

The Public

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The Tories of Great Britain make no concealment of their hope that McKinley may be reelected next Tuesday. All the Tory and jingo papers of London are as anxious for his success as they were for Chamberlain's.

The McKinley campaign trick of making merchandise orders contingent on McKinley's election, of making agreements to lend money upon the same contingency, of notifying employees not to return to work if Bryan is elected, and so on, do not work as well this year as they did four years ago. Then the great public was gulled by them. Now they accomplish nothing in the way of making sentiment. They do not even coerce. As Lincoln said, "you can't fool all the people all the time."

Scarce, indeed, must McKinley campaign material be, when Grover Cleveland's reaffirmation of a plutocratic speech he made in 1897 is grabbed up by the McKinley press as a welcome contribution.

The good Sabbath-keeping republican editor of the Elgin Daily News, who objects to political meetings on Sundays, gives no indication of any objection to the Sunday "sermons" of plutocratic pulpiteers who preach against Bryan and Bryanism. His silence on that subject is not from lack of instances.

At last Roosevelt has succeeded in getting himself rotten-egged. It wasn't much of a demonstration in that line, but it was enough of one to enable him to pose as an abused

man. There is something quite significant in the fact that Roosevelt is the only representative of his party who has called out such unpleasant attentions. Even Hanna escapes them. Why should Roosevelt alone be the object of rowdy assaults? Is it not because he himself is essentially a rowdy and has invited them? By his plug-ugly manners when addressing audiences, by his pretense of enjoying hoodlum horse play, by his cowboy and khaki affectations, and by his brutal conceptions of what he is pleased to call "the strenuous life," has he not challenged men of his own kind to treat him after the manner of his own ideals?

Mr. Bryan said, in his speech at Summit, N. J., that democratic success would menace the fortune of no man who acquires his wealth by legitimate methods and gives an adequate return to society; that it is no menace to the man who wants to eat only the bread he earns and to earn the bread he eats. But, he added, it is a menace to that wealth which is not earned. And this is the reason that every plutocratic preacher in the land attacks Bryan for menacing wealth. They know full well that he makes no attack upon the earnings of producers. But they know also that he does attack the accumulations of parasites. And it is wealth parasites, not wealth producers whom they have made keepers of their clerical consciences. That this accusation of preachers may not be open to the charge of vagueness, let us name Newell Dwight Hillis, Henry Ward Beecher's successor at Plymouth church, who, in his sermon on the 22d, attacked Bryan for exciting class hatred—setting up the poor against the rich.

Men who sneer at Bryanism will do well to ponder the words of the Springfield Republican, which says editorially that—

the movement called "Bryanism" is nothing but another of those tremendous ground-swells of democratic impulse and aspiration which periodically agitate the politics of this republic. It is being admitted that the legitimate successor of Jefferson and Jackson is William J. Bryan.

To that declaration we have only one amendment to offer. William J. Bryan is the legitimate successor not only of Jefferson and Jackson, but also of Lincoln.

The great republican parade in Chicago last Saturday was a great failure. It has caused the republicans more disappointment and the democrats more satisfaction than any single event in the campaign. The day was a beautiful one. All the banks had closed to help along the demonstration. All the republican business houses had closed. Many of them had circulated significant petitions among their employes "inviting" them to parade, while others had been even more luminous in their methods of coercion. And some of the republican papers had announced that 125,000 men would be in the procession. The managers placed it at 100,000 at the least. Yet, when the parade was over, the procession, though drawn out to the last degree of attenuation, had taken but six hours to pass a given point. It numbered less than 20,000 men.

It is true that the marshal of the parade claimed 75,000 men in line. But that is a preposterous estimate. Everyone agrees upon six hours as the time occupied; and 75,000 men couldn't have passed a given point in that time even if they had been formed in lines of ten men abreast, with ten feet between each

line, and had marched at the rate of 80 steps of 27 inches each a minute. The official count put the number at 36,423. But that, too, is excessive. It would have required lines of five men abreast with ten feet between the lines, and the men must have marched steadily at the rate of 80 steps of 27 inches each a minute. The fact is that very few of the lines exceeded 12 men abreast, a larger number did not exceed nine, most of them were only five, and between the lines the distance varied from 10 to 30 feet, and even more, while there were long stretches filled in with advertising vans, trucks, loosely organized horsemen, automobiles, elephants, carriages, etc., which could not have averaged 500 men to the mile, and the stops were frequent. Moreover, hundreds were in bands as hired musicians, and some at least of the marchers marched first with their trade associates and then as uniformed members of a republican legion of Rooseveltian soldiers. After making only a moderate allowance for bands, short lines, advertising wagons, attenuated formation and stops, it is impossible to believe that more than 20,000 men were in line. And of these, large numbers openly declared themselves for Bryan. They were marching so as to get their day's wages, their employers having notified them that workmen who did not march would be docked for the enforced holiday.

It was a doleful procession, from a republican point of view, and the spectators along the route did nothing to enliven the drooping spirits of the marchers. All during the parade, and all along the line of march, with but few exceptions, there was continuous cheering for Bryan.

Whether Prof. George D. Herron's forecast of McKinley's election be right, as he doubtless believes it, or mistaken, as we surmise, there can be no two opinions about the soundness of his judgment

as a socialist upon the tendency of McKinleyism. We quote the newspaper interview to which we allude. Prof. Herron is reported to have said:

I have no doubt that McKinley will be reelected this year, and that is really good news to us. It is just what we want. If Bryan were elected and commenced to tamper with the trusts and try to restrain monopolies it would hurt our cause, and republican success this fall would, therefore, be gratifying to us. I believe that one-third of the people are really socialists at heart, but the organization is not crystallized. I expect to see several of the states controlled by the socialist party in state elections in another four years.

Prof. Herron is right in saying that McKinley's success is what the socialists want. Some socialists, of course, do not want it; but that is because they pay no attention to the philosophy of politics. There are two great political currents at all times and in all countries. Sometimes and in some places they are more marked than in others, but they are constantly present everywhere. One of these currents flows toward and the other away from governmental direction; that is, one is socialistic and the other is individualistic. Neither may flow fast or go far in its particular direction, at any given period of history, but each distinctly has at all periods a direction contrary to the other. At the present time and in this country McKinleyism, however inadequately, represents the socialistic current, while Bryanism, however timidly, represents the individualistic. For this reason, primarily, Prof. Herron is right in his opinion that the election of McKinley is to be desired by socialists and that Bryan's election would tend to delay the socialistic regime. There is a subsidiary reason, also, the one to which Prof. Herron more directly refers. Bryan's election would be a menace to monopoly, whereas McKinley's would tend to establish and confirm monopolies. Inasmuch, then, as the idea of socialism rests upon monopoly—being distinguished from Mc-

Kinleyism in this, that it would have government monopolize business instead of allowing it to be monopolized by individuals—the triumph of McKinleyism is a long step in the direction of socialism.

It is needless, perhaps, for us to add that in our view the socialistic current flows in the wrong direction. Though we fully believe that monopolies ought to be controlled by government, we do not believe that business generally should be monopolized. It is one thing to have government control businesses that in their very nature are monopolies; businesses, that is, which cannot be managed by individuals without a government franchise—such, for example, as the control of highways. But it is an entirely different thing to have government control businesses in which any individual may freely engage if government will but keep hands off. This difference is in our judgment vital. We believe consequently that with reference to monopolies government should resume control of those that are so in their nature, and should repeal the laws that produce all others. In other words, government should recognize individualism as fully and completely in every instance as the circumstances permit. And this is the direction, upon the whole, toward which Bryanism tends. A vote for Bryan, therefore, is a vote for the principle of individualism, a vote for the principle that each person should have all the liberty that is consistent with the equal liberty of every other person, a vote against paternalism in both the autocratic and the socialistic form; whereas a vote for McKinley is a vote for the objectionable principle of paternal socialism.

We regret exceedingly that any American citizen whose aim is human brotherhood—and that this is the aim of socialists we make no question, though we reject their method as radically defective and recoil from it as oppressively paternal—should ignore so fundamental a

question in American politics as the life of a republic whose ideals are human equality. We regret it especially in the case of Prof. Herron, than whom no one has perceived more clearly nor denounced more vigorously the imperialism of McKinley. But we are obliged to admit the consistency of the position, though this consistency is maintained at a fearful price.

Samuel Alschuler, whose nomination for governor was a genuine and unexpected concession to the true democratic sentiment of Illinois, has made a campaign which justifies the fullest confidence in his ability as a public administrator and his courage and intelligence as a progressive statesman. But these qualities have been displayed no more impressively in any stage of the campaign than at the Central Music hall meeting in Chicago on Tuesday. The meeting had been called by a nonpartisan body, composed for the most part of well-known local republicans, and both candidates for governor were invited to appear before it and answer a series of questions regarding civil service reform and local government, which had been submitted to them. The republican candidate, Mr. Yates, declined to come. He answered the questions, however, though with almost categorical brevity and at a partisan republican meeting. Mr. Alschuler adopted the opposite course. He appeared before the nonpartisan meeting in question, which, by the way, was presided over by a well-known republican, and in a remarkably able speech declared himself at length upon the questions regarding which he had been interrogated.

In respect to the merit system of civil service, he defended the present law as to municipalities and advocated its extension to the state at large. But his speech was devoted principally to the question regarding the street car system. On this point he reminded the people that the

streets are theirs, and that it is "the great prosperity and progress which has been made by the great city of Chicago that has made possible the traction companies, and not the traction companies that have made the city of Chicago." Premising further that he had "no quarrel with capital, no feeling against corporations, no desire unnecessarily to oppress traction companies or any other great organizations of capital," he plumply declared for public ownership of private monopolies, saying:

What these great traction companies have done in the way of affording transportation facilities in the city of Chicago I believe the people of Chicago can do themselves. I am one of those who believe sufficiently in the people themselves to express the opinion they can do it. The streets are yours and the conduct thereof ought not now, with your eyes open, with the revelations before you, to be turned over voluntarily to any private monopolies.

