

The Public

Dr. HJ Woodhouse
Nov 3-00 Box 511

Third Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1900.

Number 129.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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

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

Wall street dispatches tell of preparations for a new exporting movement in gold, for the purchase of foreign bonds. But none of them explain why we must ship gold to Europe to pay for a few millions of bonds, when Europe already owes us, according to treasury statistics, hundreds of millions for excessive exports. Why not draw against this enormous "favorable balance" instead of shipping gold?

It is an interesting fact that in a debate upon the Philippine question now going on in the columns of the Chicago Record the anti-McKinley contestant last Monday was Daniel H. Chamberlain, the republican ex-governor of South Carolina, while the pro-McKinley contestant was John S. Wise, son of the governor by whose authority John Brown was hanged: Of a truth the democrats and the republicans of the early days of the republican party are changing places. Old-time democrats are becoming McKinley republicans and old-time republicans are falling into line behind Bryan.

In announcing his intention of voting for Bryan, Mayor Jones, of Toledo, places himself where most of his friends are glad to find him. Petitions naming him as a no-party candidate for congress had been numerous signed; but feeling that he must support Bryan for the presidency, as the best way of expressing his sentiments on the paramount issue now agitating national politics, and knowing that a declaration to that effect would be misconstrued if

he were a candidate for office, he declines to serve as a candidate in the same letter in which he states his intention of voting for Bryan.

Candidate McKinley's personal friend, business protector, official adviser, political manager, and general alter ego, Marcus A. Hanna, is making a set speech over the country in which, as reported by the McKinley party press, he talks of tearing "the mask of selfishness from the face of that hypocrite, William Jennings Bryan." We commend this esthetic specimen of campaign rhetoric to the prayerful consideration of those McKinley worshipers who object to similar characterizations of their own chosen candidate. We also invite them to a comparison of this abuse by Mr. McKinley's personal representative upon the campaign stump with Mr. Bryan's uniformly courteous and dignified references to his very vulnerable adversary.

Much is being said about the restoration of Galveston. Let it be hoped that this is only wild talk. It would be little short of crime to re-establish that city upon its old site. What the recent storm did other like storms could do, and that such storms would come is authoritatively predicted. Another Galveston upon the former site would almost certainly go the way of the old Galveston, and in going would destroy other thousands of lives. The idea of restoring this city should not receive a second serious thought. Nor would it, were the site not privately owned and worth fortunes with a city upon it and hardly a dollar without one. The landed interest of the Galveston site, and nothing else, is at the bottom of the agitation for rebuilding. A striking manifestation is this of

the evils that develop from false systems of property rights.

A gigantic conspiracy for robbing Chicago of water rates has been unearthed in the slaughter house district. Private pipes had been connected secretly with city pipes above the water meters, and water was thus conducted into large packing houses in quantities averaging thousands of cubic feet daily without being registered. These packing houses were supposed to get the bulk of their water from artesian wells of their own. But their artesian wells appear now to have been supplied from Lake Michigan through Chicago water mains. The meters in one packing establishment, after a "blind" pipe had been traced into it, registered six or seven times more daily than they registered before the discovery of that "blind" pipe. Now comes a serious question. Will the justice that petty thieves get be meted out to these offenders? So far nothing has been proposed but to send bills for the stolen water. A different course is pursued with less respectable offenders, and thence comes popular contempt for law.

Whatever may result to miners or operators from the strike now in progress in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania it has already settled a political question once and for all. That "full dinner pail," which Mr. Hanna puts forward as the paramount issue in this campaign, has had the lid taken off and its really meager contents exposed. It proves to have been, certainly in the anthracite coal regions, mostly full of nothing. For the wages of miners are shown to be less than \$250 a year, which is hardly 70 cents a day. Multiply 70 cents by seven days and you get \$4.90 as the weekly income of these striking miners.

Call it five dollars for good measure, and then think of the monumental effrontery of men like Mark Hanna, who burn up more than twice as much in cigars—think of their talking about the comforts of the American workingman with his full dinner pail! Nor is this condition peculiar to Pennsylvania. There, if anywhere, the dinner pail ought to be fullest, for it is there that republican protection is supposed to do its most perfect work. But whether or not its work be more perfect there than elsewhere, the “full” dinner pails which have been there uncovered are no more empty than the dinner pails that are still covered.

The solemn and sorrowful truth about the matter is that it is bitter mockery to describe the American workingman’s dinner pail anywhere as full. How many workingmen have an average income of more than \$250 a year? Some do get \$300. Not so many get \$400. Fewer still get \$500. He who gets \$1,000 is a veritable nabob. Yet \$1,000 a year is less than \$20 a week. It is probable that labor incomes are more accurately represented by half that amount—\$10 a week. And with what comfort can a man bring up a family upon \$10 a week? In the imagination of people whose money comes easy, he could doubtless do wonders with that income. But what can he do in reality? As Kipling somewhere says—there are men who, when their own front door’s closed, will swear that the whole world’s warm.

But you can’t close your own front door any more than you can sport a “full dinner pail” on \$10 a week.

Of the merits of the miners’ strike no room is left for debate. Their pay is wretchedly small. Yet they are forced to buy blasting powder of their employers at an exorbitant price. Yet they are compelled to take pay in orders upon company stores, where goods are sold to them at swindlers’ rates. Yet they are required to mine hundreds of pounds more than a ton for every ton of coal they get credit

for. Yet they are assessed for mine physicians, and their employers thrust upon them favorites of their own. In a word, they are as truly enslaved as if they were chattels upon an auction block. They must accept these extortionate terms or starve. For their employers are invested by law with a monopoly of the highways over which coal must go to market, and of the natural beds from which the coal must be mined. They are absolutely at the mercy of the power which these monopolists are thereby able to wield. Here are reasons enough for a strike. But before striking the miners sought by every possible means to make the matter a question of amicable concession or of arbitration. They at first wanted the operators to meet them in a friendly joint conference, pledging themselves to withdraw every demand that could be shown to be unreasonable. The operators arrogantly ignored the invitation. Then the miners proposed arbitration. But the operators had “nothing to arbitrate.” Controlling the highways and controlling nature’s coal deposits, why should they arbitrate? That was their attitude. And now that these uncrowned kings have forced the strike—either because they wished to influence the coal market so as to rob consumers, or to crush the strikers so as to rob miners, or both—let the responsibility rest upon them, where it belongs. Moreover, let the word go forth that highways and coal deposits ought not, shall not, and do not of right belong to any man or set of men; but that of right they are and of necessity must be made common property. Thus shall coal miners be freed from helpless servitude, coal consumers be protected from conspiracies against them, and the whole public be saved from periodical wars between starving coal miners and overfed coal monopolists.

Mr. Bryan’s formal letter of acceptance, while a necessary and valuable contribution from him to the campaign literature of his party,

is so completely overshadowed by his masterly acceptance speech at Indianapolis that but little need be said of it beyond advising its careful perusal. For our own part there is much in it to commend, along with some things to which we cannot assent. On the question of trusts, for instance, as we have noted heretofore, Mr. Bryan seems to make the mistake of regarding trusts as producing monopolies instead of seeing that monopolies produce trusts. His anti-trust policy, therefore, aims to suppress trusts by hostile legislation directly against them, rather than to undermine them by repealing the legal monopolies out of which they grow and upon which they flourish. Nevertheless, we are obliged to notice even upon this point that he recognizes in the Dingley law a “trust breeding measure,” which is suggestive at least of his growing perception of the true nature of the trust evil. But matters of agreement or disagreement on this or other points covered by Mr. Bryan’s letter of acceptance are not up for discussion at the present juncture. We are now in a campaign involving almost the right of discussion itself, a campaign in which the institutions that make possible a just settlement of any and all domestic questions are at stake. In such an emergency secondary questions must wait. It is enough that Mr. Bryan explains with characteristic candor his position upon every matter of public policy mentioned in his platform, and that he concludes by reiterating the assurances of his Indianapolis speech, that none of the subjects treated in his letter, however important each may seem in itself, presses “so imperatively for solution as the question which the platform declares to be the paramount issue in this campaign.”

