Is it not in accepting bribes from the beneficiaries of our street railway systems? Abolish the briber, and the public corruption would go with him.

Would the corruption then take on the new form of spoils in the appointment of municipal street car employes? A simple civil service system would be a protection against that, as in great degree—in as complete a degree as the application of the system—it has been in the post office, which at one time was among the most viciously corrupt of all our spoils institutions.

But even without a civil service system, politicians would find street

car employment under municipal ownership no better field for spoils than it is at present under private ownership. Any alderman, any mayor, who favors street car corporations unduly, can now appoint and discharge street car employes at will. Where could you find a worse example of spoils than that?

It is no answer to the arguments for municipal ownership of street car systems that a tax on gross receipts, or even a reduction of fares, would accomplish the beneficial objects as well.

A tax on gross receipts is but a method of levying taxes upon street car passengers. It would tend to benefit real estate tax payers, by shifting part of their taxes upon great masses of people, usually on the poorer classes, in such manner as to keep them in ignorance of the fact that they were paying taxes, and so make it possible to refer slightly to them as "non-taxpayers."

To reduce fares would directly benefit street car passengers. But the question would always be debatable as to how low the fares ought to be; and over that question the private companies, in their efforts to get as high fares as possible, would continue to demoralize local politics.

It is only by means of municipal ownership that passengers can be served at reasonable fares, without indirect taxation, and the most corrupting element of modern local politics be stamped out. So long as municipal functions are performed by private corporations, just so long will those corporations debauch municipal politics.

But even municipal ownership will not ultimately better the condition of the masses of the people. As soon as it begins to work smoothly, the money that the passengers save in reduced fares they will have to pay their landlords in augmented rents. Land values will rise as car fares fall, and as in a great transformation scene, the landed interest will take visible shape as the street car interest dissolves.

That is what has happened in Glasgow. It is what under similar circumstances, must in the very nature of things happen everywhere.

The treaty of peace between Spain and the United States, signed at Paris December 10, by the commissioners for the two countries, and of which a full abstract is given in No. 41 of The Public, was ratified on the 6th of February by the United States senate. There were 57 affirmative and 27 negative votes. Six absentees were paired—two negatives against four affirmatives. As the constitution requires a two-thirds vote of the senate for the ratification of treaties, the treaty here in dispute was carried with three votes to spare. The opposition to it hinged entirely upon the clauses ceding Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago to the United States. It was insisted, either that the treaty should be so amended as to place these countries on the same footing as Cuba, as to which Spain merely relinquishes sovereignty, or that congress should make a declaration disclaiming any intention of forcible annexation. Neither was done. The opposition in the American senate having been defeated by the vote summarized above, nothing now remains to make the treaty operative but ratification by the Spanish cortes, which are summoned to convene at Madrid on the 20th.

On the eve of the ratification of the treaty at Washington a bloody conflict was started between American and Filipino troops at Manila. Of the origin, extent and result of this conflict it is as yet impossible to give an entirely trustworthy account. Press reports come under the censorship of cable messages which our government has recently established at Manila, and official reports from army and naval officers are not divulged completely. We offer, however, as full and intelligible an account of the affair as the circumstances permit.

The first news of the fight with the Filipinos came to the American public through the New York Sun, in a dispatch purporting to have originated in Manila on Sunday, the 5th. According to this dispatch the Filipinos had attacked Manila at 8:30 o'clock Saturday evening, and had fired upon the American outposts Sunday morning. Immediately upon the making of the attack, Gen. Otis had conveyed many of the women and children to vessels in the harbor. The attack was general and stubborn, but

was instantly repulsed, and Gen. Otis then had the situation well in hand. The same dispatch reported that Admiral Dewey had shelled the Filipinos while they were making the attack. Twenty Americans were reported as wounded, with none killed, while the Filipino loss was believed to have been considerable.

In response to a cablegram from the president requesting advices, Gen. Otis replied on Sunday. Whether the full message was given out at Washington is not known, but so much as was given out is as follows:

The insurgents made an attack upon the city of Manila at 8:30 o'clock Saturday evening. They fired upon the outposts all around the city. At this hour, nine o'clock Sunday morning, the fighting continues. The American troops have been successful in repelling the assault of the native troops.

The cruiser Charleston, the Monadnock and the gunboat Calino, which latter vessel was captured by Admiral Dewey during the war, are throwing shells into the insurgents' ranks north and south of the city, from which the severest attacks were made.

The American wounded number 20 at this writing. The loss of the insurgents is not known, but is believed to be far greater.

There has been no outbreak among the natives in the city.

The American women in the city, wives of the officers and others, have been taken on board the United States transports.

Spent balls from the insurgent lines are falling into the city. The situation is well in hand.

It should be observed that the similarity of the Sun's report to Gen. Otis's message is such as to suggest either that the former was taken from the latter, or that both were constructed under the same control.

