

# The Public

First Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1899.

Number 47.

**LOUIS F. POST, Editor.**

Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post-office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last column of last page.

The enthusiastic reception of Prof. Herron's second course of religious-economic lectures in Chicago is significant of a gratifying awakening of public spirit. What was the dream of agitators yesterday, has become an object in practical politics to-day. Prof. Herron's voicing of the growing sentiment of radicalism is all that could be desired. His first lecture in the series on "Municipal Ideals" gives promise of even better work than he has ever done before, and nothing stronger than that could be said.

Gov. Lind, of Minnesota, takes high ground in vetoing an appropriation of \$20,000 for bounties on beet sugar. He rests his opposition to bounties upon principle. To find representative men like Lind resisting this form of corruption is encouraging. It should be understood that the legislator who votes for a bounty to assist private businesses, and the business organizations that solicit such benefactions out of the public purse, are engaged in furthering corruption. To take money for the use of others by legislation and in the form of taxes is as truly theft as to do so by means of a club or pistol and in the comparatively honest name of plunder.

The un-democratic democrats of North Carolina are attempting to disfranchise negroes in that state by an evasion of the 15th amendment to the United States constitution. That amendment guarantees that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. But the North

Carolina Solons think they see a way around this guarantee. Since the suffrage may be abridged on account of illiteracy or poverty, they propose an amendment to the state constitution imposing an educational qualification and a poll tax as conditions of voting. In that way they expect to shut out a large proportion of the negro vote. But it might also shut out the white vote, to avoid which, it is proposed to exempt all persons who were themselves entitled to vote prior to 1867, when the vote was restricted to white men, or are descended from persons who were so entitled. In plain English this plan contemplates the disfranchisement of negroes for reasons not applying to whites. Should the supreme court sustain so palpable an evasion, that body might as well adjourn for good.

It has been evident ever since the brilliant naval battle in which Cervera's fleet was destroyed, that a conspiracy has been on foot in high official quarters to transfer the credit for that victory from Schley, to whom it belongs, to Sampson, the navy department pet. For some more or less inscrutable reason, such plutocratic papers as Harper's Weekly and the New York Evening Post have lent their columns to the purposes of this conspiracy, which reached its climax when the secretary officially informed the senate not only that Sampson was entitled to the credit of the Cervera victory, but that Schley had been reprehensibly derelict in connection with locating Cervera's fleet in Santiago harbor six weeks before the battle. Through all the fuss over this matter, Schley has maintained a dignified silence. But having at last been offered an opportunity to tell his own story officially to the senate he has done so. Without evincing any spirit of controversy, he tells the sim-

ple facts in a simple and dignified way; and what he tells is as destructive to the naval office conspiracy as his maneuvering off Santiago on the 3d of July was to Cervera's fleet.

When the present congress goes out of office next week, it will have appropriated not much if any less than one billion five hundred million dollars. Look at the figures—\$1,500,000,000. It has been obliged, of course, to provide for war expenses; but they do not vary much from \$200,000,000, and if we put them at \$250,000,000, an ample allowance, we shall leave over \$1,200,000,000 as the amount appropriated by Hanna's "sound money" and "national honor" congress and president. It is only a few years ago—hardly more than a few months—when the congress that appropriated a billion was anathematized for extravagance; yet this congress adds a quarter of a billion to that, and jeers at its critics as "economists." Well may it jeer. Most of the extra money is spent to enrich the rich, while nearly all of it comes, by means of a sneaking system of indirect taxation, from the pockets of the poor and middle classes.

We do not often agree with Edward Atkinson, the Boston writer on industrial statistics and economics, but when he says of the Philippines, as he did at a meeting of the Workingmen's Political league in Boston, that—

we have neither the moral right nor the political right, and I hope we have not the physical power to compel the inhabitants of those islands to become our vassals and to submit to a rule under the pretense of Christian benefit to them at the point of the bayonet with the sacrifice of thousands of their numbers to this Moloch of expansion—

we agree with him most heartily.

A southern editor, discussing the Philippine question, speaks gravely of

"our 'disinterested efforts to obtain freedom for the Filipinos," and their "indecent haste to get us out of Manila." History repeats itself. No doubt when King George's armies set foot on American soil, there were editors in England who characterized this invasion as a "disinterested effort in behalf of freedom;" and the Battle of Bunker Hill was probably looked on as a "display of indecent haste" on the part of the colonists in getting their benefactors out of Boston.