That is, indeed, the sole issue upon which every voter will declare himself next November, whether he thinks so or not. To vote for McKinley is to indorse his policy of imperialism. To vote for Bryan is to condemn it. And a vote for a hope-

less minority party, or a refusal to vote at all, is to indorse or to condemn accordingly as the voter would have supported Bryan or McKinley had he chosen between them. No voter can escape the alternative. And what the effect of an indorsement would be no prophet can tell. Who would have supposed four years ago that McKinley would take advantage of a war for that independence for Cuba which both parties demanded, to seize territory in the orient and establish a crown colony there? Yet he has done it, regardless of popular approval or disapproval, and in utter defiance of national traditions and ideals. What might he not do if this experimental policy were indorsed by popular vote, as indorsed it would be by his reelection? Foreign alliances, foreign complications, foreign wars, slices of China as it is carved up, a bullying navy on the seas, a conscripted army in foreign lands, crown colonies scattered over the earth, and a menacing military system at home—these national calamities are within the early probabilities should Mr. McKinley's venturesome policy in their direction be indorsed by his triumph in November. And then, indeed, would it be too late to turn back. Not because we ought not even then, but because we could not. The power to do so would be gone. The American republic would have passed; the American empire would have come.

Excellent work on the Philippine question is being done by the New Voice, the prohibition organ, published at Chicago, which sent a special correspondent to Manila months ago, and is now publishing his letters. The correspondent is W. E. Johnson. He remained in the archipelago for weeks, traveling from place to place quietly investigating before making any disclosures. Although his mission had to do primarily with the "canteen" abuse, his observations were general. His reports are equally so. And they expose a condition of affairs which should put the Amer-

ican people to shame. Besides his discoveries regarding the "canteen" he marshals a host of other military and administrative scandals, including assassinations of native men, infamous assaults upon native women, official gambling, customhouse swindling, and so on through the well-known catalogue of colonial wickedness. All this is what might be expected from the civilizing processes of subjugation and militarism; and Mr. Johnson's reports in the New Voice verify the expectation.

Mr. Roosevelt's letter accepting the Hanna nomination for vice president recalls the fact that in his life of Benton he described in advance President McKinley's destiny which determines duty. He wrote that "a practical way of looking at a neighbor's land is at the root of the doctrine of manifest destiny." The rebuke was to an earlier species of imperialist, but it applies as well to the species to which Roosevelt himself now belongs.

This letter of Mr. Roosevelt's further confirms a growing impression that Roosevelt cares very little about the truth of any of his statements that promise to be "good enough Morgans until after election." For example, he says that the Louisiana country—

was acquired by treaty and purchase under Jefferson exactly and precisely as the Philippines have been acquired by treaty and purchase under President McKinley.

"Exactly and precisely!" Is it so? Let the treaties answer. The Jefferson treaty provided in the third article that—

the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States.

But the McKinley treaty provides in the ninth article that—

the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United

States shall be determined by the congress.

Nowhere does the latter stipulate for admission into the union. In the Jefferson treaty, then, it was obligatory upon congress to admit the inhabitants of the Louisiana purchase as soon as possible, and to invest them with all the rights of citizens of the United States; whereas, in the McKinley treaty no such obligation is imposed upon congress with reference to the inhabitants of the Philippines. Yet Mr. Roosevelt says that Louisiana was acquired by Jefferson "exactly and precisely" as the Philippines have been acquired by Mr. McKinley.

Mr. McKinley begins his campaign for reelection in a good old fashioned imperial way. Napoleon the Little, when as president of France he prepared the coup d'etat that made him emperor, could not have adopted more appropriate methods than our own President McKinley's. We refer especially to Mr. McKinley's plan of suppressing state papers until the time is ripe to use them as campaign documents, and then giving them out to the press.

His first experiment in this line was made in connection with his letter of acceptance, in which, as a presidential candidate, he quoted from the instructions to the Paris peace commissioners, which he had given as president. The senate asked for those instructions, but asked in vain. It would have been "incompatible with public interests" to disclose them at that time. But it is not incompatible with public interests, though the circumstances are unchanged, to embody them at the present time in a campaign document. Or, rather, to embody them in part. For in his letter Mr. McKinley gives to the public only so much of his instructions to the peace commissioners as he thinks may serve his ends as a candidate for reelection.

By a slip of the pen we were made to refer last week, on page 356, to ex-

Secretary Olney as a member of McKinley's cabinet. Of course, Cleveland's was intended.

This policy of publishing secret documents of the federal departments from time to time as they may seem to be useful for campaign purposes, is followed now by the publication also of Mr. McKinley's instructions to his Philippine commission. The evident object of this publication is to show the American people what a beneficent government Mr. McKinley has aimed to bestow upon the Philippine "tribes." But this act is altogether too transparent. It is not the American people that need to be impressed, except for campaign purposes. The Filipinos are the people who must be convinced of Mr. McKinley's beneficent intentions if we are to have peace in their islands. The proper time, then, for making these instructions public, was when they were issued to the commission, which was nearly six months ago. Publication at that time might have melted the hearts of the Filipinos and brought them submissively under Mr. McKinley's yoke. But at that time Mr. McKinley, the president, concealed them. Instead of showing the Filipinos how kind his intentions were, he put on the front of a conqueror and demanded unconditional surrender—unconditional in all respects except that prompt surrender should be rewarded with pardon for "rebellion." It was not until the political campaign at home had opened that Mr. McKinley, the candidate, thought best to publish this important document. Issued to the commission on the 7th of April last, its contents were kept inviolate as a state secret until September 17, when they were allowed for the first time to see the light of day. Mr. McKinley the candidate then caused Mr. McKinley the president to hand them over to the Associated Press for publication. His purpose is too plain to require much explanation. No reason of state now exists for the publication of those instructions which

did not exist when they were issued. None existed then for their suppression which does not exist now. State reasons, then, do not explain their publication at this time. It can be explained only upon the theory that they were suppressed originally and are published now not for state reasons, but for campaign purposes.

But the disclosure of these instructions to the Philippine commissioners will not serve the campaign purpose for which it was intended. While there is in the set of instructions much phrase-making with a democratic flavor, the whole thing is abhorrently paternalistic. To appreciate this, one has only to remember that the people to whom it most directly relates are civilized Christians, superior to the Cubans, as Admiral Dewey has officially and most emphatically testified, and then to imagine oneself in their place as an object of the paternal solicitude which Mr. McKinley displays in his instructions. In phrase, in tone, in temper, in disingenuous spirit, these instructions are not unlike the admonitions which George III. addressed to his American subjects a century and a quarter ago. If anything more were needed to confirm belief in the imperial purpose of the present administration this set of Philippine instructions furnishes it. From the careless substitution of the phrase "subject to my approval" for "subject to the president's approval," to the final reference to a "sovereignty" under which the Philippine people are placed, but in the administration of which they are not to participate, Mr. McKinley's instructions to his Philippine commissioners make as fine a specimen of paternal imperialism as can be found in the modern history of the most absolute monarchy.