The official report from Gen. Otis to the adjutant general, cabled also on Sunday, is, as the same was given out for publication, as follows:

Insurgents in large force opened attack on our outer lines at 8:45 last evening; renewed attack several times during night; at four o'clock this morning entire line engaged; all attacks repulsed; at daybreak advanced against insurgents and have driven them beyond the lines they formerly occupied, capturing several villages and their defense works; insurgent loss in dead and wounded large; our own casualties thus far estimated at 175, very few fatal. Troops enthusiastic and acting fearlessly. Navy did splendid execution on flanks of enemy; city held in check and absolute quiet prevails; in-

surgers have secured a good many Mauser rifles, a few field pieces and quick-firing guns, with ammunition, during last month. Situation is most satisfactory; no apprehension need be felt. Perfect quiet prevails in city and vicinity. List of casualties being prepared and will be forwarded as soon as possible. Troops in excellent health and spirits.

Two other official reports given out at Washington had been cabled from Manila on Sunday, the 5th. One was to the secretary of the navy from Admiral Dewey, who said:

Insurgents here inaugurated general engagement yesterday night, which has continued to-day. American army and navy generally successful. Insurgents have been driven back and our line advanced. No casualties to navy.

The other report was to Gen. Greely, chief signal officer, U. S. A., from Chief Signal Officer Thompson, of Gen. Otis's staff. He said:

Action continues since early morning; losses quite heavy; everything favorable to our arms.

The next official report was to the secretary of the navy from Admiral Dewey. It bore date at Manila, the 6th, which was Monday, and as given out was as follows:

Insurgents have attacked Manila. The Boston leaves to-day for Iloilo to relieve the Baltimore, which will return to Manila. Two men wounded yesterday on board Monadnock, one seriously.

A second official report from Gen. Otis bearing date, Tuesday, December 7th was given out as follows:

The insurgents' army concentrated around Manila from Luzon provinces, numbering over 20,000, possessing several quick-firing and Krupp field guns. Good portion of enemy armed with Mausers of latest pattern. Two Krupp guns and great many rifles captured. Insurgents fired great quantity of ammunition. Quite a number of Spanish soldiers in insurgent service, who served artillery. The insurgents constructed strong intrenchments near our lines, mostly in bamboo thickets. These our men charged, killing or capturing many of the enemy. Our casualties probably aggregate 250. Full reports to-day. Casualties of insurgents very heavy. Have buried some 500 of their dead and hold 500 prisoners. Their losses killed and wounded and prisoners probably 4,000. Took waterworks pumping station yesterday, six miles out. Considerable skirmishing with enemy, who made no stand. Pumps damaged; will be working within a week. Have number of condensers set up in city, which furnish good water. Troops in excellent spirits. Quiet prevails.

The American casualties reported by Gen. Otis up to Tuesday, were 205—killed 51, wounded 154. The insurgent casualties were then estimated at 3,500 killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners. The American list is not yet complete.

Gen. Otis's third official report to be given out for publication bore date Wednesday, the 8th. It is as follows:

Situation rapidly improving. Reconnoissance yesterday to south several miles to Lagunade Bay, to southeast eight miles, driving straggling insurgent troops in various directions, encountering no decided opposition; army disintegrated and natives returning to villages displaying white flag.

Near Caloocan, six miles north, the enemy made a stand behind intrenchments; charged by Kansas troops led by Col. Funston. Close encounter, resulting in rout of the enemy with heavy loss. Loss to Kansas, Lieut. Alford killed, six men wounded.

February 4 Aguinaldo issued lying proclamation, charging Americans with initiative and declared war. Sunday issued another, calling all to resist foreign invasion. His influence throughout this section destroyed; now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference; have declined to answer.

Insurgent expectation of rising in city night of 4th unrealized. Provost marshal general, with admirable disposition of troops, defeated every attempt. City quiet, business resumed; natives respectful and cheerful; fighting qualities of American troops a revelation to all inhabitants.

Descriptions of the fighting are given in press dispatches. From these, as from the official reports, it would appear that the Filipinos were the aggressors. They tell of an attack by the Filipinos about 8:45 o'clock Saturday night, which was brief. The fighting was resumed, however, at about 10 o'clock. Then came another lull between 3 and 4 Sunday morning, followed by sharp fighting for 20 minutes. After that the battle subsided until daylight, when the Americans made a general advance, and fighting continued during most of the day. Early in the afternoon the Filipinos appeared to have been routed, and the Americans were in possession of several villages and of the Manila water main and reservoir, which the Filipinos had theretofore controlled. Hundreds of native huts were fired by the Americans to dislodge their occupants. One church, in which Filipinos had fortified themselves, was set on fire by the Americans, and the escaping Filipinos were picked off with rifles as they were smoked out.