President McKinley refused to intimate his foreign policy to the senate, the legislative body which is authorized by the constitution to deal with such matters in conjunction with the president; but he unbosomed himself with comparative freedom to the Boston "Home Market Club." The Philippines had been sent us, he told that club, as a trust, from which we must not flinch. Never was language used with greater agility to conceal thought. Sent as a trust, indeed! They were sent us precisely as Dick Turpin's plunder was sent him, and are in the same sense and no other a trust. We have grabbed for the Philippines, Filipinos and all; and there is in plain English nothing more to it.

"Our concern," Mr. McKinley proceeded, "was not for territory or trade or empire, but for the people whose interests or destiny, without our willing it, had been put in our hands!" But beyond this, he gave, even to the privileged "Home Market Club," no intimation of the policy which he thinks this country ought to pursue. Upon that point he was clear only as to one thing. We must not consult the Filipinos as to their future while they are shooting our soldiers. For the rest we must leave them to the mercy of congress. He was careful, however, not to recall the somewhat pregnant fact that for months, while his Asiatic real estate speculation was hatching, he refused to consult them, and offensively prevented them from consulting him, as to the future of their country, when they were not

shooting our soldiers. Had he then given assurances of our intention to deal with the Philippines as we are pledged to deal with Cuba, the blood of our soldiers and of the slaughtered Filipino patriots would not now be upon his hands. No blood would have been shed.

How utterly lacking in good faith were Mr. McKinley's words about the freedom of American motives from lust of territory and trade and empire, is exposed by the whole imperial press. It was specifically exposed a week before by the editor of McKinley's eastern organ, one of his peace commissioners—Whitelaw Reid, of the New York Tribune. Reid did not mince matters as McKinley did. Reid is malodorous, but he is neither a hypocrite nor a diplomat. In his Chicago speech on Lincoln's birthday, he saw and described in the conquest of the Philippines, territory and trade and empire. "Hold what you are entitled to!" he exclaimed. "If you are ever to part with it—

wait at least until you have examined it and found out that you have no use for it. Before yielding to temporary difficulties at the outset, take time to be quite sure you are ready now to abandon your chance for a commanding position in the trade of China, in the commercial control of the Pacific ocean, and in the richest commercial development of the approaching century.

That is Reid's view of the matter. It is opposed to the carefully guarded expressions of McKinley at Boston. The two speeches when compared show either that McKinley's was a pretense, or that McKinley and Reid disagree as to the American motive for doing the Filipinos good and regulating their lives for them. But recent history constrains us to doubt any disagreement, and to accept Reid's version as the true one. If we are not grabbing the Philippines for the sake of territory, trade and empire, why did we not provide in the treaty for the Filipinos as we did for the Cubans? Why did President McKinley refuse to assure the Filipino representatives of our fidelity in respect to them to our own principles of government? Why did he use the influence

of his office to prevent a declaration by congress as to the Philippines similar to that which, in spite of his opposition, congress made a year ago as to Cuba?

Again, the president in his Boston speech said:

"Could we, after freeing the Filipinos from the dominion of Spain, have left them without government and without power to protect life and property or to perform the international obligations essential to an independent state? Could we have left them in a state of anarchy and justified ourselves in our own consciences or before the tribunal of mankind?"

France gave us some substantial help when we freed ourselves from Great Britain. Suppose that after the treaty was signed she had said: "Now, we have freed you from the domination of Great Britain, but we cannot leave you without government and without power to protect life and property or to perform the international obligations essential to an independent state. We will just annex you, or take you under a sort of military protectorate until you learn to govern yourselves. Thereby we shall be justified in our own consciences and before the tribunal of mankind." Imagine what response the patriots of '76 would have made to these pious platitudes! Where is the spirit of '76 when American "patriots" applaud such utterances?

One of the motives at the bottom of the imperialistic upheaval, and which has helped to give it its impulse, is the same spirit of greed and grab which became incarnate in Mark Hanna nearly three years ago, and raised McKinley to the chair he would now turn into an imperial throne. A pointed suggestion of this is contained in a letter from John T. McCutcheon to the Chicago Record. Mr. McCutcheon's letters, from his exceptionally excellent report of the fight in Manila bay to his last, bear intrinsic evidence of being the work of a conscientious observer and candid reporter. In the suggestive one referred to he tells, quite as matter of course and not at all in the spirit of an ex-

posure, of the opportunities in the Philippines for monopolists. For others there are few opportunities, it seems. "Excepting for a few business ventures in the cities," writes Mr. McCutcheon, "the Philippines only offer alluring prospects for men who control a great deal of capital." But

there seems to be an almost limitless field here for big corporations that can enter the work of developing the slumbering riches. There will, as a result of the introduction of a period of development, be many opportunities for men who act in connection with the big money operators. Railroads will be built, new ports opened, great tracts surveyed, new cities laid out at railway terminals and recently opened ports, a great deal of electrical engineering done, newly developed districts entered, banks opened, docks built and navigable streams dredged and widened, bridges constructed, harbors deepened, steamship lines established for inter-island commerce, mining possibilities investigated, modern machinery installed in the sugar, hemp, tobacco, coffee and rice lands, quick methods of cultivation introduced and hot-weather resorts built in the mountains north of Manila.