To one point in particular in Mr. McKinley's scheme for the government of our Filipino subjects we wish to call attention as indicating his attitude toward that most sacred of our institutions—trial by jury. It has an important bearing upon home affairs,

in view of the fact that the Hannanized republican party stands for government by injunction. While professing to bestow upon the Filipinos the benefits of those "great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system" and "which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom," Mr. McKinley deliberately withholds the right of trial by jury in criminal cases. Enumerating the fundamental principles and rules which are to be applied to the Filipinos, he paraphrases the amendments to the federal constitution, putting the sixth amendment in this form:

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial; to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

The omission of trial by jury is transparently premeditated. For in the sixth amendment itself, the guarantee of the right to a speedy and public trial, which Mr. McKinley adopts, is supplemented with the more important guarantee, which he ignores, that this trial shall be "by an impartial jury" of the locality. All reference to that sacred guarantee is omitted from the instructions. Mr. McKinley deliberately and with manifest purpose would deny the right of trial by jury to our subjects in the Philippines when accused of crime.

Without considering any other usurpation in Mr. McKinley's set of instructions, that is enough to condemn Mr. McKinley and his Philippine plan. No more vital rule for the maintenance of the great principles of freedom which form the basis of our government is known to our people than the right of trial by jury in criminal cases. Yet of this fundamental Anglo-Saxon right, this right which has always been regarded as the palladium of our liberties, Mr. McKinley deprives our Philippine subjects, while in the same breath professing to bestow upon them all the

safeguards of American liberty! Liberty is a mockery where men accused of crime can be tried without a jury of their neighbors. Though all our liberties were usurped, yet if the right of jury trial in criminal cases remained, we should be amply armed against tyrannies by the usurper, and might recover all the liberties we had lost. But with that great protective right denied, every other right might melt away without hope of recovery. This primary, this simple, this ancient and sacred guarantee of American freedom Mr. McKinley slyly withholds from the Filipinos, while ostentatiously professing to bestow many others. But he is consistent in doing so. It is in perfect accord with the policy of his party in supporting government by injunction, whereby the right of jury trial in criminal cases at home is withdrawn from labor strikers accused of crime. In this government by injunction policy, and in Mr. McKinley's plan of government for the Philippines, may be read the steady purpose of this "syndicated president," as ex-Secretary Olney so aptly terms him, to undermine American liberty at home while setting up American empire abroad.

And now, by what authority of law does President McKinley formulate and put in operation any scheme whatever of civil government for the Philippine islands? That he has certain temporary authority over so much of the Philippine islands as was in American military possession when the Paris treaty took effect, is conceded. He has the authority of commander in chief. But American military possession did not then extend beyond "the city, bay and harbor of Manila." It was so provided in the protocol of peace (see senate document 62, Fifty-fifth congress, third session, page 283, to be had of the government printing office at Washington for 35 cents), signed on the 12th of August, 1898, and in force until the ratification of the peace treaty. Before that treaty had been ratified a local government—the Fili-

pino republic—was in possession of all the territory of Luzon outside of Manila, and, except for a few small villages held by Spanish garrisons, of most of the remainder of the Philippine archipelago. What authority, then, did President McKinley have when the Spanish war ended? As commander in chief of the army and navy, it was his duty to continue a military government for the city, bay, and harbor of Manila until relieved by congress. So much is conceded. But what was his duty as to the remainder of the Philippine territory? Since the treaty had ceded it to the United States, was it his duty or had he the right to take military possession against the armed resistance of a third government which already had possession? Clearly not. To do so was to make war, and the war-making power is not vested in the president, not even for the purpose of enforcing treaties ceding territory. It is vested (by the eleventh paragraph of section 8, article 1 of the constitution) in congress alone. In these circumstances the president had no other duty nor legal authority than to continue to govern Manila by military law as commander in chief, and to await the authority of congress to make war upon the government which held adverse possession of the remainder of the ceded territory. Inasmuch, however, as he did make and still prosecutes a war upon the government which succeeded Spain in possession outside of Manila, without first obtaining authority from congress, what legal right has he over the territory he has conquered? May he govern it in any other way than by military law, temporarily, as commander in chief in possession? May he set up civil government there? May he define the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants? Certainly not—without acting as lawlessly in this respect as he has already done in beginning and prosecuting the war. He has no more right to determine the civil and political rights of the Filipinos under the cession of their

country by the treaty of Paris, than he had without order from congress to wrest their country from them under that cession. For even if we ignore the lawlessness of his previous action in making war without congressional authority, we cannot ignore the fact that the Paris treaty provides in article 9 that—

the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the congress.

Not by the president, observe, but by congress. Yet the president in this set of instructions to the Philippine commissioners (which as president he keeps under lock and key for nearly six months, and as presidential candidate he abstracts from the public files and gives out to the press as a campaign document), usurps the exclusive authority of congress in this respect, and, departing from his military functions, formulates a plan of civil government which deals imperially with both the civil rights and the political status of the Filipinos.

The administration is criticised in some quarters for maintaining an American military government in Cuba pending the organization there of an independent Cuban government. For so long delaying the organization of a Cuban government the administration is certainly culpable, whatever may have been its motives. But it is not culpable for maintaining a military government while the Cubans organize. That course was made necessary by the destruction of the de facto Cuban government that existed when our war with Spain broke out. Here is the primary point of culpability. Upon declaring war with Spain congress recognized this de facto government by declaring that Cuba not only ought of right to be but that she then was independent. But McKinley ignored the Cuban government except to destroy it. After its destruction government by American military authority until a civil government could be established by

the Cubans became a necessity. But the Cubans would have established a civil government long ago had not Mr. McKinley's imperial policy obstructed them with a view to getting hold of Cuba as well as Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The two counts, then, in the indictment against the administration regarding Cuba are that it destroyed the Cuban government, and that it has for nearly two years delayed the organization by the Cubans of a new government.

We are asked to state the exact nature of an order issued by Gen. Brooke, while American military governor of Cuba, which affected the marriage laws of that island. The order in question bears date May 31, 1899, and is as follows:

The military governor of Cuba directs the publication of the following order:

I. Hereafter civil marriage only shall be legally valid. The contracting parties may conform to the precepts of whatever religion they may profess, in addition to the formalities necessary to contract the civil marriage.

II. The officials in charge of the execution of the laws respecting marriage shall not accept as legal the written license or consent of the parent, when it shall have been taken before an ecclesiastical notary, nor shall any such certificate be accepted which is not attested by the civil functionaries.

III. Clergymen of the different religious denominations represented in this island, in performing the ceremony of marriage, shall not be required to take other action than that imposed upon them by their respective religious beliefs; but the performance of this ceremony shall have no civil effect.

IV. All marriages heretofore solemnized in the island of Cuba shall be deemed and adjudged to be valid and the validity thereof shall in no wise be affected by any want of authority in the person solemnizing the same, if consummated with a full belief on the part of the persons so married, or either of them, that they were lawfully joined in wedlock. Provided, That such marriage shall be duly recorded within a period of one year from the date of this order. Record of such marriages shall be made upon presentation of satisfactory proof thereof.

V. The said marriages shall be proved by the presentation of documentary evidence of the same. If no such proof can be furnished, the fact of the marriage may be established in

the form prescribed in article 2001 to 2008, both inclusive, of the law of civil procedure, by the declaration of the functionary performing the ceremony, and of the witnesses thereto; or by such other proofs as the law allows.

VI. The regulations to be observed in recording marriages, under this order will be issued by the secretary of justice and public instruction.

VII. The fee for performing the ceremony of marriage shall be one dollar in United States money, or its equivalent.

VIII. All decrees, orders, laws, or parts thereof in conflict with the provisions of this order, are hereby revoked.

Under the pressure of severe criticism from prominent Catholic sources, and in evident fear of the effect of this order upon the approaching election in the United States, Gen. Wood, the present American military governor of Cuba, has so far rescinded Gen. Brooke's order as to reestablish the civil validity of ecclesiastical marriages.

