

but in time the facts have come to light. It is now known that the emperor had an understanding with the Austrians from the first.

This is but an instance.

So long as false glory, diplomacy and duplicity shall govern international relations, so long will it be that the true causes and explanations of international events will remain for a time hidden from the people.

In ancient times, when there was no pretense of taking people into the confidence of princes, this was to be expected. In modern times, with our ubiquitous press dispatches and our innocent respect for print, most of us fancied we had changed all that. We thought we knew quite as much about things as Hay, Root, Dewey, or any of those fellows.

The recent confessions of the admiral ought to be very instructive and enlightening to the American people. It is not often that the same generation sees the triumphal procession and learns the secrets of its hero. Inner facts have never before been revealed so close upon the heels of great events.

The case has been clearly stated in a single paragraph by the New York Evening Post.

Admiral Dewey's testimony before the Senate committee on the Philippines establishes beyond dispute the spurious character of the so-called battle of Manila. His guns commanded the city absolutely, but the Spanish governor general wanted a little firing to salve his imperiled "honor," and so, to oblige his opponent, Admiral Dewey very politely and jauntily "killed a few people," as he puts it. Apparently no hunter could destroy a dozen squirrels with less compunction. Moreover, he expressed no regrets for the American soldiers needlessly killed in the land attack. Perhaps with him as with the responsible generals, the high rewards bestowed upon the leaders of this sham battle quite overshadowed the casualty list. Yet this is one of the achievements of which we were so proud in 1898!

There never was much glory in the battle of Manila in the eyes of those who were able to remain unhysterical. Pray, now, what shred of it is left?

Louis Napoleon, pretending to fight for the Italians, but really meaning to hold them in check for the preservation of the monarchy,

killed a few thousands of his subjects, and returned in triumph. So cheap is human life to those who play the game of nations. History has settled accounts with him. But how many hollow triumphs would have been spared if people knew the conqueror's secrets.

J. H. DILLARD.

### THE ADMINISTRATION'S LAST DITCH.

There is much in the career of Republican administration since it put on the forbidden robes of imperialism that sadly savors of what mankind are generally agreed in styling cowardice. Aggression enough indeed there has been of its career in the Philippine foray. The scribe of history will never seriously question that. But the character of it, independently of its criminality, has all along been unhappily streaked with that lynx-eyed but unvalorous type of warfare which the world everywhere, since the serpent stole into Paradise for the overthrow of Adam, has recognized as mean rather than manly.

However reluctant we may be to acknowledge it, this serpentinity, so to speak, of the Republican administration is something that compels our unwilling attention. It was apparent when the genius of "criminal aggression" so parleyed with the trustful Filipinos as to gain their help as allies only to shuffle them off as "rebels" when vantage ground had thereby been stolen for an easy overthrow of their infant republic. With such a start in crossing the Rubicon what should have been expected to follow but methods stealthy, tortuous, dissimulative, hypocritical, revengeful and remorseless?

Accordingly we have been constrained to witness in the administration an unremitting spirit of cowardice from the day of its monstrous apostasy from Republican principles down to this hour—a spirit so unlike that of our government, notably from the glorious day of Appomattox down to December 21, 1898, that surprise everywhere grows greater and greater that a government could have so suddenly and radically

changed in its tone, tendency and character. Ah! yes, a melancholy change of spirit.

It was observable in the early stages of "benevolent assimilation," when the press was so censorized as to darken understanding here at home of what was going on there abroad. Parenthetically it may be remarked that understanding has been thus darkened even unto this day.

It was noticeable time and again, if it be not noticeable now, when in a fear that the people would not stand the strain much longer, it was heralded abroad that pacification was near at hand.

It was easily perceivable when in the year of our Lord, 1900, pending a presidential canvass, at great cost of official cablegrams, a "preliminary report" of the Philippine Commission burst upon the country, saying that if Bryan be defeated, pacification would be complete in less than six weeks.

It was distressingly in evidence when by a ruse that would abash a sneak thief expert in his art it captured the leader of the Filipinos who just before gave his captor, not a stone, but bread in the stress of his hunger.

It came over us as a flood of shame when the island of Guam was made a Botany Bay whither ships under the Stars and Stripes carried patriots as exiles from fatherland for loving it too well.

It shocked the American heart when word stole over the deep that reconcentration, rivaling the Weyerism of Spain, was rife in the islands, and still more when little by little it leaked out that torture, cruel enough to stagger belief, was a weapon in the hands of the American soldier.

It was displayed in an exceedingly white feather when to the extent of its ability a congressional committee stifled inquiry into the expansion of "higher civilization" in the "barbarian" archipelago.

It whitened the feather when the same committee barred doors against the accomplished Sixto Lopez and his gentle sister pleading to be heard for their country's sake.