And to meet a common objection he added:

They tell you, and with some degree of reason, that if these and other public utilities were conducted by the municipality there would be great danger of the building up of a powerful political machine. I now appeal again to this same civil service, and I say that with a properly conceived and a justly enforced system of civil service there could be no political machine in the conduct of these great affairs.

The gubernatorial candidate who could so unequivocally propose and defend the principle of public ownership of natural monopolies, along with an equally direct advocacy of the referendum and local self-government, as Mr. Alschuler did at the Central Music hall meeting, is a candidate who should command the support of every voter, of whatever party, who believes that it is better for the public to own monopolies than for monopolies to own the public.

The general and quite natural feeling which finds expression in some such phrase as that American voters who do not like Bryan must vote for McKinley, while those who do not like McKinley must vote for Bryan, since nobody but one or the other of these men can be elected, is described by the New York Nation as

"a confession of the failure of the democratic system." That description is egregiously misleading. A confession it certainly is, but not of any failure of the democratic system. It is a confession of the failure of Hamiltonian efforts to obstruct democracy. We do not elect presidents in this country by a democratic system. Democracy has, indeed, undermined the Holy Roman empire methods of our electoral college, and made that system a barren formality; but it has not yet succeeded in asserting the supremacy of a system of its own. To do that, two constitutional changes should be made. In the first place there should be a provision for electing presidents by direct popular vote; and in the second, a system of first, second, third, etc., choices should be adopted. If these constitutional reforms were now in operation no one who objects to both McKinley and Bryan would be driven to voting for either; nor could either be elected if in fact a majority of the people preferred a third candidate. Only the second change needs explanation. For illustration: Suppose a voter who prefers Bryan to McKinley, yet whose first choice would be the prohibition candidate. Or, for extreme illustration, suppose that he prefers every other candidate to either Bryan or McKinley, but would rather elect Bryan than McKinley if driven to the alternative. This man would then vote, let us say, for Mr. Woolley as first choice, for Mr. Debs as second, for Mr. Barker as third, for a straight-out anti-imperialist as fourth, and not for Bryan except as his final choice. When the ballots came to be counted, if Mr. Woolley failed of election—this voter's ballot would count for Debs; if Debs failed, it would count for Barker; if Barker failed, it would count for the anti-imperialist; and only in case he failed, would it count for Bryan. As all other votes would be treated similarly, the suffrages of all the people would from miscellaneous minority preferences converge upon two men. No plan could be more simple in operation;

no other plan can be described as democratic. Until this plan has failed no one has a right to say that the democratic system has failed.

It is a curious fact that some of the most strenuous objections to the initiative and referendum come from persons who favor an intelligent suffrage—that is, who advocate educational qualifications. The fact is curious because the initiative and referendum is the best-known method of limiting the suffrage to the intelligent. Those who understood and favored or opposed a measure initiated by or referred to the people would vote, while those who were indifferent would not. The unintelligent would thus voluntarily disfranchise themselves. This would be a far better test of voting qualifications than ability to read and write; and it would have the further advantage of being self-imposed and therefore entirely consistent with the fundamental American principle of government by consent of the governed.

As fast as men familiar with affairs in the Philippines get beyond the range of Mr. McKinley's Manila censor the people of this country learn the truth. The latest example is furnished by E. Spencer Pratt, the American consul general at Singapore, through whose friendly offices Dewey was put into communication with Aguinaldo. Mr. Pratt, who recently arrived in New York, has made public some of the facts he knows about American affairs in the Philippines. Manila, he says, is under martial law, and news is withheld from the American people. "The situation," he adds, "is as bad as it can be made." He continues: "It was almost impossible to believe that such things could be done under the American flag and in the name of the American government." On the subject of Filipino resistance, Mr. Pratt says that national sentiment among them is growing, not diminishing." He further explains:

The Filipino forces are in possession and are operating throughout the

greater part of the country; the American authority being recognized only within the limits of an army garrison. While I was in Manila there was fighting between our troops and the Filipinos almost within gunshot of the city. I will say further, that there is a condition of utter demoralization in Manila, with barrooms everywhere.

This is the kind of information that the Manila censorship is strenuously engaged in suppressing.

The great disparity in killed between the Americans and the Filipinos in the various skirmishes reported from time to time for several months past has been significant of something which the normal American mind cannot contemplate without horror. This significance has been emphasized by the fact that the Americans, though they win the engagements and kill scores and even hundreds to one, seldom report the taking of prisoners. But what has always been matter of reasonable inference is positively stated by letters from soldiers which now and then percolate through the sieve of the American censor at Manila. One of these letters, written by a private soldier in the Thirtieth United States volunteers, whose name is for his own sake discreetly withheld, but who seems to have entered into the game of slaughtering "niggers" with zest, writes to a relative in Detroit as follows, under date of July 3, which was at the very height of the time when newspaper reports told of the killing of scores of Filipinos to every American killed and were silent on the subject of prisoners:

We are having a hot time over in this country. The "niggers" are getting gay and would not pay their taxes, so at the point of the gun we made them shut up shop and not open to sell a thing to either natives or soldiers. They made a big kick, but it did them no good, and then what insurgents there were in town wearing "amigo" (friend) clothes posted up a sign, written in Tagalog, that any one paying taxes to the "American dogs" would be killed. We expect a scrap in town at any time, but it does not cut any ice with us. We've got lots of ammunition and can make it hot enough for them. Our orders are to kill and shoot everyone at sight, men, women

or children. Everything goes. At a little scrap we had at Mayjayjay with the "niggers" there were 39 rebels killed and we did not get a man hit. There is an American out of the Thirty-seventh who was a prisoner of the "niggers," who was leading them, and some of the Thirty-seventh's detachment saw him. It will go hard with the traitor if we get him, as it is ordered to shoot him on sight. We take prisoners no more. It is too much trouble to guard them.

Though anonymous letters are not usually entitled to special consideration, there are reasons why this should be regarded as an exception. For one thing, soldiers known to have written such letters home would be in serious danger even of their lives in a country where the American flag floats but the safeguards of American law are ignored. For another, facts are not allowed to reach the American people through ordinary news channels if the American censor thinks they might be unpleasant political reading at home. And in the third place, the statements of the letter are confirmed by circumstances. When the Americans kill many Filipinos, with slight loss to themselves, and take no prisoners though they invariably win the engagements in which so many Filipinos are slaughtered, it is a reasonable inference that the "orders are," as this soldier says they are, "to kill and shoot every one in sight."

"Adj. Gen. Corbin has instituted a rigorous investigation," says the Chicago Evening Post, one of Mr. McKinley's thickest and thinnest supporters, "into the source and reliability of letters published in this country, received from the Philippines, describing horrible butcheries of natives and looting and misconduct by the soldiers." As a result, according to the Post, a letter from E. E. Baker, company I, Forty-sixth infantry, addressed to his colonel, has been obtained, in which Baker says that his statement, in a private letter to his parents which has been published, that the soldiers "shot Filipinos like rabbits" was "intended as a joke." This re-

sult of the investigation into the Baker case is typical, says the Post, of every similar investigation instituted by the department. We should suppose so. A private soldier, in the Philippines and out of reach of constitutional protection, who has written home "disloyal" facts in private letters, would be an extraordinarily brave man, if, when approached by his colonel in the process of a "rigorous investigation," he didn't welcome an opportunity to explain that his letters were jokes. It would be altogether too evident to him that if he neglected that opportunity the outcome of the matter would be no joke. This "rigorous investigation" has all the earmarks of rigorous intimidation. It is evidently in aid of the rigorous press censorship McKinley maintains at Manila.

A test law suit of universal interest has just been decided, upon the facts, by a Chicago jury. It bears upon the so-called labor riots of 1894, and is one more link in the chain of proof that exonerates Gov. Altgeld from the malicious charges of promoting riot, which have been distributed broadcast by the plutocratic interests that he, as governor, refused to serve and whose predatory schemes he frustrated. The city had been sued by Armour & Co. for damages caused by the loss of refrigerator cars burned by mobs during the "railroad riots" of 1894, and the case turned upon the question of riot or no riot. Witnesses were produced in behalf of the city, who testified that the cars had been destroyed not by a mob, but by individuals acting independently, some of whom, at least, were employes of Armour. Armour was unable to overcome this testimony, and the jury decided against him. It held in effect that there was no labor riot. And that is the truth. What the plutocratic press of Chicago called a riot, and worked up so sensationally to justify President Cleveland's invasion of a state with federal troops for local police pur-

poses, had no other basis than a conspiracy of railroad magnates. They caused some of their own old rolling stock to be destroyed, by their own employes, for the purpose of making out the appearance of a case of riot against the strikers. This is the third jury trial tending to expose that conspiracy.

With all but partisan cavillers, who would manufacture an excuse for voting against Bryan if they could find one, his reply to the silver payment and North Carolina negro questions is conclusive. The questions were propounded to him by the republican club of Princeton university, in these terms:

"1. Will you if elected president redeem the coin obligations of the government in gold or silver.

"2. Do you approve of the disfranchisement of the negroes of North Carolina by the democrats of that state."

Mr. Bryan's reply is as follows:

1. I can only repeat what I answered in reply to a similar question at Wilmington, Del.—namely, that I shall enforce the law as I find it, but I shall not attempt to construe the law until I reach it. The republican party has the executive, house and senate, and there is one more session of congress before another president is inaugurated. I have no way of knowing whether this law or some other law will be in existence after the 4th of March. My views on the money question can be ascertained from the Kansas City platform and from my letter of acceptance.