Every now and again some McKinley orator or paper renews the charge against Aguinaldo of selling out his compatriots to the Spanish for a bribe. This infamously slanderous charge has no other foundation than that Aguinaldo did make a treaty of peace with the Spanish by which they were to grant all the reforms he had been fighting for and to pay him \$800,000 for distribution among his followers, who were to go into exile. The Spanish paid \$400,000, but never paid the balance and never granted the stipulated reforms. These facts we have from Gen. Greene, of our own army, who relates them in a report published in senate document 62, of the Fifty-fifth congress, third session (to be had for 35 cents of the government printing office at Washington), in which he says at page 421:

The governor general, Primo de Rivera, entered into written agreement with Aguinaldo. . . . In brief, it required that Aguinaldo and the other insurgent leaders should leave the country, the government agreeing to pay them \$800,000 in silver and promising to introduce numerous reforms, including representation in the Spanish cortes, freedom of the press, general amnesty for all insurgents, and the expulsion or seculariza-

tion of the monastic orders. Aguinaldo and his associates went to Hong-Kong and Singapore. A portion of the money, \$400,000, was deposited in banks at Hong-Kong, and a lawsuit soon arose between Aguinaldo and one of his subordinate chiefs named Artacho, which is interesting on account of the very honorable position taken by Aguinaldo. Artacho sued for a division of the money among the insurgents according to rank. Aguinaldo claimed that the money was a trust fund, and was to remain on deposit until it was seen whether the Spaniards would carry out their promised reforms, and if they failed to do so, it was to be used to defray the expenses of a new insurrection.

How this \$400,000 actually was used is told at page 328 of the same document 62, by the American consul, Mr. Williams, who reports:

To-day I executed a power of attorney whereby Gen. Aguinaldo releases to his attorneys in fact \$400,000, now in bank in Hong-Kong, so that money therefrom can pay for 3,000 stand of arms bought there and expected here to-morrow.

As these reports are known to every intelligent man who discusses public affairs, it may be reasonably charged that the orator or newspaper that accuses Aguinaldo of having accepted a Spanish bribe is a malicious defamer of Aguinaldo's character and a shameless misleader of his own countrymen.

A most remarkable criminal sentence has been imposed by a San Francisco judge upon a convict. The prisoner had been upon trial for robbery, and the jury convicted him of "an attempt to commit robbery." No such offense is enumerated by the statutes of California in the category of specified penalties; but a general provision of the penal law requires persons convicted of attempts to be sentenced to terms of imprisonment not exceeding half the longest term prescribed for the crime attempted. It happened that the prisoner in the case in question was a professional criminal, who on that account would have been sentenced to life imprisonment had he been convicted of the robbery. Life sentences are, in fact, mandatory in such cases. But as this convict had only attempted the crime, he could be sentenced for only one-half of his life.

Yet he could not be sentenced for a shorter term. It was a Gordian knot, and the judge cut it. Turning to the mortality tables of the life insurance companies, where he ascertained that upon the law of probabilities the prisoner might be expected to live 38 years, he sentenced him to imprisonment for half that period, or 19 years. The case has been appealed and the sentence will very likely be reversed. But what else could the judge have done?

THE FULL DINNER-PAIL.

The indirect insult conveyed in the argument of the full dinner-pail ought to arouse the indignation of every citizen who takes the trouble to think seriously of it.

The full dinner-pail, said Mr. Hanna at Youngstown, is the issue.

What does Mr. Hanna know of the dinner-pail? Does he convey his diamond-back terrapin and extra-dry champagne on his banquet-table in a dinner-pail? Did he ever know what it was to carry a dinner-pail? Would he know whether to use a cork-screw or a can-opener to get at the fullness of the dinner-pail?

These questions may be thought frivolous. Yet if they are examined aright, they are not irrelevant.

The orators and editors who are prating of the dinner-pail, but who have never carried one, are sadly out of touch with the spirit of the American "workingman." Reduced to its final terms, what does the full dinner-pail argument mean? It means "We give you enough to eat. In return, let us do in all other things as we please."

"The full dinner-pail!"

Could any absolute tyrant offer a more inadequate, more degrading argument? It is the argument the slaveholder could have offered to his bondmen in the worst days of slavery this country ever saw. Many a negro of the south will tell you to-day that he has poorer fare and fewer clothes than in the days when he was a chattel. Does that make slavery any the less revolting?

"The full dinner-pail!"

Why there are many years when

even the tsar of Russia can triumphantly point to the fact that his subjects are not starving. Does that argue for the divine right of kings?

"The full dinner-pail!"

Let us blush that any American citizen should consider such an argument fit to submit to fellow Americans. Are we then fallen so low that the only appeal is to the stomach, none to the heart and the head?

O, Hannas, Forakers and Depews! Ye who run no risk of half-full dinner pails, no matter what governmental policy, what failure of crops, what shut-down of factories, what cataclysm overtakes us; verily, ye have your reward! But little can your capon-lined sensibilities know of the metal of men who are acquainted with both the full dinner-pail and the empty. Your pigmy souls cannot comprehend that they would be willing to risk (if risk it were) a scantiness of rations with all the heroism of the men of Valley Forge rather than representative government should perish from the face of the earth, rather than oppression instead of freedom should become the thing which the flag symbols.

"The full dinner-pail!"

Look at the condescending, oligarchical spirit of it. "The masters grant us rations! Support the masters!"

The masters are looking out for us! Are they? Give us a fair field and no favors and we can look out for ourselves.

"Hanna and God have given us prosperity! Vote for Hanna's man, resting assured that he is God's man!" It is impious, of course, to question that Mr. Hanna, his man and the republican party are responsible for the full dinner-pail. It is worse than impious to suppose that, by any possibility, the dinner-pail could be full under another's administration. But even allowing these at least questionable premises, what sort of argument is it which makes its highest appeal to the American workingman merely as a beast of burden who is to be rewarded with a full measure of meal (if he can get it), but who is so devoid of conscience, love of liberty and justice for the oppressed that any men-

tion of them is considered sheer waste of breath?

Should we then have a new flag?

Forty-five dinner-pails in a field of brass as an emblem of our revered rulers and their most salient quality?

Thirteen stripes (well-laid on) to indicate what we deserve if we dare to disagree with the argument of the full dinner-pail?

EDMUND VANCE COOKE.
Cleveland.

NEWS

The anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania is on in full earnest. Last week we reported the causes and development of this gigantic labor conflict, and told of the official call issued on the 12th and fixing Monday the 17th as the date upon which the strike should begin. Between these dates doubts were expressed as to the probabilities of a general observance of the call. The operators predicted that less than 20 per cent. of the men would go out. But when the day for striking arrived these predictions came to nothing and all doubts vanished. Out of 142,000 miners employed in the anthracite region fully 100,000 responded promptly to the call. President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America, has reported that the number who had responded at the date of this writing (September 20) amounts to 126,000.

There are four great territorial divisions in the anthracite coal region, known as the Lackawanna, the Wyoming, the Lehigh and the Schuylkill. In the Lackawanna and the Wyoming region, where 90,000 men were employed, the tie-up is so complete that only one mine, and that a small one, is in operation. In the Lehigh region about 8,000, being half the men employed, have struck. Only in the Schuylkill region, where the employes number some 35,000, did the strike call meet with an unsatisfactory response. But that was only on the first day. Since then several thousand have joined the strikers.