That the newspaper man has not alone observed these opportunities for American monopolies, appears from a subsequent letter in the Record from Mr. McCutcheon, in which he announces the departure for Washington of a promoter—the Belgian consul, Edward Andre. Mr. Andre is after Philippine concessions from congress. But let Mr. McCutcheon tell his story:

Mr. Edward Andre, the Belgian consul who conducted all the negotiations for the surrender of Manila between Admiral Dewey and Gov. Gen. Jaudenes, has issued the prospectus of a gigantic development company which he has organized with a number of American capitalists. He leaves for Washington early in January to obtain various concessions for the company. Mr. Andre has lived in the Philippines for more than 20 years, is the only foreigner whom the Spanish government has ever permitted to make surveys, and knows the islands from personal experience from one end to the other. He has become very wealthy and is now one of the most active and prominent business men in the Philippines. . . . The object of the company will be to take advantage of the various opportunities for profitable investment of capital offered by the development of the Philippine islands. He considers that the re-

sources of the islands have hardly been touched. A few of these resources, such as hemp, sugar and tobacco, already produce large profits, but under Spanish rule it was impossible to handle any of these industries by businesslike methods, so that even those upon which the most effort has been expended can hardly be said to have reached more than the primary stage of their possibilities. There are scores of other fields practically untouched. The greatest of these is in the construction of railroads and the opening of ways of communication. Now the roads are in such a condition that it is only with the greatest difficulty that the produce of the provinces finds its way to market. The shipping interests are most inadequately handled. To one who has traveled among the islands it is easy to see that proper ports are needed in many places. The rich timber interests are entirely undeveloped. Rice cultivation is in such a stage that in a country which seems especially designed by nature for growing rice great quantities must be imported annually to supply the demand of the population. The difficulties of transportation at present divert what little traffic there is from its natural channels and render it impossible to open up rich fields. Only the surface of the mineral wealth has been scratched. There is a trade in copra, but the possibility of using the coconut husks and waste hemp, which now are thrown away, seems never to have been considered. The company proposes to center all its operations around a bank which will be established in Manila, with branches in other parts of the islands. This bank will be a national bank, issuing its own currency, and will handle the funds of the company and do a general banking business. The principal departments of the bank besides the central bank proper will be a credit and mortgage department, a commercial and marine department, a manufacturing and industrial department, engineering, railroads, ports, bridges or mines department and a general trust company department.

It is expected, also, Mr. McCutcheon adds, that

the franchise to be got from congress by the company will obtain the grant of a good deal of land and forest at present of absolutely no value, but which would be good property if traversed by a railroad. Districts now uninhabited and deserted would be covered with farms and the land sold or rented at a good price.

There you have an insight into one of the motives for the war we are waging against the Filipino republic.

Mr. Andre may not succeed in getting from congress the franchise he seeks. He may find his "pull" too

weak as compared with other "pulls." But the motive that actuates him is one of the motives of the whole imperialistic agitation. The Philippines are good plunder, and only by an American conquest can American monopolists make that plunder their own. It is for this that scores of American soldiers have already been killed near Manila, and that thousands are yet destined to die in those tropical islands unless imperialism can be put down.

For the war in the Philippines has not ended. It has but just begun. The "terrible lesson that brought the Filipinos to their senses," as we were told three weeks ago, has not in fact brought them "to their senses" yet. The "white man's burden" is already becoming as heavy to the American army as it ought to be to the American conscience. When the news of the first battle with the Filipinos reached Europe, the chairman of the Philippine committee in Madrid said that half a million American soldiers could not put down the Filipinos; for they were a united people now, and besides climate and disease would fight for them. The truth of his prediction is beginning to be felt. Already the jaunty Gen. Otis finds that he has on his hands more than the holiday expedition of which his first reports told. The climate has begun to tell. Disease does threaten. And Otis's reports are now so reticent as to make one wonder whether they do not withhold unpleasant facts; a feeling that is intensified by the carefully guarded admission of the driving in at one point by the Filipinos of the long drawn out American line. Gen. Otis himself is evidently not so happy as when he reported the slaughter of thousands of Filipinos. In an interview on the 18th, two full weeks after the outbreak and at the end of two full weeks of almost continuous fighting, replying to the question, "How many Filipinos are bearing arms today?" Otis concisely said: "Too many." Wholly aside from the shame of repudiating the basic principles of our nation and entering upon a war of

conquest, we have already, in loss of life actual and prospective, abundant reason to condemn the imperialistic land-grabbing regime that has involved us in it.