2. In regard to your second question, I beg to say that the North Carolina amendment is not an issue in the present campaign, and your own sense of fairness will convince you that you should hold the president responsible for what he has done in Puerto Rico, but not hold me responsible for what has been done in North Carolina. The administration has prescribed an educational qualification in Puerto Rico which excludes 83 per cent. of the black men of voting age, and has also denied them the protection of the constitution. The republican policy in the Philippines drew a social line between our people and the people of the orient. The race question in this country will be sufficiently difficult without adding a race question greater than our own which will have to be dealt with 7,000 miles from home. I might suggest this question to you: How can you object to anything down in the south if the republican party is going to do worse

in the Philippines than is done in the south?

Doubtless Daniel W. Lawler, of St. Paul, voices the sentiment of a good many other plutocrats who wear the democratic label, when he proposes to "bury Bryanism this time," so that "four years from now the old party"—by which he means the old democratic party—"will march to victory." If there be many such democrats they are an obtuse lot, not to know that the old democratic party won its last victory long ago. It died in the embrace of the slave oligarchy in 1860. And though the corpse was galvanized into muscular activity by Tilden, the old party itself has never been and never will be resuscitated. Cleveland's regime was not democratic, neither old nor new; it was simply a tender to plutocratic republicanism. The prediction is perfectly safe that the old democratic party will win no victory four years hence should Bryan be defeated now. Its deposed bosses may indeed come into power in the party organization; but if they do, the rank and file of the new democracy will leave them to their funereal feast. Out of Bryan's defeat, should that unfortunately and improbably be the result of the pending election, only one of two things can come: either Bryanism will retain control of the party, leaving its plutocrats in the republican party to which they have gone, or a new democratic organization will spring up, leaving the old one where the democratic masses of all parties in the fifties left the whig organization.

ON THE BRINK.

The presidential contest will have been decided before another number of The Public appears, and on the eve of that portentous event we invite every voter under whose eye these words may fall to consider the issues well—to consider them with the same conscientious sense of responsibility he would wish to bestow if he knew that his were to be the casting vote.

In behalf of Bryan, imperialism is put forward as the paramount issue.

But as the primary importance of this issue is denied by his adversaries, let us reflect first upon the issues they themselves thrust to the fore. There are two—the gold standard and the “full dinner pail.” Whoever has read the republican campaign literature or listened to republican campaign speeches fully realizes that the republicans put forward no others. They meet imperialism shamefacedly, and the trust issue apologetically; but all their aggressive efforts are concentrated upon the necessity of maintaining the gold standard for the business man and a “full dinner pail” for workingmen.

To neither of these issues is there a particle of substance.

There is no pretense as to the gold standard that it is involved practically in the campaign in any way but one—namely, that, if elected, Bryan could put this country upon a silver basis by paying public obligations with silver. To claim more would be supremely absurd. No radical change in our monetary policy is possible as an outcome of the presidential campaign. To make such a change Bryan would need the support of a free silver congress, both house and senate. For have not the republicans enacted a law making gold the standard of value? They say they have, in their platform; and if their assertion there be true, nothing but an act of congress can repeal their law. Bryan alone could not modify it. Bryan and the lower house together could not. The republican senate could still maintain the gold standard which the republican party boasts of having established. There is nothing to this issue, then, but the weak assumption that Bryan would order his secretary of the treasury to hand out silver in payment of public obligations.

But Bryan cannot do that if the republicans have indeed established the gold standard, as they boast. The law would not permit him to, if it really makes gold the standard of value; and he has publicly declared his determination, in terms so definite that no one doubts his purpose, to enforce the law while it remains a law. If, however, after all their expressions of devotion to

“sound money” the republicans have left a hole in their boasted gold standard law so that Bryan might pay public obligations with silver, who would be responsible if he did so? Would it not be the republicans themselves? Must we forever keep the republicans in power so that they may guard the holes they leave in the laws they make?

Let us rest ourselves in peace, however. If Bryan did pay public obligations in silver, that would not put the country upon a silver basis. His power to pay with silver is limited by the amount of available silver in the treasury. And that amount, at the close of business on September 30 last, was, according to the official treasury statement, only \$13,767,922.30. How could Bryan put us upon a silver basis by paying public obligations with only \$13,767,922.30 in silver?

It is evident, upon any fair consideration of the subject, that the money question has been thrust by the republicans into this campaign for the sole purpose of diverting attention from living issues. Recalling its usefulness to them in the east four years ago, they seize upon it now as “a good enough Morgan till after election.”

The same thing is true of the “full dinner pail” issue. So completely, however, has that collapsed that it calls only for passing notice.

Though statistics of increased work and wages were abundant at the beginning of the campaign, it was soon discovered that, even by these figures, wages have fallen per capita. A notable instance is to be found at page 293 of the republican official campaign book, where a citation of returns from 200 factories shows a considerable increase in workmen and aggregate wages in 1899 over 1895. But when these returns are examined, they disclose the fact that the average wages per employe in these factories in 1899 were \$26.64 less than in 1895. A similar result is derived from a circular of the railroad employes’ political organization of Chicago, which is published in the interest of McKinley’s election. While it indicates a large increase in work and wages in the aggregate, it reveals upon examina-

tion the interesting and very significant fact that the average freight carried per employe by the railroads of the United States was 146 tons more in 1899 than in 1896, and that the average wages were \$4.52 less. More work per man and less wages per man! If anything else were needed to demolish the “full dinner pail” issue, it is furnished by the strike in the anthracite coal regions. That strike took the cover from the dinner pail and disclosed its contents. They were what \$240 a year could buy—\$20 a month, \$5 a week. If this is a full dinner pail, pray what would an empty one look like? If this is prosperity, what should we understand by hard times?

Though the republican campaigners have solemnly made as much of the gold standard and “full dinner pail” issues as their sense of humor would permit, the situation has forced them to deal at times with live issues. One of these, the question of trusts, has greatly confused them. Some say there are no trusts. Some say there are good trusts and bad trusts, and that only republicans can distinguish one from the other. Others say that trusts are desirable. Others, again, see no way of getting rid of trusts except by doing away with electricity and steam. There are others who appear to have heard of no trusts except an ice trust in New York city; and they would not have heard of that if a few local democrats hadn’t bought interests in it, for it is from top to bottom officered by prominent republican politicians. But the intelligent voter surely knows, despite all this confusing babel of campaign sound, that there are trusts, and that they are grinding the people hard and fast.

Nor is it very difficult to diagnose the trust disease. It does not consist merely in combination. To combine competitive businesses and make them stick is no more possible than to make a rope of sand. If they could combine they would harm no one. The only combinations that can be made to stick are combinations of monopolies; and the only ones that can be made permanently powerful are those that combine monopolies that are fundamental. It is

not the trusts that make monopolies; it is the monopolies that make trusts. This is the one thing to understand if trusts are to be abolished. To attack the trusts by repressive measures is a Quixotic enterprise. But an attack upon the monopolies upon which trusts rest, monopolies derived from public franchises, will do away not only with trusts, but with what is much more important—with the evils that make trusts possible and that would produce oppression though there were no trusts.

To meet an objection right here, let us concede that Mr. Bryan has not definitely and fully taken this ground. But if that is important, it is sufficiently answered by the retort that Mr. McKinley hasn't either. One difference between the two in this connection is that whereas Mr. McKinley has neither the disposition nor the purpose to destroy the evil of trusts, Mr. Bryan has both.

The beneficiary of trusts who wishes to continue in the enjoyment of trust privileges would be a great fool to support Bryan against McKinley. Precisely so is the victim of trusts who supports McKinley against Bryan. The tendency of McKinleyism is toward special privileges; the tendency of Bryanism is away from special privileges. A vote for McKinley, therefore, is a vote for the perpetuation of legalized monopolies, while a vote for Bryan is a vote for their destruction.

When the whole political field is surveyed, the one issue that stands out preeminently is the issue which the democrats have proclaimed as paramount and which the republicans industriously endeavor to evade—the issue of imperialism. This is the issue that includes the essential principle of all others, for it is the issue with which there hangs in the balance the charter of American liberty, the declaration of independence. Let that charter be repudiated by the people and the last issue in this republic will have been decided.

By the election next Tuesday the declaration of independence is for the third time in the history of this country to be tried. It was tried

first in the dark days of the revolution, in those "times which tried men's souls." It was tried again when Lincoln by his proclamation made the civil war a war for human liberty. It is to be tried now when President McKinley comes before the country for an indorsement of his forcible annexation and crown colony policy. To vote for him is to indorse this policy, and to indorse this policy is to condemn the fundamental principles of the declaration of independence.

Of the Cuban war, begun for the extension of human liberty and political equality, Mr. McKinley has availed himself to make a war in the Philippines simply for conquest. When this country, upon his own admission, had no right in the Philippines outside of Manila and its harbor, he proclaimed American sovereignty over the entire archipelago. That is a matter of public record. In doing so he declared this country to be the enemy of the Filipino republic which had for nearly six months, as American official reports clearly testify, held undisputed sovereignty over all the civilized parts of the archipelago outside of Manila. It was a peaceable and orderly republican government, and though not yet recognized by foreign powers was recognized freely by the inhabitants. It was especially friendly to our government. Its armies and our navy had been in alliance. Six weeks after Mr. McKinley had made this hostile declaration of sovereignty, a declaration which beyond reasonable doubt constitutes the commencement of the present war, open hostilities broke out. Our troops fired upon the Filipinos; they replied; and then the first battle began which, as Gen. Otis says, "was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents and of vigorous attack by our forces."

The object of President McKinley's war in the Philippines, an object not at all concealed by himself, is to establish therein an American government over which the American constitution shall have no control. That is imperialism.