The operators continue to ignore the overtures of the men for friendly arbitration, relying, as some of them unblushingly write to the newspapers, upon the superior power of their wealth. The president of the Dela-

ware & Hudson Coal company, for instance, says that the strike fund is only about \$71,000, which will not support a great strike long; while a director of the Pennsylvania Coal company predicts an early victory for the operators because the strikers lack the resources to carry on a protracted strike, whereas the operators can hold out for at least six months. One of these magnates glosses over his appeal to mere wealth power by assuring the public that "the miners have no grievances." This in the face of a detailed statement of the operators themselves which shows that all the wages of the region average only \$20 a month!

After issuing the strike call, but before the day fixed for striking, the United Mine Workers of America published a general statement of the miners' grievances, which makes some very interesting and important revelations. It states that the average wages of anthracite coal miners has for many years fallen below \$250 annually, while the cost of necessities of life has risen during the same period more than 20 per cent.—thereby in effect reducing wages. Referring to a law of Pennsylvania making 2,400 pounds of coal a miners' ton, it charges that the miners are required nevertheless to produce 2,700 to 4,000 pounds for a ton, and in addition are docked exorbitant sums for impurities. When paid by the car, they are required to furnish much more than a rounded car load. For blasting powder of a grade that can be purchased in the open market for \$1.50 a keg retail and one dollar wholesale, they have \$2.75 per keg deducted from their wages. Unless they deal at the "pluck-me" corporation stores, many of the companies discharge them. They are assessed one dollar a month for a doctor whom the company employs without consulting them, and are required to make this payment whether they need a doctor or not. The hard life resulting from these oppressive conditions compels them to take their young children from school and put them at work in the breakers. And they have been unable to get redress. When they have complained individually, they have been told that they are free to quit work. When they have organized and sent committees, the committees have either been informed that competition makes redress impossible or have been discharged as "agitators." When they

have asked for a general conference and adjustment between all, operators and miners of the region, their request has been completely ignored. And when they have telegraphed the presidents of the great railroad companies who control the anthracite coal fields, proposing arbitration, their messages have been treated with silent contempt. Such are the reasons the strikers give in justification of their strike.

Coincident with the beginning of this strike, Mr. Roosevelt gave out for publication his letter of acceptance as the republican vice presidential candidate. It puts forward prosperity as the great issue of the campaign, declaring in that connection that "under the administration of President McKinley this country has been blessed with a degree of prosperity absolutely unparalleled, even in its previous prosperous history." A discussion of the money question occupies much space in the letter, and some of it is devoted to the question of trusts; but, as with Mr. McKinley's letter, most of it is taken up with a presentation of the Philippine question.

In Colorado the republicans have nominated Frank C. Goudy for governor.

Mr. Bryan's formal letter of acceptance appeared on the 18th. Having dealt fully and exclusively with the Philippine question in his speech at Indianapolis, he makes in his letter but brief reference to that subject, devoting the letter almost wholly to the other questions raised by the platform. But upon each of these he expresses himself directly, though briefly, his entire letter being hardly half as long as Mr. McKinley's. He begins with an emphatic renewal of his pledge, made four years ago, that if elected, in order that he may not be tempted to use the patronage of his office to advance any personal ambitions, he will under no circumstances be a candidate for reelection. His letter then proceeds to discuss in their order trusts, tariffs, corporations in politics, the money question, the election of senators by the people, direct legislation, government by injunction, the blacklist, labor arbitration, the proposed labor cabinet officer, Chinese exclusion, pensions, the Nicaraguan canal, territories, the Cuban question, the reclamation of arid lands, foreign alliances, the

Monroe doctrine, excessive taxation, and the income tax.

In his discussion of the Monroe doctrine, applied as he had in his speech proposed to apply it to the Philippines, Mr. Bryan answers the objection made in Mr. McKinley's letter of acceptance by saying:

The position taken by the republican leaders, and more recently set forth by the republican candidate for the presidency—namely, that we cannot protect a nation from outside interference without exercising sovereignty over its people—is an assault upon the Monroe doctrine, for while this argument is at this time directed against the proposition to give to the Filipinos both independence and protection, it is equally applicable to the republics of Central and South America. If this government cannot lend its strength to another republic without making subjects of its people, then we must either withdraw our protection from the republics to the south of us or absorb them. Under the same plea, that the guardian nation must exert an authority equal to its responsibility, European nations have for centuries exploited their wards, and it is a significant fact that the republican party should accept the European idea of a protectorate at the same time that it adopts a European colonial policy. There is no excuse for the abandonment of the American idea. We have maintained the Monroe doctrine for three-quarters of a century. The expense to us has been practically nothing, but the protection has been beyond value to our sister republics. If a Filipino republic is erected upon the ruins of Spanish tyranny its protection by us will be neither difficult nor expensive. No European nation would be willing for any other European nation to have the islands, neither would any European nation be willing to provoke a war with us in order to obtain possession of the islands. If we assert sovereignty over the Filipinos we will have to defend that sovereignty by force, and the Filipinos will be our enemies; if we protect them from outside interference they will defend themselves and will be our friends. If they show as much determination in opposing the sovereignty of other nations as they have shown in opposing our sovereignty, they will not require much assistance from us.

Mr. Bryan closes his letter of acceptance with a reminder to the people that the various subjects treated in it, "important as each may seem in itself, do not press so imperatively for solution as the question which the platform declares to be the paramount issue in this campaign,"

but can be postponed until "the doctrine that the people are the only source of power is made secure from further attack."

American military affairs in the Philippines are worse. For seven days, according to a dispatch of the 19th from Manila, there has been a distinct increase of Filipino aggressiveness, especially near Manila and along the line of the railroad. On the 17th a serious engagement occurred near Siniloan, on the eastern shore of Laguna bay, between an American force of 90 men and a Filipino force of 1,000. The Americans suffered a loss of 26 wounded, 5 missing and 12 killed. The result of the battle is not reported.

American casualties since July 1, 1898, inclusive of all current official reports given out in detail at Washington to September 19, 1900, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900 (see page 91)	1,847
Killed reported since May 16, 1900	55
Deaths from wounds, disease and accidents reported since May 16, 1900	409
<hr/>	
Total deaths since July 1, 1898	2,311
Wounded	2,255
Captured	10

Total casualties since July 1, 1898	4,576
Total casualties reported last	4,539
Total deaths reported last	2,274

Under date of August 1, a Manila mail dispatch just at hand tells of the problem of insufficient troops. The return of the two years' volunteers must soon begin, and as that time approaches the question of replacing them is becoming in Manila a topic of general discussion. The prevailing idea appears to favor the organization and arming of a native militia force. Steps in that direction have been already taken. Another mail dispatch, received by the postmaster general at Washington and given out for publication on the 13th, transmits two undated proclamations, one issued by President McKinley's Philippine commission, and the other by the Filipino government. The American proclamation promises free transportation home to all Filipino soldiers who surrender their arms, and directs the confiscation of all money and hemp belonging to the Filipino government; the Filipino proclamation announces that for a period of ten days amnesty will

be extended to all Filipino spies in the American service, and declares that the American threats to pursue the Filipinos to the hills are idle because the American forces are short of food and ammunition and have received no reinforcements for many months.

Our affairs in Cuba are gradually coming to a head. The elections, under the authority of our war department, for delegates to a convention to be held at Havana in November for the purpose of adopting a constitution for Cuba, took place on the 15th. They were wholly undisturbed by rioting or violence of any kind. The votes cast numbered 186,240, with the following result:

- Pinar del Rio, three nationalists.
- Havana, six nationalists and two republicans.
- Matanzas, three republicans and one democrat.
- Santa Clara, six republicans and one independent.
- Puerto Principe, two nationalists.
- Santiago de Cuba, six nationalists and one republican.

