

meant that where our flag goes trade will be freed from Spanish restrictions, not that it will be subjected to our restrictions. If this was the thought in his mind he might have made it clearer. If he meant to apply the colonial policy of the eighteenth century to the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico, then his talk about trade following the flag becomes intelligible. If this policy prevails we shall present an edifying spectacle to the world—stepping into Spain's shoes and adopting her policy for our own benefit in dollars and cents, after violating our solemn promise not to annex her territory.—New York Evening Post.

PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE IN ELECTIONS.

Thoughtful men deplore the widespread carelessness and indifference to good municipal government, manifested especially at election time, when one would suppose that every good citizen would take time and trouble in an important public matter, instead of having to be persistently canvassed by candidates and their agents, and perhaps coaxed to go to the polls.

Various superficial and penal remedies have been proposed, amongst them compulsory voting and the legal abolition of canvassing. Such methods are objectionable and inefficient.

But what are we to do? Is there no way of curing these evils?

Certainly there is. For every wrong act there is a motive. When the wrong act is a common thing amongst many respectable people, then there must be an underlying motive common to all these people, which leads them to act as they do. To find out and remove that motive, and to supply a stimulus in the opposite direction, is far better than your prohibitions and pains and penalties. It is the old story that prevention is better than cure—especially when the cure does not cure.

What, then, is the motive, the reason, for public indifference at municipal elections? Its root is in a system which restricts the choice of the elector to candidates that he does not care about, or gives him occasionally the privilege of throwing away his vote on a man he is interested in, but who cannot be elected. No wonder the voters are indifferent. Remove your stupid obstacles to their doing the right thing before you punish them for not doing it.

Consider the effect of a reasonable and proper system of election.

Take as an illustration a city gov-

erned by a council of nine aldermen, elected by proportional representation every year from the city at large, the ward boundaries being abolished. Those aldermen would be elected in such a way that one-ninth of the electors, from all over the city, could elect one alderman.

See the wide freedom of choice! Instead of half a dozen ward candidates, 16 or 18 men of wide reputation, known from one end of the city to the other. Amongst these there would surely be some man whose candidature would strongly rouse your interest, and for whom you would make a point of recording your single vote. Perhaps he might be a supporter of some reform that you believe in; perhaps advocating some special city improvements that you wanted; perhaps a man so well and favorably known that you would be glad to support him; perhaps even a personal friend of yours, but not living in your particular political "pen"—the old ward. Little matter what, so long as you, the voter, had a wide choice to rouse your interest.

Then, the grand feeling of an efficient ballot, the knowledge that your vote would tell—would be a real factor in the contest—would count either for some one you wanted or against some one you did not want! This feeling would come from marking nine candidates in the order of your choice, so that if your favorite candidate did not need your vote, it would not be thrown away, but would count for some one else.

Besides, the caliber of the candidates would be greatly improved, because they would have to be favorably known throughout the city, not with mere ward reputation.

As to canvassing, the motive and necessity for it would be largely removed by the abolition of the ward system, and the introduction of proportional representation; because each candidate would appeal to that group or quota of the electors, spread over the whole city, who were in accord with his ideas; and it would be a difficult, almost impracticable, thing, to tramp the whole city, or hire men to do it, and pick out the particular one-ninth of the voters on whom he could rely for election. Appeal by printed addresses on the ground of principle and character would be the principal factor; whilst the factor of personal persuasion would become of little value. That is a better way of abolishing canvassing than by prohibition with pains and penalties.

It is not easy to overestimate the

necessity and importance of public interest in elections, because this is a vital matter. But the way to do right is to begin rightly—on a right foundation.

What we have said about the benefits of ward abolition and effective voting applies to nearly every city, town and village on the continent. Everywhere there is reason for the same complaint of indifference to elections, and difficulty of getting the right men elected. Everywhere the cause is the same faulty method of election, which restricts the choice of voters, prevents their uniting to get the men they want, places a premium on mediocre ward politicians and straddlers, and shuts out radical advocates of social and municipal reform. There must be a strong public interest and even enthusiasm in elections before we have good municipal government.

To arouse that interest permanently there is but one way; the adoption of proportional representation, which has well been called effective voting. And the first step in this direction is in many cases the advocacy of the initiative and referendum, which is a good thing in itself, and, if in force, would give a sure means of getting proportional representation when a majority of the people understood the value and desired the adoption of this latter reform.—Citizen and Country, of Toronto.

THE PILLAGER INDIAN OUTBREAK.

The Bear Island outbreak has caused much surprise in Washington, as the Chippewas have been from time immemorial the friends of the whites. The impelling grievance, it is thought, must have been much more serious than appears on the surface. The commissioner of Indian affairs was so impressed with this idea that he was unwilling to trust the handling of the matter to Indian Agent Sutherland and Inspector Tinker, who had hastened into the Leech lake country at the first alarm, but started at once for Minnesota to take personal charge of it. Those persons who know most of the conditions prevailing among the Minnesota Chippewas believe that he will find the causes of friction cumulative. The origin of the whole difficulty probably dates back to a purchase of land made by the government from the Pillagers in 1847. The tract contained nearly 700,000 acres, and the Indians let it go for \$15,000, with the understanding that the government was buying it to make a home

for the Menominee Indians, who were friends of the Pillagers, and also of the hereditary foes of the Chippewa nation, the Sioux. The reason the Pillagers were willing to part with the land was that it lay between their home and the home of the Sioux, so that the presence of the friendly Menominees there would serve as a barrier against the predatory raids of the Sioux, and insure a permanent peace for all parties concerned.