It is not necessary to make imperialism that Mr. McKinley should wear a crown and purple robe and be

hailed as emperor. Rome was an empire before she had a Caesar. Great Britain would be an empire though there were no British throne. And if we of this country make crown colonies of foreign peoples to whom we refuse citizenship, we, too, become an empire, though our domestic liberties for a time remain and our officials bear only republican titles and appear in republican dress. Our empire, moreover, testifies not to development toward greater freedom, but to retrogression. For we turn our backs upon our ideals of liberty. We turn back upon advances already made. We deny that fundamental doctrine of our own declaration of independence, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We repudiate our principle of national morality, that forcible annexation is criminal aggression.

Whether this policy of imperialism shall go on by the authority as well as in the name of the American people, depends upon the result of next Tuesday's election. So far it has the sanction only of Mr. McKinley and his party. Should he be re-elected it will have the sanction of the nation. That is the overshadowing issue. Whatever inferences may be drawn from Tuesday's vote, one inference, and only one, will be inevitable. Mr. McKinley's election will be an indorsement, Mr. McKinley's defeat will be a condemnation, of Mr. McKinley's imperial policy. Should he be elected, the relative status of silver and gold will not be mentioned after the votes are counted. The dinner pail will be put into the political lumber-room until another election calls it forth. One thought, and only one, will find expression wherever men read and think. And the universal chorus that in Europe as well as America will greet Mr. McKinley's triumph will proclaim that his imperial policy is approved by the American people. He who votes for Mr. McKinley, therefore, must assure himself now, before it is too late for anything but regret, that he wishes the people to approve that policy.

After all, Ambition is little else than a refined form of Greed.—Puck.

NEWS

At last the great anthracite coal strike has come to an end. It was called off on the 25th by President Mitchell and the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America, the order to take effect and the strikers to return to work on the 29th. Though all the employers had not agreed to the strikers' terms, nor any of them fully, the officers concluded that the victory was so nearly complete that no good end could be served by continuing the strike any longer. So they called it off. But employes of the companies which had not signified their willingness to pay the ten per cent. advance until next April and to suspend the sliding scale—a method whereby wages rise and fall with the price of coal at the seaboard—were advised by the "call-off" order to remain on strike until these conditions are granted, the returning strikers to support them meanwhile. The total number to return was 135,000 out of 140,000. As the companies had agreed to consider all grievances of their employes the order further advised that "when work is resumed committees be selected by the mine employes, and that they wait upon the superintendents of the companies and present their grievances in an orderly, businesslike manner, and ask that they be corrected." One fact alone would make this strike memorable. When it began there were only 8,000 members in the anthracite union, but at its close there were more than 100,000. It is to this fact that the order calling off the strike alludes where it reads:

While it is true that you have not secured redress for all your wrongs; while it is true that the increase in your earnings will not fully compensate you for the arduous labor you are compelled to perform in the mines, you have established a powerful organization, which, if maintained and conducted on business principles, will enable you to regulate many of your local grievances and make your employment less hazardous and more profitable than before the strike began.

The history of the strike may be followed by reference to pages 361, 375, 396, 407, 423, 424, 439 and 455 of The Public.

The political news of the week closes with the departure of Mr.

Bryan from the east, where his tour has been a continuous ovation, for Chicago, where he is to speak during the remainder of the campaign. He arrives in Chicago as we write, after having spoken at important points on the way from New York.

From the Philippines come reports of another battle. It was fought in Ilocos province, in the northwest of Luzon. The Filipinos were well intrenched and fought desperately, and the American force, greatly inferior in numbers, was compelled to retreat after suffering a loss of 5 killed and 13 wounded. Among the killed was the lieutenant in command. A smaller fight occurred near a place called Looc, in Luzon, in which the American loss was 2 killed and 3 wounded.

American casualties since July 1, 1898, inclusive of all current official reports given out in detail at Washington to October 31, 1900, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900 (see page 91)	1,847
Killed reported since May 16, 1900.	100
Deaths and wounds, disease and accidents reported since May 16, 1900.....	468
Total deaths since July 1, 1898.....	2,415
Wounded	2,321
Captured	10

Total casualties since July 1, 1898.....	4,746
Total casualties reported last week	4,709
Total deaths reported last week.....	2,403

In the Transvaal as in the Philippines sporadic fighting still continues. On the 26th the Boers attacked Jacobsdal, near Kimberley, and though they were driven off it was only after a stubborn fight in which the British force of 52 men lost 14 killed and 20 wounded. Two days earlier there was a sharp fight between Boers and the Cape Colony police, reinforced by colonial troops, near Hoopstad, in the Orange Free State, in which the colonials lost 7 killed, 11 wounded and 15 captured. The engagement lasted two hours.

While the fight at Jacobsdal was in progress, on the 26th, the Transvaal was ceremoniously proclaimed at Pretoria as part of the British empire.

Of the Chinese situation there is nothing to report but the action of

the American government on the Anglo-German agreement, quoted last week, and the meeting of the foreign ministers at Peking to confer about conditions to be imposed upon China. The ministers met on the 26th and agreed unanimously to demand the execution of Prince Tuan and four other Manchu princes, one duke and three ministers—a total of nine. Regarding the Anglo-German agreement, the American state department delivered a note on the 29th to the British and German representatives at Washington, which was made public on the 31st. It expresses the full sympathy of the United States with the British and German governments in the principles set forth in the first and second clauses of their agreement. The third clause is ignored as being a reciprocal agreement between Great Britain and Germany. By reference to the agreement, published on page 456, it will be seen that the United States by their note join in the Anglo-German demand for the "open door" in China, and unite in the pledge not to make use of present complications for purposes of territorial aggrandizement but to aid in maintaining the integrity of the Chinese empire.

NEWS NOTES.

—In a proclamation of the 29th, slightly tinged with campaign coloring, President McKinley named November 29 as Thanksgiving day.

—Prof. Max Mueller, the world-famed linguist and philologist and probably the world's greatest Sanskrit scholar, died in London on the 29th. He was 77 years old.

—The results of the twelfth census of the United States, announced on the 30th, show a total population of 6,295,220. This is a gain of 13,225,464 during the past ten years, or nearly 21 per cent.

—Jerry Simpson is making an "end-of-the-campaign" tour through western Kansas, in support of Bryan for president and Briedenthal for governor, with a party of 30 young women speakers.

—The socialists have scored numerous successes in recent parliamentary elections in Germany. Among them is the election by an enormous majority of Herr Ledebour in Berlin to succeed the late Herr Liebknecht.

—William K. Vanderbilt, as the representative of the Vanderbilt interests, has succeeded in acquiring control of the Southern Pacific Railway company, thus making the family masters of a line of railroads from ocean to ocean.

MISCELLANY

THE POOR VOTER ON ELECTION DAY.

The proudest now is but my peer,
The highest not more high;
To-day, of all the weary year,
A king of men am I.
To-day, alike are great and small,
The nameless and the known;
My palace is the people's hall,
The ballot box my throne!

Who serves to-day upon the list
Beside the served shall stand;
Alike the brown and wrinkled fist,
The gloved and dainty hand!
The rich is level with the poor,
The weak is strong to-day;
And sleekest broadcloth counts no more
Than homespun frock of gray.

To-day let pomp and vain pretense
My stubborn right abide;
I set a plain man's common sense
Against the pedant's pride.
To-day shall simple manhood try
The strength of gold and land;
The wide world has not wealth to buy
The power in my right hand!

While there's a grief to seek redress,
Or balance to adjust.
Where weighs our living manhood less
Than mammon's vilest dust—
While there's a right to need my vote,
A wrong to sweep away,
Up! clouted knee and ragged coat!
A man's a man to-day!
—Whittier.

CHIEF FACE-BOTH-WAYS M'KIN-LEY.

Then:	Now:
1 Bimetallism.	1 Gold Standard.
2 Criminal Aggression.	2 Benevolent Assimilation.
3 Freedom for the Blacks.	3 Slavery Among the Sulus.
4 Plain Duty.	4 Fifteen per cent.

THE MODERN CAIN.

For The Public.

Cain of old killed his brother, and then asked:
"Am I my brother's keeper?"
Our modern "duty and destiny" Cain, on the other hand, says:
"I am my brother's keeper!" And to assert his keepership, goes and pumps lead into the brother that refuses to be "kept."

J. L. STERN.

THE BALLOT ITSELF IS NOT LIBERTY.

The old enthusiasts for political liberty were right in expecting social felicity from free institutions. But they expected such institutions, the ballot especially, to be used to secure such felicity. The ballot itself is not liberty, but liberty may be had by rightly using the ballot. The ballot bears only the same kind of relation to social felicity that knowing how to read bears to learning: it is a means. —Circular of R. I. State Employment Assurance League.

RESULTS OF OUR FIGHTING IN THE EAST.

I do not suppose that in case of a Franco-Russian war the Russian soldier would be allowed to spear children in the streets of Paris. I do not suppose the American soldier would be permitted to sack London and bring home candlesticks from St. Paul's church or furs from the back of the lord mayor. But put the American or the Englishman into Asia and he becomes Asiatic. In hardness of heart and greed, in lust and cruelty, he will, if unwatched, out-do the oriental within a fortnight.

The leprosy which we bring home from the east fall instantly upon ourselves. Our negro problem broke out afresh as soon as our contempt and cruelty were excited towards the Asiatic. Not since 1864 have we had a race war in our northern cities; but to-day we see the practice of negro-baiting revived. This has come about through a slight intensification of race fellyings.—The Political Nursery, of New York.

GOV. ROOSEVELT'S LITTLE "TRIBE" THEORY.