The chief difference in principle between the nationalist and the republican parties is that the latter stands for a federation of the provinces, and, while favoring independence for the island, does not push that question to the front; whereas the former stands for making of Cuba a compact nation, and insists upon early independence. In the elections, therefore, the principle of nationality and early independence is asserted. As the republican party is composed mostly of whites and the national party is very generally supported by negroes, the former is locally known also as the white and the latter as the black party; and recent dispatches indicate that owing to the triumph of the blacks, the whites may advocate annexation.

From our own affairs to British. London is guessing over the movements of President Kruger, of the South African republic. The object of his change of base to Portuguese territory, as reported last week, while his countrymen still carry on their warfare, is a mystery. Lord Roberts reports that Kruger has formally resigned the presidency, and he threatens drastic measures against guerrilla fighters. The resignation is denied from Holland by the Boer envoys. They explain that the executive council has full authority to authorize Kruger's departure, and that the vice president acts during his absence.

The envoys have also issued an appeal to the nations for intervention, in which they accuse the British of proclaiming the annexation of the Transvaal so as to enable them "to prosecute the war in, an inhuman manner, contrary to international law, and to mercilessly pursue as 'rebels' exhausted combatants hitherto recognized as belligerents." Holland has offered Kruger passage to Europe on a war vessel, and Kruger has accepted.

While Kruger has been making his way to Europe upon a mysterious mission, the Boers have continued their stubborn resistance to the British advance. Lord Roberts reported heavy fighting on the 12th near Barberton (the southern terminus of the branch railroad from the Lorenzo Marques line), and the British occupation of that place on the 14th. At last accounts fighting was in progress at Komatipoort, which is on the Transvaal-Portuguese frontier, about 50 miles west of Lorenzo Marques; and Gen. Viljoen, who has succeeded Botha in supreme command, was reported to be moving northward in the direction of Hectorspruit with a force of 3,000 men.

Taking advantage of the South African situation the British ministry have decided to dissolve parliament and go at once to the people. Elections in England at this time of year are extraordinary. It is supposed that they are called now because the Tories realize that jingo sentiment is subsiding, and also because the vote can now be taken upon the old registration. There will be a new registration in January. Since most of the voters who have moved since the last registration are probably liberals, the Tories being wealthier as a rule, and therefore more stationary in their abode, it is believed that an election now would be to the advantage of the Tories, as well on account of the disfranchisement of liberals under the old registration as of the rapidly declining war feeling. So the queen's consent to dissolution on the 25th has been obtained. Writs for a new election will be issued at the time of the dissolution, and voting will begin October 1. The new parliament will assemble November 1. A Tory majority is confidently expected. The Tories themselves claim that they will have a larger majority than they have in the present house, which is 128, the ministry being supported by

396 members against an opposition of 271. The Tories will go to the people with the "khaki issue," in justification of the war. The liberals will evade that issue, and especially in London will make the taxation of land values their principal ground of contest.

Last in the current week's batch of news, but by no means of least importance, are the reports of the Chinese situation. Germany has probably shattered the prospects of a peaceable adjustment through the immediate withdrawal of the powers from Peking, as proposed by Russia and agreed to by France and the United States, and by subsequent negotiations through Li Hung Chang. In a note to the other powers, published on the 18th, Germany demands—

as preliminary to entering upon diplomatic relations with the Chinese government that those persons must be delivered up who have been proved to be the original and real instigators of the outrages against international law which have occurred at Peking. The number of those who were merely instruments in carrying out the outrages is too great. Wholesale executions would be contrary to the civilized conscience, and the circumstances of such a group of leaders cannot be completely ascertained. But a few whose guilt is notorious should be delivered up and punished. The representatives of the powers at Peking are in a position to give or bring forward convincing evidence. Less importance attaches to the number punished than to their character as chief instigators or leaders. The government believes it can count on the unanimity of all the cabinets in regard to this point, inasmuch as indifference to the idea of just atonement would be equivalent to indifference to a repetition of the crime. The government proposes, therefore, that the cabinets concerned should instruct their representatives at Peking to indicate those leading Chinese personages from whose guilt in instigating or perpetrating outrages all doubt is excluded.

This note makes an issue over which the long expected and dreaded quarrel between the powers may break out. Shall the allied troops withdraw from Peking while their governments negotiate a peace treaty through Li Hung Chang, as Russia proposes and France and the United States agree? Or shall the capital of China be occupied indefinitely by hostile forces, as Germany demands and Great Britain undoubtedly intends? That is the question that now confronts the powers.

NEWS NOTES.

—New York bankers on the 14th purchased \$20,000,000 of the new four per cent. bonds of the German empire.

—Senator Helme, of Michigan, a prominent single tax advocate of that state, was unanimously nominated for reelection on the 17th by the democrats of the Fifth district.

—Dwight D. Perkins, of the small parks commission of Chicago, sailed for Europe on the 15th to make a study of the park and public playground systems of London and Paris.

—The twenty-sixth annual convention of the National Wholesale Druggists' association opened at the Auditorium, Chicago, on the 18th. The convention passed resolutions denouncing the continuance of the war revenue taxes.

—Rear Admiral Montgomery Sicard, United States navy, died of apoplexy at his summer home at Westerville, N. Y., on the 14th, aged 64 years. He was in command of the North Atlantic squadron at the time of the destruction of the Maine.

—Gen. John A. McClernand, of civil war fame, and commander of the famous McClernand brigade, which fought valiantly under Grant at Shiloh and in other western campaigns, died at his home in Springfield, Ill., on the 19th. He was 88 years old.

—The eighth annual conference of the National Municipal League for Good City Government opened a three days' session at Milwaukee on the 19th. Bird S. Coler, of New York; Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, and other prominent civic reformers were in attendance.

—President Loubet of France made his award on the 16th in the boundary dispute between Colombia and Costa Rica, in which Colombia claimed the western coast of Costa Rica and a large slice of Nicaragua, including the western mouth of the projected canal. The award is favorable to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and places the entire Nicaraguan canal within Nicaraguan boundaries beyond further dispute.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for August, as given by the August treasury sheet, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold, and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$103,232,479	\$61,626,005	\$41,606,474 exp.
G	18,066,372	3,099,857	14,966,515 exp.
S	6,486,899	4,214,573	2,272,326 exp.
	\$127,815,750	\$68,940,435	\$58,875,315 exp.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1900, to and including August 31, 1900, as given by the treasury reports, were as follows

(M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$203,679,980	\$125,162,268	\$78,517,712 exp.
G	21,335,531	8,044,621	13,290,910 exp.
S	11,400,567	7,525,606	3,874,961 exp.
	\$236,412,068	\$140,732,485	\$95,679,583 exp.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States since the foundation of the government (gold, silver and merchandise), as shown by the treasury reports to August 31, 1900, were as follows:

[The upper row of figures represents merchandise to date, inclusive of gold and silver down to 1821; the lower row represents gold and silver from 1821 to date.]

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
\$37,376,531,864	\$33,789,833,037	\$3,586,698,827 exp.	
3,632,179,314	2,163,416,360	1,478,762,954 exp.	

\$41,008,711,178 \$36,943,249,397 \$5,065,461,781 exp.

—The treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the federal government for August, shows the following:

Receipts for August:

Tariff	\$21,384,494.53
Int. Rev.	26,054,785.99
Misc.	2,249,525.36
	\$49,688,755.88

Expenses for August:

Civil and Misc.	\$11,869,732.04
War	15,231,700.11
Navy	6,456,563.80
Indians	991,282.11
Pensions	13,780,799.06
Interest	3,170,081.89
	\$50,500,198.51

Deficiency

Receipts, July 1 to Aug. 31:	
Tariff	\$41,186,766.39
Int. Rev.	53,615,424.89
Misc.	4,841,725.20
	\$99,643,916.48

Expenses, July 1 to Aug. 31:

Civil and Misc.	\$24,073,291.38
War	34,076,824.58
Navy	10,776,227.78
Indians	1,947,726.70
Pensions	25,697,142.35
Interest	7,909,637.32
	\$104,479,851.61

Deficiency

	\$4,835,935.13
--	----------------

MISCELLANY

THE POEM WE WERE LOOKING FOR.