Though the Filipinos appeared, according to the press dispatches, to have been routed on Sunday, yet according to subsequent press dispatches they were still stubbornly resisting the American advance on Tuesday. At that time, according to the press dispatches, they had been driven back, after three days and nights of fighting, as far as ten miles to the east and south of Manila, and five miles to the north. The fighting is described in the press dispatches as having been "tremendously hard at times." Repulsed and driven back from their first positions with terrible loss, due chiefly to the sweeping fire from the warships in the bay, the Filipinos rallied in new positions and made stubborn resistance. The loss of life they suffered appears to have been terrible. American burial parties found hundreds of dead Filipinos in the rice fields, lying where they had fallen, or in the shelter of native huts which had escaped the conflagrations in which whole villages had been enveloped. Even as late as Tuesday, Filipino corpses were said to be lying thick in many places, in the heaps in which they had fallen. Among them were women who, with hair cut and in men's clothes, had fought to the death beside their husbands and brothers. Tottering old men and little boys armed only with knives were found shot down in the Filipino trenches where they had gone to participate in the fighting. The deadliest work of the Americans seems to have been done by the war vessels, which poured a withering fire into the Filipino trenches within range. To account for the comparatively slight American losses reported, it is explained that the Filipinos fired too high. But for this, it is said, the Americans could not have escaped appalling slaughter.

All the American reports imply, it will be observed, that the Filipinos were the aggressors. There have come from Filipino sources, however, positive denials of this, which are not without some confirmation from American sources. One American correspondent, Cowen, of the Chicago Record, gives this account of the beginning of the fight:

It was 8:30 o'clock Saturday evening when three venturesome Filipinos ran past the pickets of the First Nebraska volunteers at Santa Mesa. They were challenged, and retired without replying. Once more they tried the experiment, were challenged and thrust back beyond the picket line. A third time

they approached the Cossack picket maintained by the Americans at that point. Corp. Greely challenged them and then opened fire, killing one and wounding another. These shots aroused the insurgent line, stretching from Caloocan, near the bay, north of Manila, to Santa Mesa, in the rear of the city, and a fusillade was started at many points. The pickets of the First Nebraska, the First North Dakota and the First Montana regiments replied vigorously, and hot work began.

An examination of dispatches prior to the conflict shows other occurrences of like kind, except that no general conflict resulted. On the 20th of January an American sentry killed a captain of Filipino artillery, an act which was then denounced by the native press as "cowardly assassination." Five members of the dead captain's company attempted to enter the American lines to revenge his death, and one of them was killed by another American sentry. Other evidences of friction between the troops on each side have occurred from time to time.

But from Aguinaldo's proclamation of Saturday, the 4th, issued before the battle began, and mentioned in Gen. Otis's dispatch above, it would appear that whether or not he intended to precipitate a fight that night, he did intend to make war. Having been empowered by the Filipino congress to declare war in his discretion, Aguinaldo then proclaimed as follows:

I order and command:

First. That peace and friendly relations with the Americans be broken, and that the latter be treated as enemies, within the limits prescribed by the laws of war.

Second. That the Americans captured be held as prisoners of war.

Third. That this proclamation be communicated to the consuls and that congress order and accord a suspension of the constitutional guarantee, resulting from the declaration of war.

This proclamation was preceded by recitals, which do not appear in full in the American dispatches. Enough of them is given, however, together with the recitals of a second proclamation, issued on Monday, the 6th, to indicate that Aguinaldo complained of the attitude of the American government toward the Filipino republic, as intended to overthrow the latter, and that he charged the Americans with provoking hostilities. He referred in these recitals to the grievances specified in his proclamation

of January 8, in which, in response to the proclamation of President McKinley promulgated by Gen. Otis, he accused the American government of bad faith. In his second proclamation Aguinaldo is reported as declaring that the outbreak at Manila was "unjustly and unexpectedly provoked by the Americans," as referring to "constant outrages and taunts" which had been causing misery to the Manilans; and as mentioning the meetings with American officials as "useless conferences." He speaks, too, of the "contempt shown for the Filipino government" as proving a "premeditated transgression of justice and liberty." He insists, further, that he tried to avoid, so far as possible, an armed conflict, but that all his efforts "were useless before the unmeasured pride of the Americans," whom he charges with treating him as a rebel because, to quote his language, "I defend the interests of my country, and would not become the instrument of their dastardly intentions." In conclusion, addressing his countrymen, Aguinaldo says:

Be not discouraged. Our independence was watered freely by the blood of martyrs, and more will be shed in the future to strengthen it. Remember that efforts are not to be wasted that ends may be gained. It is indispensable to adjust our actions to the rules of law and right and to learn to triumph over our enemies.

That war was contemplated and prepared for by both sides long before the Manila fight, is evident from mail advices received on the 8th. They bring the Philippine news down to January 14. From these advices it would appear that Gen. Otis's Proclamation, made by order of President McKinley early in January, in which he asserted American sovereignty over the archipelago, was the chief cause of the resentment of the Filipinos, which culminated in the Manila fight.

From Washington it is announced that the war is to be prosecuted relentlessly with a view to securing complete control of the Philippines. To that end orders from Washington have been received at Manila, so it was reported from there on the 9th, to reenforce the Americans at Iloilo. Washington press dispatches announce, apparently by authority, that the Americans are now to move upon and capture Iloilo.

There is a better outlook in Cuba than in the Philippines. President