Gov. Roosevelt continued to the end of his western campaign flinging his Philippine learning about profusely. He brought out again in Ohio on the 16th inst. his dear little "tribe" theory of the situation. Did his hearers know that there were 80 tribes in the Philippines? Only two of them are "against us." Think, then, of the absurdity of sacrificing 78 tribes to two! But Roosevelt's friend, Prof. Worcester, of the Philippine commission, threw a good deal of light in advance upon this absurdity, as if for the governor's special discomfiture. In his book on the Philippines he says, referring to the number of the tribes, that it is easy to fall into "an exaggerated idea of their importance," since "many of them are numerically insignificant." Prof. Worcester proceeds to say that it is with "the 5,000,000 of civilized natives" that we must chiefly reckon, and adds that "they belong for the most part to three tribes, the Tagalogs, Ilocanos and Visayans." And it is two of these three tribes which Roosevelt admits are against us! "Only two," he says. This is much as if he should say of Switzerland, only the German and French element are against us, and should boast that the nine per cent. of Italians are for us. Gov. Roosevelt might as glibly say, only the Germans and Hungarians of Austria are against us, and the Poles

for us. Against all his furious ignorance on the subject of the Philippines, we have only to set the calm words of Prof. Worcester, written before any thought of trouble: "I think that the civilized natives show sufficient homogeneity to be treated as a class."—The New York Nation.

THE SLAVE POWER WENT; THE SYNDICATE IS TO GO.

George William Curtis and other writers tell us that slavery once sat in the white house and made laws in the capital; that courts of justice were its ministers, that senators and legislators were its lackeys; that it controlled the professor in his lecture room, the editor in his sanctum, the preacher in his pulpit; that it swaggered in the drawing-room; that it ruled at the clubs; that it dominated with iron hand all the affairs of society; that every year enlarged its power, every moon increased its dominion; that the men and women who dared to even question the divinity of that institution were ostracized, prosecuted, vilified, aye, were hanged.

But the great clock in the chamber of the omnipotent never stands still; it ticked away the years as it had once ticked away the centuries; finally it struck the hour, and the world heard the tread of a million armed men and slavery vanished from America forever.

Note the parallel: To-day the syndicate rules at the white house and makes laws at the capitol. Every year enlarges its power; every moon increases its dominion; and the men and women who protest against the crimes that are being committed by organized greed in this country, who talk of protecting the American people, are ostracized, are vilified, are hounded, are imprisoned. It seems madness to even question the divinity of the American syndicate. But that great clock is still ticking; soon it will again strike the hour, and the world will see not 1,000,000, but 10,000,000 free men rise up armed, not with muskets, but with a free man's ballot, and the sway of the syndicate will vanish from America forever.—Hon. J. P. Altgeld, at the Auditorium, Chicago, Oct. 23.

IS THE REPUBLIC TO BE SAVED?

If the republic shall be saved! This is the doubt that determines my vote to-morrow; this is the question that has weighed on me ever since I reached intellectual maturity and began to strive to discover how all republics before our own had passed into monarchies and despotisms, and how, since freedom is the natural estate of men,

the masses of mankind have everywhere been enslaved.

I love the American republic, not for what it is, but for what it was intended to be, and for what in fullest measure it yet may be. For the sham republic that to-day exists I care nothing. What is such a republic worth to the ordinary citizen? Is there any great principle of individual liberty that is more fully and more quickly recognized in the United States than it is in Great Britain? Is there any duke or earl who exerts such power over the fortunes and the lives of his fellows as do our simple citizens, mere heads of trusts, and rings, and pools? Was ever a tyrant of Greece more completely master of his city and colony than are some of our "bosses?" While we have been glorying in the mere forms of the republic and permitting the Hannas to wrap themselves in the American flag and suffering "patriotism" to be used as Dr. Johnson defined it in the first edition of his dictionary—"the last refuge of a scoundrel"—all that is worth preserving in the republic has been passing away under our eyes and the American republic is dying as the Roman republic died, but by steps as much quicker as the modern steamship and locomotive are quicker than the ancient galley and chariot. A republic where the social extremes are represented by multi-millionaires on the one side and tramps on the other cannot remain a democratic republic. It must be in the very nature of things pass the way that Rome passed when monstrous estates increased and the proletariat grew.

What is really in issue in the election that takes place to-morrow is the very life of the republic.

It may not be a final conflict, but it must be a conflict that will make the side that wins stronger and the side that loses weaker for conflicts yet to come. And it is drawing near to the close of the century when, as I have long thought, the great struggle must in fact, though not in form, be determined.—Henry George, on the day before election, 1896.

THE REAL ISSUE.

It may be that the democrats will not do much better than the republicans, though they will certainly break up the continuity of the imperialist programme, and call a halt in the mad rush to ruin. But that is not the point. The real issue is an awful one: "Shall the people of the United States, which has not yet declared its judgment on the iniquitous policy of the republican party during the past three

years, now solemnly sanction that policy by a vote of the majority, condone betrayal of the republic, establish an empire, renounce the principles of the declaration of independence, destroy the American ideal, and forswear the moral law of justice to all mankind?" If that is the people's decision, it is the irreversible failure of the democratic experiment in this greatest of all democracies, and so far extinction of the hope of the world. Every wise patriot must elevate his mind above the clamor of short-sighted and selfish parties, and look now to the honor of his country in the light of the history we are making. This is no time to flatter the people. They are on trial before the tribunal of the moral universe. Every note for McKinley now, no matter how innocently or ignorantly cast, is a vote to assassinate democracy; every vote for Bryan, no matter how stupidly or selfishly cast, is a vote to rescue democracy from its assassins. "Liberty Enlightening the World," or, "Tyranny Darkening the World;" that is the awful issue. If Bryan, when elected president, fails at last to execute the will of the people, that will not be the people's fault, but his; the people will still have stood true, the fight for freedom and justice will still go on, and the victory at last will be on the side of the rights of man. But, if McKinley is re-elected president, the people themselves will have voluntarily assumed all the shame and all the guilt of his policy, and I see not what hope will be then left for the cause of free political institutions in this country. "dedicated" to the proposition that all men are born free and equal." Only on the surface is this election a "choice between evils." Deeper down, on a more comprehensive view, it is a choice between democracy and the rights of man as man, on the one hand, and plutocracy, tyranny and contempt for all rights, as rights, in comparison with self-interest, on the other hand; and that is a choice between the supreme good and the supreme evil. In such an issue, I dare not hesitate. My vote will be for Bryan.—Francis Ellingwood Abbot, in the Springfield Republican of Oct. 20.

SENOR SIXTO LOPEZ TO GEN. WHEELER.

An extract from a letter written by Senor Sixto Lopez, a member of the Filipino diplomatic service, dated 41 Woburn Place, London, W. C., June 30, 1900, and addressed to Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler, United States army, Washington, D. C. The letter is in answer to a circular of questions addressed by Gen. Wheeler to "Eminentes Filipinos." We reprint from City and State, of Philadelphia:

Notwithstanding Senator Beveridge's speech in which he compared us

to the "noble "Red Man" who, I note in passing, has already been "benevolently assimilated;" notwithstanding the apparent cordial approval with which his extraordinary speech was received by your coannexationists, we cheerfully admit the absolute honesty and sincerity of intention of the people of America. At the same time we do not believe for one moment that you or they could give us anything approaching in perfection to the government which your commissioners have promised. But even if we were to admit that your ability is commensurate with your promises, we should still prefer to rule ourselves. All the "protection of life and property;" all the "liberty under the Stars and Stripes;" all the "peace and charity" and "liberty of opportunity" and "fostering care" and "honest" administration which your great nation might be able to give us, would not compensate us for the loss of national life. Put the question to yourself: Would you be satisfied—assuming that some powerful nation were to deny you your independence and at the same time offer you the millennial government which you promise to give to us—would you be satisfied with such foreign rule? You know that you would not. Then do not unto others as ye would not that others should do unto you. There is no necessity to tell us how incapable we are and how enlightened you are; there is no need to argue about "legal" titles or "sovereignty by right of conquest and purchase" or the "task which Providence has imposed upon you." Put all such puerile considerations aside and come back to the Golden Rule. It is simple enough and embraces the whole of man's duty to man. It will show you whether you are doing right in the Philippines, and whether your legal contentions will stand the moral test. Come back to the Golden Rule and take your dripping sword from out our heart. * *

The final intimation in your circular letter is that "any other note on the well-being and prosperity of the Philippine government will be appreciated." I therefore beg to remark that I consider it somewhat strange that you make no mention of Filipino independence. You ask us: Are we satisfied with Aguinaldo? would there be opposition to his government causing revolutions and other conflicts? would we be satisfied with a guarantee of happiness? do we desire railways and other improvements? But you do not ask the most important question of all: Do we desire independence? You might as well ask a

drowning man if he feels cold, and if he would be satisfied with a "guarantee" that the water would be comfortably warmed! What the drowning man wants is life; what the Filipinos want is national life. What will all your honeyed promises amount to if you deny us our hearts' desire? Take from us our national life and we will never be satisfied with your promised cake and wine. Material prosperity, though desirable, is by no means the most desirable condition. I therefore take the liberty of asking you, and those who think with you, a final question: Why do you shed all this blood; why do you spend all this energy, all these millions of dollars, in the effort to thrust upon us what we desire least and deny us what we desire most? Is it for our good or for your own? For an answer to this latter question I beg respectfully to refer you to Senator Beveridge's speech on the 9th of January.

In conclusion, I beg to assure the people of America, through you, of our faith in their righteousness, and of our belief that ere long they will give us the justice we crave, and cease to interfere with our dearly-won independence.

WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT A MAN OR A NATION?

My choice for president is William Jennings Bryan:

Because (a) by his election the confidence of the Filipino people in the good faith of the United States would be restored, and it would then be easy to establish them as an independent nation under our protectorate.