Mister Editur: Thares a naybor of mine that dont like Bryan's ideas on silver and he just hates McKinleys actions in fighting them poor Fillpernas who are tryin to get their independence like Sam Adams and James Otis and them other rebels who fit King George when he tried to assimilate them with powder and shot along back in 1776. He gin his vote for Palmer and Buckner four years ago and feels sorter bunkode now that Palmer is shoutin for McKinley. He says darn ef he dosent vote for Bryan silver and all this time, for even of an all-fired panic did come, it would only be like a fit of sea-sickness; but imperiallism, says he, is drivin the ship o state full head on the rocks.

Hes writ some rimes which sound putty good to me but the newspaper here wont print em. I told him it want edzackly safe to say there was a mckinley panic comin along before a grate while because that might hurry it up. My wife who is Christian sience says that the "evil thought" ought not to be spoke, but nabor G. says when you see fellers undermin a building and it begins to topple, you dont make it

fall by pintin out the fact and rasing a shout of warnin. So I said, "perhaps Mr. Post out to Chicago will put your piece in his Public; he understands such things. Ef he dont twont be no harm tryin. I guess his offis has a waist paper basket." Saugus Centre, Me. EZRA STILES.

WHEN BRYAN TAKES THE CHAIR.

I didn't vote for Bryan when he ran four years ago,
 For I took no stock in silver, as all the neighbors know;
 "The cross of gold and crown of thorns" I thought a figure cheap,
 Though it captured the convention and the shouters in a heap;
 I hated all protection, so I couldn't vote for Mac,
 And I threw away my ballot, but I wish I had it back.
 Now I worry not for silver, though it streaks with gray my hair,
 And I'm working to put Bryan in the presidential chair.

Man is more than precious metals, and the dollar piece may hold
 Its fifty cents of silver or its hundred cents of gold;
 You can make financial blunders and get punished in your purse,
 But to cut the rights of man in two is infinitely worse.
 It takes a century or more to build republics right,
 And then some tyrant's tool may draw their life-blood in a night.
 McKinley's faithlessness appalls and makes us lift a prayer
 For William Jennings Bryan in the presidential chair.

"New occasions teach new duties," Mr. Lowell aptly said,
 And his words for truth and freedom still are ringing though he's dead;
 Another issue calls for vote; the sacred rights of man
 Are equal in the Philippines, in Cuba and Japan;
 But William of the White House says the brown men must obey,
 That the famous Declaration like a dog has had its day;
 He predicts an awful panic and a monumental scare
 With William Jennings Bryan in the presidential chair.

He's a right to fear a panic for he built one to explode
 In the somewhat distant future, and he sees it on the road;
 The trusts are leaking water and the market isn't right,
 It has chronic indigestion and has lost its appetite;
 The bills to pay for murder and for stealing in the East
 Are demanding satisfaction for the riot and the feast.
 It's a cute and clever racket to transfer the guilty share
 To the rival who is running for the presidential chair.

But the oft-debuded people will not always be his dupes,
 They know the man of Canton's curves and understand his loops;
 The markets mind great nature's laws, as do the stars and sun,
 Their basis honesty and right, as sure as rivers run.

We'll take like men our medicine, if 'twill the nation purge
 Of Hanna's crowd, and plant them deep with proper funeral dirge.
 For special privilege must go, and it had best prepare
 When William Jennings Bryan takes the presidential chair.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EXPANSION AND IMPERIALISM.

Expansion means the taking in of additional territory under the constitution, with the consent of the people thereof, which can be, and is to be, built up into coequal states, possessing the same privileges of representation in the national government as the older states. Expansion, therefore, is not a question touching fundamental principles in our government. It is not at issue in this campaign. As a question involving a particular annexation, as of Canada or Mexico, with the consent of the people of the territory to be annexed, it is to be discussed on its merits, apart from the bottom principles of government, and in consideration chiefly of the character of the people to be annexed, the location of territory and the wisdom or unwisdom of placing no limits upon the boundaries of a free nation of coequal states.

Imperialism is a vitally different matter. It means the forcible annexation of peoples to be held outside of the constitution and governed by arbitrary power, without any responsibility whatever to the subject colony. This is the course of the administration respecting the Philippines and Porto Rico, and the imperialism of the czar's government is not more pronounced and absolute than this. The enlargements of United States territory in the past have been of territory mostly uninhabited and without opposition where inhabited, and territory which has either been already raised into statehood or is on the way thereto. The present annexations are by force, of territory more densely populated than our own, and territory to be held in a state of vassalage outside of the constitution. That was expansion; this is imperialism.—Springfield Republican.

GENUINE MISSIONARIES.

With exceeding pleasure we record the existence of a successful missionary body which does not depend on 13-inch guns. The China Inland Mission (British) expressly directs its missionaries to refrain from appealing to British consuls to "demand the vindication of real or supposed rights;" the rules add: "Under no circumstances may any missionary

on his own responsibility make any written appeal to British or other foreign authorities;" justice must be sought from native rulers. The China Inland Mission has been in existence 35 years, and in that time has planted 125 stations in ten of the interior provinces. Its missionaries have gone far beyond the reach of gunboats; yet in all this time only one missionary has lost his life through the violence of the people. On the other hand, British consuls have testified in the most unmistakable terms to the value of the work of the Inland Mission in conciliating the natives, so that they observe a more friendly attitude towards all foreigners.

It will be seen that there are two kinds of missionaries in China. Those who take the risk of preaching the Gospel as did the early apostles, and rely upon kindness instead of force, succeed in conciliating the natives. Those who are citizens first and preachers second, who clamor for gunboats at the first provocation, bring their religion into contempt and arouse hatred of the foreigner.

There is in this a lesson for the militant preachers like Bishop Fowler, who want to involve us in war with Christian Filipinos so that their particular brand of Christianity will have military protection and a semi-official indorsement; and likewise want an invasion of China. The Fowler-Abbott type, however, have in mind the success of Hawaiian missionaries, who gave the Gospel to the heathen and gobbled all his land in return. It is only for the protection of exploiters that military force is needed.—Justice, of Wilmington, Del.

THE "ONE-TRIBE" FICTION.

It is pretty small business for Mr. McKinley in his letter of acceptance and Mr. Roosevelt in his speeches to speak slightly of those who are struggling for independence in the Philippines as "one tribe" and to say or assume that the great masses of the inhabitants long to be American subjects.

When they talk in this style they do not pay a high compliment to American intelligence. They assume that when they speak of a "tribe" the people will think of a tribe of wild American Indians, roaming about with no fixed habitations, and in every respect degraded savages.

Official reports which Mr. McKinley has given out for publication, and from which alone he derives his information, show that these people had churches, schools and a civil govern-

ment to which willing obedience was rendered before Mr. McKinley asserted American sovereignty over them.

The chairman of his first commission, President Schurman, publicly stated in Chicago that the representatives of this "tribe" framed and adopted a constitution which his commissioners considered good enough to recommend to the president as better than any they could frame for the government of the "tribe."

Gen. Otis in a report given to the public by Mr. McKinley said that "for three and one-half months Admiral Dewey with his squadron and the insurgents on land kept Manila tightly bottled."