It curdled our blood when laws were enacted by appointees of the

President, in the naked name of the appointing official, of such rank despotism as would send to the penitentiary any native of the isles or any citizen of the United States who should there read aloud the best speech of Senator Hoar or Congressman McCall or the Declaration of Independence or even the immortal address of Lincoln at Gettysburg.

Much else, much else there has been to remind us of the cowardice of Republican administration, but ere we reach the climax of its pusillanimity it will be well if we pause to note a matter of recent date and very close at home. What dastardliness was that which summarily dismissed from the classified civil service Rebecca J. Taylor, not for incompetence, not for misbehavior, not for neglect of duty, but for the expression of her opinion of the dismal war upon the Philippines, published in a leading journal of the land, courageously published within a galling gunshot of the office of the secretary of war! Verily, it would seem that the administration had reached a pass where it was a coward from principle. It abominates courage. So afraid is the war office of facing exposure of its Philipinism that it turns pale at sight of a toiling woman with the look of humanity in her eyes.

But even this fails to equal the poltroonery of imperialism when, to shield its shame, it affects concern for the army whose dishonor it has wrought. So they who have put the army to brutal uses are the natural protectors of it, are they? As well might the profligate who has made wreck of chastity upbraid the virtue that denounces the profligacy. How rotten the defence of the offence!

For four dreary years almost things had been piling up tending greatly to exhaust the patience of the people. The foregoing enumeration by no means includes the catalogue. Perhaps it feebly outlines the more salient asperities of "benevolent assimilation" in so far as the censorship has permitted them to be known or failed to keep the asperities out of sight. The horrors of reconcentration, water cure and other tortures, slaughtering

all over ten and making howling wildernesses of provinces—these things as ascertained verities were getting to be last straws on the camel's back; but little was it dreamed that such inhumanities could be so traced as to hold the supreme authority of the land responsible therefor. But at length it so transpired beyond a peradventure. The intelligence burst from confinement that, while the country was lamenting such evils and deeming it impossible they could have official sanction this side of Manila, the evidence of their existence was in the war department itself at Washington, and what besides? that the secretary of war holding the evidence in his possession and wearing a mask of righteous scorn had repelled an intimation that the war had been conducted with "marked severity" and declared it had been conducted with unexampled moderation and humanity!

Then indeed was there murmuring in unaccustomed places. Then at last the pulpit began to flame. Then even Republican organs that were not quite petrified did a little gasp. Then the blind began to see, the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak. And what then? Then the Republican administration rose in its cowardice and cried out, "You are attacking the army!"

Was ever indefensible cause driven to extremity so desperate?

Attacking the army! Nay, ye wreckers of Republican government, we are attacking you.

Be assured we redouble attack on you, you who, dressed with a brief authority, have coerced the army into the service of a cause so ignoble and abhorrent.

The proverbial stupidity of the ostrich which in the hour of danger hides its head in the sand with all its big body exposed never had better illustration of the capacity of man to imitate that fowl than is furnished by the administration in this hour of imminent peril to its foul policy. Hiding its head in the uniform of a United States soldier, with all the enormity of criminal aggression exposed to the cyclone of public indignation, it pipes out, "Please don't attack the army."

The dodge is too dull, too shallow, too craven. Even a warlike President cannot gild it with strenuousness. Even imperialism itself never quite so skulked before.

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## NEWS

The strike of the railroad freight handlers at Chicago (p. 216) has been abandoned, and the danger of serious disturbances to business which threatened for a week is over. When the ultimatum of the board of railroad managers, offered on the 9th, came before the striking freight handlers on the 10th, they voted to reject it. As soon as this had been done they solicited the cooperation of the teamsters, many of whom promptly responded, refusing to haul goods to or from any freight depot where nonunion freight handlers were employed. There were indications also that a sympathetic strike would be called officially by the teamsters' union. This situation was so demoralizing to the business interests of the city that the arbitration board of the teaming interests, of which a business man is chairman and which is composed of six teamsters and seven team owners, interposed. It asked the freight handlers and the railroads to submit their dispute to arbitration. The freight handlers agreed on the 10th, pledging themselves to abide by the decision of the board. The board of railroad managers met on the 11th, and the arbitration proposal was then laid before them. But they rejected it, saying that the railroads would deal directly with their own employes respectively and with no one else. In consequence of this refusal the teamsters' strike became more general, although it was not officially authorized, the teamsters' union being under contract; and on the 12th over 7,000 teamsters had refused to do hauling to or from the railway freight houses. Attempts to effect a settlement were continued, both by the arbitration committee of the teaming interests and by the state board of arbitration, the demands of the board of railway managers that all negotiations take place between the railroads individually and committees of their respective employes being complied with. But no perceptible headway was made until the 15th, when an agreement