Because (b) by his election the people would free themselves from complicity in the crimes committed by President McKinley against the Puerto Ricans and Filipinos. Until now the people have had no chance to approve or condemn, but after November 6 they must bear their share of the blood-guiltiness unless they express their abhorrence of those acts.

Because (c) by his election the people of the United States would again declare to the "powers of the earth" that they "hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

I think that all American women should pray and work to revive in the

hearts of the people the love of liberty. The nation now stands at the parting of the ways, and although I should not "despair of the republic" should it make the wrong choice, yet I am sure that it would have to go through a long and fearful struggle before it could regain even its present position. When the people of the United States consent to deprive another people of its rights and liberties; they strike a terrific blow at the foundations upon which stand their own rights and liberties.

Lincoln said: "This government cannot survive half-slave and half-free," and it is equally true that this government cannot survive half-empire and half-republic. We paid a bitter price to free ourselves from the sin of slavery, and the nation will again pay a bitter price to free itself from the sin of empire, if, driven by fear of financial distress or lured by hope of wealth, it now deserts its ancient ideals. American men and American women should ponder well the awful question: "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul."—Josephine Shaw Lowell.

THE "INFERIOR RACE" QUESTION.

To-day we have come to the inferior race question. I will throw out this distinct challenge: I will ask anyone to point out one single case where an inferior race was ever elevated into self-madness through "benevolent assimilation." I fail to know a single case. Go back to the days of the Greeks and the Romans. They conquered inferior races. Name one inferior race which came under their domination which ever reached perfect development.

Forty years after Christ the Romans conquered the Britons. They held them 400 years and then abandoned them. With what result? They Christianized them, they did everything possible for their material welfare—all we say we are going to do for the Filipinos. It took the Britons 800 years to recover from the benevolent assimilation of the Romans, because they had become thoroughly emasculated during the period they were under the fostering care of an empire.

I make the proposition that the whole policy of benevolent assimilation is not American and that it is English. I assert that the theory put in practice in any community will never develop into self-government.

On the other hand, there was an American policy which we are now disposed to abandon—the Monroe doctrine. For 80 years we have been pur-

suage the policy of leaving weaker nations on the western hemisphere to work out their destiny in their own way, and to Europe we have in all instances said: "Hands off."

We went into Mexico and we dismembered it. We took the more sparsely settled half and to the inhabitants of the other half we said stand up on your legs and walk along. Now the Mexicans are on the upward march of progress.

Take Venezuela. I remember perfectly well that at the time of the Venezuelan crisis many men said it would be better for its welfare to allow England to take possession of the country. But it seems to me that it is far better to allow Venezuela to have a revolution a week, because in the long run the country will learn to stand alone.

It is a principle of evolution that no child in the family will ever walk if you always hold it up. And that is the principle I should like to see applied in the case of the Philippines. Benevolent assimilation only makes you permanently weak, we should say to the Filipinos, you should accustom yourselves to walk alone, and superior races must keep their hands off.—Charles Francis Adams, before the Chicago Historical Society, Oct. 24.

WHAT THE TWO PARTIES ARE STANDING FOR.

The democratic party is applying the familiar principles to new conditions; the republican party is removing the ancient landmarks.

In advocating bimetalism we advocate a financial system whose usefulness is attested by thousands of years of history, as well as by our national experience and by the past platforms of the republican party and all other parties. In advocating the greenback we are advocating a money first issued by the republican party, approved by the supreme court and never condemned in a republican platform. In advocating an income tax we advocate a system which received the sanction of Abraham Lincoln and which is now practiced in many of the leading nations of Europe. In opposing government by injunction we are simply defending the jury system, which has been described as the bulwark of English freedom, and is as important here as in England. The meanest thief and the blackest murderer are entitled to trial by jury. Why should a laboring man be denied such a trial merely because some great corporation is his antagonist? In advocating arbitration we are applying to the relations which now exist between employer and em-

ployes the old theory of the court of justice, wherein disputes were settled by right rather than by might.

But I call especial attention to the fact that the republicans in this campaign have adopted three new and dangerous theories—first, that industrial despotism is wise; second, that a large army is necessary, and, third, that a colonial policy is right.

It is impossible to overestimate the effect of a change from industrial independence to the reign of private monopoly. It is a revolution the magnitude of which cannot be overstated, and the far-reaching consequences of which cannot be estimated.

The large army is a natural sequence of the trust system. If the people are to be plundered by a powerful and merciless monopolists; if hundreds of thousands of laborers are to receive a daily pittance at the hand of an industrial master, a large army will be necessary to silence complaints and overawe those who believe in the golden rule.

The adoption of a colonial policy can only be construed as a command to halt in our progress toward higher ideals and to turn back toward the dark ages of force and fear. It is a notification to the world that our day's work for humanity is done and that we are entering the twilight which presages the darkness of the empire.—Hon. William J. Bryan at Madison Square Garden, New York, October 27.

CLERGYMEN ADDRESS VOTERS.

Representative clergymen of several denominations, many of them men of national reputation, have signed an address to voters which was sent out October 30 by the American Anti-Imperialist league.

We, the undersigned ministers of religion, declare our deep conviction that the war against the Filipinos is not right. We regard it as a war of conquest, and directly within Mr. McKinley's definition of "criminal aggression."

We refuse to accept the undemocratic conclusion that because the American people can by might govern colonies, they ought to do so. We deny that either the president or congress may rightfully govern any man anywhere outside the protecting restraints of the constitution. We agree with Benjamin Franklin, "that neither the obtaining nor the retaining of any trade is an object for which men may justly shed each other's blood." We feel bound to withhold our approval of the immoral use of the public authority, even to accomplish an assumed moral end.

We hold that what is immoral for men to do acting singly is immoral

for them to do acting collectively as a nation. Each step in a course of action must be moral if the end is not to be tainted with immorality. No end can justify immoral means to secure it. It is too late to maintain the doctrine that in the sacred name of religion we may kill some men in order to convert those who survive. "Love, not force, was the weapon of the Nazarene; sacrifice for others, not exploitation of them, was His method of reaching the human heart."

We desire to see America exercise her influence as a "world power" in a new rather than in the old way. We view with grave apprehension the tendency to make her what other nations are. We desire to see her become the supreme moral factor in the world's progress. Any great and permanent increase of her military establishment, with the cultivation of the military spirit among us, will indicate moral deterioration.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Cincinnati.
HENRY H. BARBER, Meadville, Pa.
THOMAS SCOTT BACON, Maryland.
WILLIAM T. BROWN, Rochester, N. Y.
WILLIAM M. BROWN, Bishop of Arkansas.

ROBERT C. BRYANT, Lisbon, N. H.
ELLISON CAPERS, Bishop of South Carolina.

JOSEPH H. CROOKER, Ann Arbor, Mich.
LEWIS J. DUNCAN, Wilwaukee, Wis.
QUINCY EWING, Greenville, Miss.
JOHN FAVILLE, Peoria, Ill.
W. C. GANNETT, Rochester, N. Y.
N. P. GILMAN, Meadville, Pa.

FRANK O. HALL, North Cambridge, Mass.

JOHN M. HENDERSON, Gerlaw, Ill.
JENKIN LLOYD JONES, Chicago.
LOUIS GEORGE LANDENBERGER, St. Louis.

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"Then, my friend," said the Quaker democrat, "thee denies that Abraham Lincoln was right when he said that no man is good enough to govern another without the other's consent?"

"Deny nothin'!" retorted the imperialist; "ain't the administration fightin' night and day to get Agui-naldo's consent?"

G. T. E.

"MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG."

— For The Public.

"My country, right or wrong," he cries,
"And he who dares resist us—dies!
The Philippines are ours," he raves,
"Our flag forever o'er them waves!
Hot and relentless war we'll wage
While there's a rebel to engage—
While there's an answering rebel shot,
Our Gatling guns shall rake the spot!
Long wave our conquering flag unfurled!
Our destiny—a conquered world!"

Thus Beveridge spoke, amid applause,
Proclaiming empire's bloody cause.
Nor did the wolves or foxes seem
To fear exposure of their scheme.
None seemed to question or discuss,
As might have been expected, thus:

"Rash Beveridge, rash, impetuous youth!
Why, why so frankly speak the truth?
Imperial aims should be obscured
Till victory is quite assured.
Harp on the patriotic string;
'My country, right or wrong,' still sing;
Deny the coming of a crown;
Ask, Who shall pull 'Old Glory' down?"

"'My country,' shout—while you betray
her;

Proclaim for freedom—while you slay her;
Piously uphold our might—
This the way to win the fight.
Then, with imperial victory won,
Let the republic be undone.
Devotedly still spare the name,
But—on with empire, just the same."

Nay, no such counsel there was heard;
Imperialism was the word.
And neither sound, nor sign, nor look
Bespoke alarm, or meant rebuke
From those, his friends, assembled there;
But wild approval rent the air
When Beveridge cast aside the skin,
And thus revealed the wolf within.
And in their frenzy of delight
Others their sheep skins shed that night.

Since empire is the end in view,
Who are the traitors, Beveridge, who?
And who, that has a wisdom tooth,
Will trust the knave to tell the truth?
Who, stranger to the throne of grace,
Would, "right or wrong," uphold his case?

"My country, right or wrong," might be
A guide less base for you and me,
Were such professed devotion meant
For more than king or president.
But see our country now divide—
Unknown as yet the stronger side—
Then listen while a Beveridge raves:
Opponents all are traitor knaves;
Opposed to his imperial course,
All democrats are fools, and worse!

Rome must, of course, to Caesar turn,
If Rome the will of Rome would learn.
And we, the patriot part to play,
Some modern Caesar must obey;
And sing the sly oppressor's song:
"My king, my country, right or wrong."