Whether the courts of Ohio ever succeed or not in making out a legal case of crime against John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil company, the fact of its criminality now stands confessed. For refusing to produce the books of the company, its secretary claims the privilege which all criminals are by law allowed. He pleads that "the books disclose facts which may be used against the Standard, tending to prove it guilty of offenses made criminal by an act of the legislature of Ohio," and that "they disclose facts and circumstances which may be used against" himself "personally as an officer of the said company, tending to prove" him "guilty of offenses made criminal by the act aforesaid."

Last week we referred to the attempt of President Harper, of the Rockefeller university, of Chicago, to draw the public school system into the Standard Oil monopoly net. Here are the facts: Mayor Harrison appointed a commission to revise the public school system. That was more than a year ago. One of the appointees was President Harper, of the Rockefeller university, who became chairman of the commission. The commission recently reported a bill, now before the legislature, the manifest object of which in one respect was to place the public school teachers of Chicago under Mr. Harper's domination. We refer here to that clause of the bill which would make the eligibility of public school teachers depend upon the report of a board of examiners, the majority of whom would almost of necessity be professors or other teachers in the employment of President Harper. Two of these examiners—there would be five in all—would be the superintendent of schools and one assistant superintendent, while the other three must be college graduates or have an equivalent educational training, and have

had at least five years' successful experience in teaching since graduation. As the language of the bill is here a little obscure, we reproduce it, so that our interpretation may be tested. It requires the examiner to "possess either a bachelor's degree from a college or university, or an equivalent educational training, together with at least five years' successful experience in teaching since graduation." Had the bill imposed no other limitation, this would have confined the choice of three out of the five examiners to professors or teachers in the Rockefeller-Harper university, and to public school teachers who were college graduates. Few other persons in Chicago have had "five years' successful experience in teaching since graduation" from a college. But the bill specified one other limitation, namely, that no person should be eligible as one of these three examiners if connected with the city school system. That would rule out public school teachers, and leave the virtual selection of Chicago teachers entirely to employes in the Rockefeller-Harper university. It will be seen that the bill was neatly contrived to make the public schools of Chicago another adjunct of the Standard Oil trust. The senate committee on education has wisely decided to return this bill with an adverse report.

Altgeld opened the speech making part of his Chicago mayoralty campaign with a broadside aimed at the administration of Mayor Harrison. Apart from his discussion of the question of municipal ownership of street car lines, the ex-governor confined himself on this occasion to administrative questions of purely local interest. And if the mayor expected to gain by declaring as he did before the Altgeld meeting that he would stand upon his record, he must by this time realize the weakness of his hopes. For not since the fall of the Tweed ring has an exposure of worse city administration been laid before a community. Since Altgeld's speech, the Chicago newspapers have not shown so much anxiety as they did before, to discuss

questions of good municipal government.

It is sometimes hard to tell whether statesmen are shrewd in diverting attention from questions they do not wish to discuss, or merely obtuse. This applies as well to Canadian statesmen as to the brand which the states produce. A case in point: Recently a delegation of single tax advocates waited upon the ministers of Ontario, and urged the adoption by them of the single tax policy. After the ministers had listened attentively for an hour, Mr. Hardy, the premier, replied. The subject was interesting, he said, though the government might not possibly agree with quite all that had been urged. Specifically, he thought—and this is the remark to which we call attention—that it would be unjust to let personal property go untaxed. The man with \$500,000, for instance, seemed to him a good mark for taxation. Et cetera. Surely, Mr. Hardy knows that it is the man with \$500,000 who now goes almost untaxed. Of all ineffective ways of taxing the rich, the personal property tax is most ineffectual. Can it be possible that a man of Mr. Hardy's well-known ability is ignorant of that?

The Kansas City Journal, which was established in 1854, and is therefore old enough to know better, denies The Public's contention that excessive exports tend to impoverish a country. Somewhat amusing is the Journal's confusion. It suggests for example that if we import into our own office "more type setting and editorial expense" than the sums we receive for exported papers, we will realize the fallacy of our reasoning. Import expense! Why, instead of realizing our fallacies, we should go crazy trying to strike a balance between "expenses imported" and papers exported, just as we should if we were foolish enough to try to reason out the effect of the pressure of an irresistible force against an immovable body. Since the Journal seems not to know the fact, despite its mature