But the government had, as so often before and since, made a promise it was unable to fulfill. The Menominees refused to remove to their proposed new reservation. Instead, they relinquished their claim upon it in consideration of receiving back a part of their old lands in Wisconsin and a generous sum of money. It has never been possible to make the Pillagers believe that they were not shamelessly cheated in this labyrinth of bargains. As they accepted that \$15,000 agreed upon, their strict legal rights in the land have of course been extinguished, though their moral claim survives against the government for its failure to carry out what they deemed the most important feature of the agreement of 1847. Their more progressive men, who have adopted the ways of civilization, and consented to let bygones be bygones for the sake of keeping the peace with the whites, have held the smaller restless element in check, but the sense of injustice has never ceased to rankle sorely even in their breasts.

The tract purchased for the Menominees, when rejected and ceded to the government by the latter tribe, was thrown open to white settlement, with the usual result. Lawless men swarmed into the villages and small towns, and opened dram-shops for the sale of "Indian whisky," in contemptuous defiance of the statutes. The white man's whisky is bad enough in its effect upon the red men, but "Indian whisky" is a compound of crude alcohol, strychnine and a variety of other ingredients, which, united, make a fiery but quickly stupefying drink. Indians who came into town with something to sell would, as soon as they had got their money, spend a quarter or a half dollar for this liquor, and, when overcome by it, be robbed of whatever they had still in their pockets.

But the outrage did not end here. Deputy marshals of the United States, often recruited from behind the illicit bars, made a fat living by arresting men engaged in the Indian whisky traffic, subpoenaing Indian witnesses

by the dozen, and carrying both prisoners and witnesses off to St. Paul, where the federal courts were held. The largest part of this business was collusive. One dram-seller would be fined or sentenced to a brief imprisonment; another would be discharged for lack of competent evidence against him; in both cases the officers would pocket large sums of government money under the guise of mileage, witness fees, charges for hotel accommodations, and the like, sharing their plunder with their friends the prisoners. The Indian witnesses were encouraged to respond to their subpoenas by being given a free excursion to the city, a "good time" while there, and perhaps a trifle in cash by way of a makeweight. At one time this abuse became so gross that the secretary of the interior felt compelled to protest against it to the attorney-general, some 300 Indians being simultaneously absent from their reservations and in charge of deputy marshals at St. Paul, to their own demoralization and the downright robbery of the government.

The older and soberer Indians realized that the lives of their young men were being wrecked by this practice, but their earnest appeals counted for little. At last, however, the marshals overreached themselves by trying to make too much money out of their speculation in witnesses. A member of the Bear island band of Pillagers was carried off as a witness, and when he returned was sick and famished, having walked 160 miles without food. He explained that the deputy who had taken him away and made use of his testimony had refused him the money necessary to pay his fare back by the cars or buy meals on the journey. This aroused great indignation among the Indians, and is said to have been at the bottom of the recent resistance to the authority of Marshal O'Connor. The marshal denies the Indian's story, but the outbreak will undoubtedly bring about an investigation, which may not be wholly barren of good results.

The Minnesota Chippewas at large have another grievance against the government in the way the department of the interior has permitted them to be robbed right and left under the pretense of disposing of their timber. The outrages perpetrated upon the Chippewas of the Red lake country were exposed a year ago last winter, when it was discovered that the so-called expert estimators appointed by the government to appraise their growing timber, preliminary to its

purchase by white lumbermen, were not experts at all, but were political heelers who knew nothing about the business and wasted the Indians' money in salaries and expenses while making worthless guesses at the quantities, varieties and values of the timber. Sitting in the bar-room of a backwoods hotel, or playing cards in a comfortable camp, they would make up their reports out of nothing tangible. As typical of these frauds may be cited one case where they reported 65,000 feet of pine as growing on a tract, which, on investigation, was found to contain 872 feet; or another, where the report showed 25,000 feet and investigation showed 75,000; or a third, where the estimators reported 45,000 feet, and the tract was found to contain none at all! Swindling as bad in kind, though possibly somewhat modified in degree, has been, and probably still is, in progress in other parts of the Chippewa country.

In the mind of the educated white man one grievance does not necessarily lap over upon another, and wrongs perpetrated by individuals are not charged up against a whole race. The Indian's mind works differently. His patriarchal system has trained him to regard the family, the band, the tribe or the race as a unit, and to regard all men of one color, or all the representatives of one government, as sharing the responsibility for the sins committed by a single element or a single person in the same category with them. Keeping this difference in view, it will be easier to understand why one of the less progressive bands of Pillagers, cherishing memories of the broken compact of 1847, seeing their fellow-tribesmen turned over to the spoilers of the logging-camps, and being themselves victims of the rapacity of the dram-sellers and law officers, should reach a point of desperation where they are willing to resort to the one remedy which seemed open to them—the shedding of white blood.—Francis E. Leupp, in Harper's Weekly.

THE SKELETON FEAST.

For the Public.

Mr. Editor: As mortals tab time it is two o'clock in the morning. A woman has just returned from the great "Peace Jubilee Banquet" in the great Auditorium in this great city of Chicago, where she was one among the great throng of observers of the marvelous spectacle of the president of the great United States, great representatives of great foreign nations, great officers of our great army and