"My country, right or wrong," thus means
"My" party; hold the Philippines,
Err as a misled party will,
Yet, right or wrong, my party still.

Apply this motto, down and down;
"My" state, "my" county, and "my" town;
"My" every thirst for power and pelf—
And first, last, "right or wrong," "my"-self.
Base motto. Catchy, foul and fell,
Vain-glorious, and false as hell.
A baser creed was ne'er designed
To crush all struggling human kind.

Every wrong to Heaven that cries
From earth misruled, it justifies.

No, never in oppression's name
Have tyrants done their deeds of shame,
But in the holy name of God,
They crush at home and slay abroad.
Wrapped in the flag they strut to-day,
While Independence they betray,
And war 'gainst human liberty!

No true American can be
Opposed to human liberty.
Who say that Freedom's flag can fly
Above unwilling subjects, lie.
Fair Freedom's flag can never wave
Above a subject or a slave!
No master and no slave can be
In a republic of the free.
To all republics false are they
Who champion imperial sway.

These bloody wars for conquest's sake
Are wars which robber nations make.
The grasping powers "behind the throne,"
Have made their sordid wishes known;
A recreant government obeys;
At its command, our army plays
Th' assassin's part; at its command,
Our hosts invade a friendly land.
"Behind the throne," the grasping powers
Proclaim: "The Philippines are ours!"
False patriots repeat the lie;
"My country, right or wrong," they cry.
But these false patriots forget—
Our country has not spoken yet.

If really our republic spoke
In shot and shell and battle smoke,
And spoke for conquest—truth must tell
That then our great republic fell.

The Filipino patriots stand
For freedom, home and native land.
They fight for you, and fight for me,
Who fight for human liberty.

ROBERT CUMMING.

Peoria, Ill.

CHICAGO'S "SOUND MONEY" PARADE.

Between walls of curious people standing three to six deep on both sides of the streets there passed from ten o'clock yesterday morning until 4:10 o'clock in the afternoon the flower of the republican party of Cook county. Technically the demonstration was a procession of the business men's sound money organizations, but it was really an outpouring of the employes of the great commercial and industrial houses of Chicago.

Whether this was done by covert force or by happy volition and party fealty is something of which the marchers alone are accurate judges. The thousands of persons who stood upon the curbstones formed their own opinion and expressed it from time to time in a manner which was quite as impressive to the impartial spectator as was the seemingly interminable procession.

There was mutiny from the first note of the bugle. It was rampant in every rank of the commercial and industrial divisions of the mighty parade. It found expression in the ripping away from coat collars the pic-

tures of McKinley, the flinging away of guidons, the trampling under foot of so-called dinner pails and the desertion from the ranks from time to time of men who could no longer stand the good natured, but at the same time piercing and stinging, railery of the thousands of spectators on the sidewalks and from those perched in windows and on the fire escapes of the big buildings.

For a half hour or so after the procession began its march persons standing on the curb were gentle but rasping in their comment on the paraders, but as the day grew older the bright sunshine brought thousands of more demonstrative democrats to the downtown streets. Here they banked themselves on the walks and choked the staircases and entrances to public buildings. They picked up the thread of badgering from the thin line of but a few hours before and then all became more boisterous as the men in the ranks whispered encouragement to them.

"This is all a bluff," a man would say who was tramping at the end of a platoon.

Then a roar of approval would roll through the street. Every moment seemed to whet to a keener edge the sarcastic tongue of the onlooker.

Thus from noon until after four o'clock the roar of "Bryan! Bryan!" increasing in volume with every moment, fell upon the ears of the paraders. So fierce became the demonstration in favor of the Nebraskan that one man who wore a khaki uniform and bore aloft a dinner pail flung his standard upon the pavement at Fifth avenue and Madison street and leaped upon it with heavy soles. Then another mighty cry of approval arose from the curbstone.

When the great column of marchers swung into Washington street from Clark there was a man at the corner with a satchel filled with Bryan buttons. This man was City Sealer Quinn. Within an hour 50 or more men flung their McKinley buttons upon the pavement and replaced them with the enameled picture of the democratic leader.

It was about this time, and when the sun was blazing two hours to the bad of the meridian, that a man climbed an electric light pole at Franklin and Washington streets and declared in a voice that could not be mistaken for a whisper that of the 4,500 men of the Deering harvesting works only 1,100 were in line and that the remainder were off for the day without pay.

The harangue went even further. Swinging his cap high above his head, the man roared that of the 1,100 men of the company in the procession one-half were going to vote for Bryan. A marshal of the division saluted the bold man who appeared to be so well informed.

"Well, you know I'm right," bawled the informant.

"Deed I do, boy," said the marshal sotto voce, and then the crowd about the corner laughed and cheered all the more for Bryan.

"And I'll tell more," yelled the man whose grip on his perch was like the clutch of an undertaker.

"Tell it," bawled the crowd.

"Why," continued the interesting person aloft, "300 of those 500 Karpen furniture men are for Bryan."

And when he said this some of the men who were marching under the standard of the firm chanted:

"And that's no lie."

The mutiny spread still further when the parade was over and the headquarters of the democratic national committee was filled with paraders who tore away the buttons off their coats and flung into a pile their non-union rough rider white felt hats.

The procession from a spectacular point of view was pleasing and amusing. There were no 125,000 men in the parade, as the republican committee had anticipated. There were not 100,000—not 50,000.

There were 35,723 men in the line. These figures were compiled under the direction of Charles A. Walsh, secretary of the national democratic committee, who had an exact count made. And of this number 7,340 men were in Lorimer's legion, a uniformed organization.—Chicago Chronicle of October 28.

COMMONWEALTH OR EMPIRE.

Extracts from a pamphlet with the above title, recently issued in Toronto by Prof. Goldwin Smith.

Whatever may be for Americans the main issue in the presidential campaign, for the world at large it is that between imperialist plutocracy, and the American commonwealth. Shall the American commonwealth remain what it is, follow its own destiny, and do what it can to fulfill the special hopes which humanity has founded on it, or shall it be turned into an imitation of European imperialism and drawn, with the great military powers of Europe, into a career of conquest and domination, impairing at the same time its own democratic character, as all experience tells us that it must? Shall it be ruled by the spirit

and in the interest of the American people, or in those of the Europeanized plutocracy which has its commercial center in the financial offices of the east and its social center in the drawing-rooms of New York? This is the main issue for humanity. . . .

The resources of the continent, marvelously developed, and financial speculation have bred a body of wealth having its center in the east, headed by a fabulous multi-millionairism, entrenched in a multiplicity of great corporations and trusts, daily absorbing money and extending its influence, feeling more and more the general unity of its interests, and threatening, if its ascendancy is not moderated, to dominate the state. For some time the class was timid, shunned politics, rather shrank from sight, fearing that public jealousy might be aroused. Now it is past that stage and is beginning to turn its wealth into power. This it may do to an indefinite extent. It may buy legislatures, judiciaries, municipalities, perhaps even churches. A senatorship we have seen it purchase without disguise. It may command the public journals and thus control public opinion. It may kill commercially anyone who opposes it. Even universities, fed by its bounty, may fall under its political influence. A limit can hardly be set to the extension of its power in an age in which the universal object of desire is money with the enjoyment which money provides.

No one who is right-minded can desire to array labor against capital or to interfere by violent measures of repression with fair gains, with the discharge by capital of its necessary functions in the conduct of industry, or with its just influence in the political sphere. But it would be an evil day on which supreme power should pass into the hands of accumulated money. Of the wealth, much has been made by the organization of industrial enterprises beneficial to the community at large, while some has been made in ways not so beneficial. Not a little has been nobly spent on public objects and institutions. But the best of multi-millionaires leaves heirs. . . .

That the plutocracy is at once conscious of the general identity of its interests, and feels that imperialism is congenial to it, is shown by the unanimity with which it ranges itself under the imperialist banner in this contest. . . .

The change would soon extend to the spirit of the American people. The effect is already seen. Language on questions between right and

force at variance, not only with the declaration of independence, but with anything that would have been heard 50 years ago, may now be read in the imperialist press. It is true that there is throughout the world a tendency of sentiment in this direction; that evolution and survival of the fittest have been everywhere propagating the gospel of force; while the gospel of human brotherhood, justice and mercy, preached by Jesus and professed by Christian nations, has been losing influence even with churches. Yet, apart from this general tendency, the immediate effect of imperialism on American sentiment may be distinctly seen.

A relapse not only from American, but from civilized principle, has taken place. In all defenses of the sanguinary subjugation of the Filipinos it is assumed that the people were sold and bought with the land. Under the feudal system the serfs were sold and bought with the land, though in the case of the free tenants attornment was required. The general idea that the people, as a matter of course, passed with the land by cession or transfer long afterwards prevailed. But it has been discarded by modern civilization. When Savoy was transferred from Sardinia to France, a plebiscite was taken. In the case of the Ionian islands the desire of the people to be transferred from Great Britain to Greece has been clearly expressed. The treaty for the transfer of St. Thomas from Denmark to the United States was made conditional on the assent of the inhabitants, to be taken by vote, as it actually was, though the treaty afterwards went off on other grounds. Newly-created monarchies are now entitled not of the land but of the people; Louis Philippe was king, not of France, but of the French; Napoleon III. was emperor of the French; Wilhelm II. is not emperor of Germany, but German emperor. In the case of Alsace and Lorraine the transfer of land and people together was by the stern right of conquest in a war in which the people had taken part. This cannot be pleaded in the case of the Filipinos, who had been recognized by the Americans as allies in the war against Spain. The language which has been held on this subject by imperialist speakers and journalists grates harshly on the ear of modern morality. Nor can anything be less relevant as precedents than the natural extension of the American people over the unpeopled spaces of their own continent, or the acquisition of Louisiana, with the

tacit consent of its inhabitants, and provision for their incorporation into the union, before the expedient of a plebiscite had become known.

Is it impossible that a democracy, without any formal change of its constitution, should pass under the yoke of wealth? History furnishes at least one notable instance of the kind. The republic of Florence, without change of its political forms, was effectually enslaved by the wealth of the Medicis. Florence was small, it is true. But so was the wealth of the Medicis compared with the collective fortunes of the United States. Nor had the Medicis, at any time of their usurpation, a standing army, which American plutocracy will soon have, on a large scale, if imperialism gains the day.

Americans are tempted to embrace a policy of tribalism under the form of a league of the Anglo-Saxon race, which is to overshadow the world. A return to tribalism sounds like relapse into barbarism. Besides, the tribal unity in this case is largely fictitious. In the United Kingdom, three-fourths of Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, almost the whole of Wales and the west of England are Celtic, not to mention a large scattering of Flemings, Huguenots and other immigrants. In the United States there is a great mixture of races. There was a mixture in the original foundations, and there has been a vast inflow of motley immigration. The population of the United States is not tribal, but human; human also ought to be its policy. That the English language is spoken and that English law and institutions have been largely adopted by the great community of the new world is matter of just pride for Englishmen. But we do not want the new world to be turned out of its course and made untrue to its destiny by an ethnological fancy plainly at variance with fact. Nor should it be forgotten that Great Britain carries with her not only her fifty millions of English-speaking people, but her three hundred millions and more of Hindoos and other races differing as widely as possible from the Anglo-Saxon type.

A league of states in different parts of the globe, bound together merely by origin or language, yet sworn to fight in each other's quarrels, whatever the cause and without regard to the merits of the case, would be a conspiracy against international morality and the independence of all nations such as would soon compel

the world to take arms for its overthrow. Nobody would be cajoled by such phrases as "spreading civilization" or "imposing universal peace." The world does not want to have anything imposed on it by an Anglo-Saxon league or by a combination of any kind.

Commercial gain would be the real object, commercial cupidity would be the sustaining principle of the league.

It is with the tory party in England, the party of sympathy with secession, that the United States are being drawn into alliance. Let it not be forgotten that there is in England a liberal party, the constant friend of the United States, anti-imperialist itself and the ally of American anti-imperialists, at present depressed by the war fever, but likely, when national health returns, to recover its power.

If the commonwealth yearns for a nobler part, a noble part may be found, not in partnership with predatory powers, but rather in morally upholding against them human independence and the rights of the family of nations.

BATTLE HYMN OF THE EMPIRE.

In the beauty of the lilies
 Christ was born across the waves,
 As he died to make men holy
 We will fight to make men slaves;
 When weak nations cry for freedom
 We will crucify the knaves—
 "Plain Duty" marches on.

Wave the flag and shout for glory!
 Traitors were the fathers hoary!
 Hail the strenuous life so gory!
 Plain duty marches on.

We feel the thrill of "destiny"
 From Guam to Hong-Kong;
 In Luzon and Ilo Ilo
 We will sing the pirate's song;
 For the strenuous life is calling
 "Ho! Our pockets, right or wrong!"
 Plain duty marches on.

"We've outgrown the constitution"
 And the declaration, too;
 We've outgrown our "Little Breeches"
 And can lick a world or two;
 We have slavery and harems
 In the island of Sulu.
 Plain duty marches on.

Now "criminal aggression"
 Is the gospel of our greed;
 "Benevolent assimilation"
 Is the heathen's greatest need;
 And our strenuous life is calling
 For another bloody deed.
 Plain duty marches on.

The Jingle of the dollar
 Is the only rule of right,
 And we care not for the justice
 If we only have the might;
 For the strenuous life is calling
 Us to put out freedom's light.
 Plain duty marches on.

—W. G. Eggleston, Editor Helena (Mont.) Independent.

Fogiham—"Is it possible that you favor the administration's policy of imperialism which has already resulted in the slaying of thousands of poor Filipinos by our troops?"

Freno—Certainly, I am in favor of that policy. Isn't it much more charitable for us to do the killing than it would be to forsake the savages, leaving them free to do the slaughtering themselves. G. T. E.

Herring—When I last saw you you said that your friend had not decided whether to vote for Bryan or McKinley, but that he was about to read the campaign literature of both parties?

Negley—He has read it all.
 Herring—And decided to vote for—?

Negley—For no one. He is now confined in an asylum. G. T. E.

"Our vote," said the prohibitionist, warmly, "increases almost constantly from year to year."

"Yes," said his friend; "but you never can tell how many of our votes are cast by prohibitionists. When a man gets disgusted with his own party and can't bring himself to vote the other ticket, he goes out and takes a drink, votes the prohibition ticket and takes another drink."—Puck.

"You must be very thankful that you were not slaughtered by the Chinese?" ventured the correspondent.

"Yes," replied the rescued missionary, "but I am 10,000 times more thankful that it was not my fate to be a Chinese victim of the Russians." G. T. E.

"No, you dont," said the sultan of Sulu to the hustling missionary, "if I should let you convert me where would my pension be? Where would I be? Why, I should have no better standing than that Christian, Aguinado, has!" G. T. E.

Prohib—The republicans as well as the democrats claim Indiana.

Laber—Both cannot be just claims.
 Prohib—No. But the question is, which one is just a claim. G. T. E.

Guth—Then take the issue of trusts—

Huth—But Hanna says we have no trust in the whole country.

Guth—He's right enough if he thinks that he is the whole country. G. T. E.

Gibson—Is Fisher a republican?
 Herman—I fear not. I heard him refer to our president as a "shall-be-has-been-will-not-be." G. T. E.

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All persons having claims against the estate of Charles O'Leary, deceased, are hereby notified and requested to attend and present such claims to the Probate Court of Cook County, Illinois, for the purpose of having the same adjusted, at a term of said Court, to be held at the Probate Court Room, in the City of Chicago, in said Cook County, on the Third Monday of January, A. D., 1901, being the 21st day thereof.

Dated, Chicago, October 9th, 1900.
WILLIAM J. O'LEARY,
 Administrator with the will annexed of the estate of Charles O'Leary, deceased.
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W. W. Mills, Attorney, Ashland Block.

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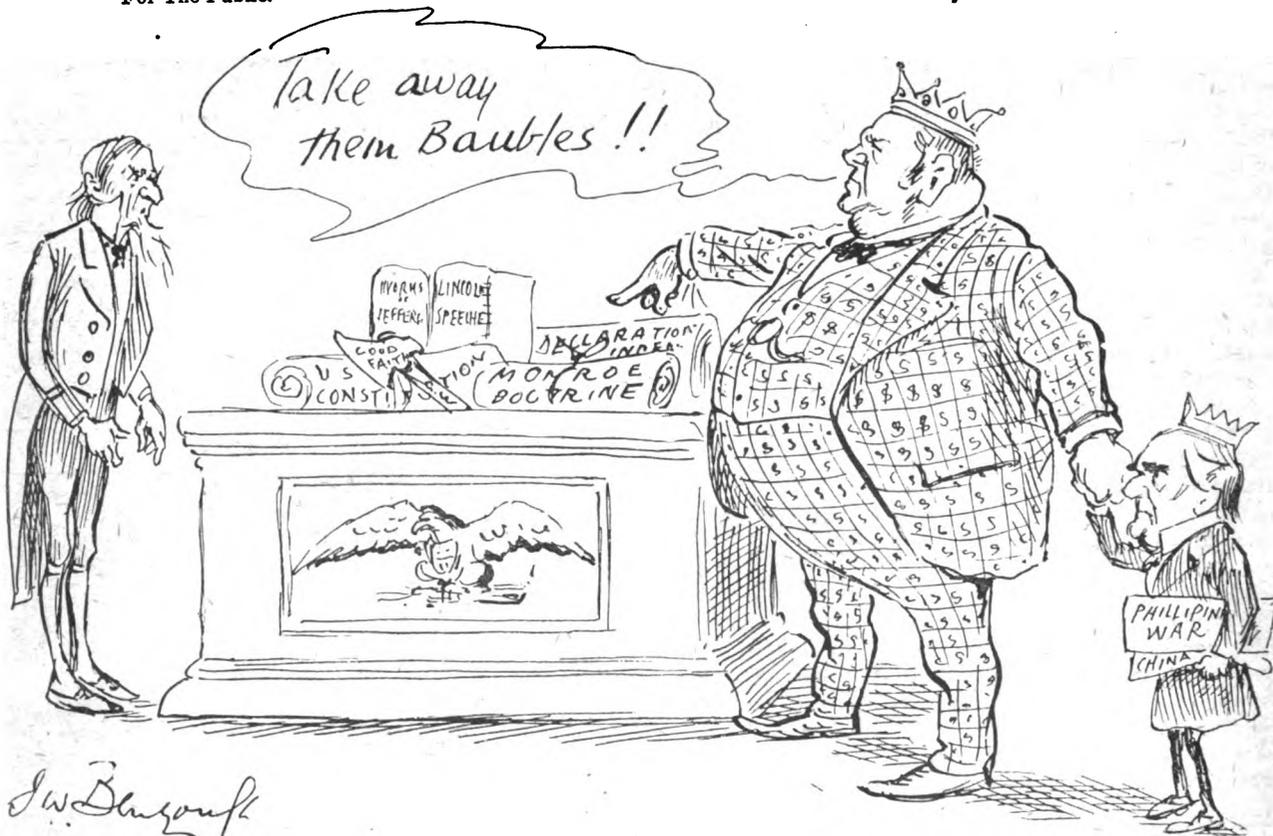
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