It took a pretty good "tribe" to do the bottling on the land side, utterly destroying the Spanish power in Luzon and elsewhere in the archipelago and at the same time maintain a peaceful and well-ordered government which an American commission could not improve upon and whose authority was not disputed, but, on the contrary, was cordially supported.

It took a pretty vigorous tribe to maintain that government for many months against the most energetic efforts of an American army to overthrow it and to keep that army, swelled in number to 60,000, busy to the present moment.

The testimony of all competent and unbiased witnesses, including many officers of our army, goes to show that the masses of the islanders, so far from being over-awed by that terrible "tribe," are heartily in accord with it and are continually giving it their best support and doing so willingly.

It is preposterous to represent that one "tribe," comprising only a small minority of the people, not only over-awes the great mass of the inhabitants, but makes it impossible for our garrisons to stir outside of their posts except in strong force.

The one notorious fact that we have 60,000 men in the Philippines and that the commander protests that he can spare none of them brands the "one-tribe" story as fiction of the most transparent sort.—Editorial in the Chicago Chronicle of Sept. 17.

THE TALE OF A BAFFLED CORRESPONDENT.

Three correspondents of a Chicago paper found themselves in Tampa, ready to sail on the expedition which was to go to Santiago, but whose destination at that time was veiled in the most turgid darkness. These corre-

spondents had no code, and if they had it would have been of no avail, for code words were not allowed unless the censor was supplied with a copy of the code and knew exactly what was meant by the code words, the same as if the message was written out in plain English. These three correspondents knew that their paper was anxious to know when the expedition was to sail, but of course not one word of any information of this kind could be sent.

Finally one of the correspondents hit upon a brilliant scheme. He sent this message: "Smith and Thompson are still at Port Tampa." By this he meant to convey the information to his paper that the expedition was still at Port Tampa, as Smith and Thompson were the other two correspondents who were to go on the transports, and their being still at Port Tampa argued that the expedition was also there. The next day he sent this message: "Smith and Thompson may leave tomorrow." The censor in Tampa scented nothing, and the messages were allowed to go over the wire. The next day the expedition started, and this message was sent: "I am not able to handle all this work alone. Smith and Thompson are not helping me now." This message went through. The transports started, but information arriving in regard to the Spanish fleet cruising in the path of the transports, the expedition returned to Port Tampa, and the faithful envoy at Tampa sent this message: "Smith and Thompson still at Port Tampa."

The correspondent was thrown into a nervous state bordering on apoplexy that night by the receipt of this message from his managing editor: "Quit wiring bulletins about the maneuvers of Smith and Thompson. They have their orders to go on the transports and will attend to their own business, and you should do the same. What we want from you is full and complete accounts of when the expedition will sail, and where it will go."

The correspondent almost wept. The managing editor might as well have wired for information as to the age of the oldest inhabitant of Mars.

But the correspondent thought that in time the office must catch the significance of the messages, so the next day he wired again: "Smith and Thompson are sick in Port Tampa. May be able to get out, however, tomorrow."

To which the managing editor replied: "Smith and Thompson are able to take care of themselves. If you cannot obey orders you may return."

Then the correspondent gave it up,

but after the war was all over he explained it all to the managing editor, and the managing editor said: "O, why didn't you say so."—Chicago Record.

ARE WE FULFILLING THE GOLDEN RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES?

The discussion of our duty in the Philippines reminds one of the alleged chapter on "Snakes in Ireland" in Goldsmith's *Natural History*—"There are no snakes in Ireland."

Let us have done with cant and benevolent dissimulation. We have been exploiting each other until almost every franchise to tax the people is given away under one form or another. Now we want other people to rob. For this purpose, some of us being misled by the cry of liberty, we seized Cuba and Porto Rico, and have already in Cuba enormous grants and other thefts for the privileged classes.

For this purpose we bought the Filipino people "on the hoof" at two dollars a head, and have so far slaughtered 30,000 of them, at a cost of about \$6,250 a head. The man that works pays all that.

We, the classes that live on the workers, we want foreign possessions—I know the plutocrat. I have hunted, fished, worked, slept and conspired with him long enough to know his thoughts. It is hard to find places for our high-born boys—hard to find places even at ten dollars a week. Governorships, commissionerships, secretaryships, judgeships in "our new possessions" will suit them very well.

It has always been the policy of every country ruled by an energetic minority to annex foreign domains for the benefit of the rising generation of sons. Even now we are shipping them out in transports to order you about, as colonels, lieutenants and captains of the various murder clubs. Yet 1,900 years ago One said: "A new commandment give I unto you; that ye love one another"—the poor brown man, 8,000 miles away, just as much as our wives and children, for "we are of one flesh." And until we learn that we are all children of a common Father and that, therefore, the injury of any one is the concern of all, we ought to suffer the miseries that we think we are inflicting only upon "another."

I appeal to you, Americans, in the name of righteousness: Are we in the Philippines fulfilling the golden rule? Are we not in every way doing the exact contrary of it?

Drunkenness, robbery, incendiarism, murder. These are the sweet fruits of war—these are the message of the

Prince of Peace that we, urged on by priests and ministers, bring to the heathen. Our missionaries and our advance guard of civilization have hopelessly failed in China after 100 years of trial. Send them, backed by Mausers, to the Philippines to aid us in committing this great crime with which we end the century.

And now I appeal even to you, that glorify everything that is "smart," that believe in nothing but policy.

You think, "if a man can get a farm for nothing he is a fool if he does not take it; so let us take the islands while we may." Perhaps; but that is not the case here. You don't own a square foot of the United States; how much of Luzon are you likely to own? You will get it for your masters.

If your boss could get a farm for nothing that you were to pay for would you think it smart for you to vote it to him? That is what you are doing now.

Before the Cuban war we reformers told the Central Labor union that the soldiers they pay to shoot their Spanish brethren would be used to murder them, and the representative of labor was angry; but since then labor has felt the horrors of the Coeur d'Alene and will feel more horrors of the same sort.

Yes. Take the Philippines! Philippine labor is cheap and will nicely reduce your wages, and Philippine lives are cheaper—a brown regiment will be as efficient in Chicago as a black one was in Idaho. This will happen, for consequence is inevitable, and "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

Mr. Bryan has well summarized the reasons for our "forcible annexation" of the Philippine islands. "There is money in it." "We are in it," and "God is in it." "There is money in it"—for those that already own you. "We are in it"—with our lives and our pocket-books—and the sooner we get out the better for us. "God is in it," visiting the iniquities of us fathers upon the children even unto the third and fourth generation.

It is our concern—you and I pay the taxes, the sinews of war, and we are guilty of the innocent lives sacrificed for their love of liberty in the far-off islands of the sea.

Oh, American men and women, hear before it is too late, the blood of the little brown men that crieth from the ground of the military murder camps of Luzon: "Thou art thy brother's keeper."—Boltón Hall, in the Chicago Record.

THE ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY.

An address delivered by Eltweed Perry before the Get-Together club of Brooklyn, N. Y., on January 22, 1900.

We are all nominally democrats here—not in the party sense of that word, but in its etymological and true meaning. We are all democrats at least in name and nominal belief. We believe in a government of, by and for the people, to use Lincoln's sonorous phrase, which was used before him by Webster, and before Webster by the forefathers. We take the name lightly on our lips. We listen to Fourth of July orations, and we applaud.

But alas! like too many of our beliefs, it is often a lip service only. When it comes to a test, we see good and valid reasons for not living democracy. We think our own opinions, the opinions of our class, should be the dominant and ruling ones. How I hate that word "class!" We have classes in this country. Would to God we had none! We around this table belong to the educated, the possessing, the dominant class. We are on top. And because we are on top, there is developed in us most fully that outward damning hypocrisy of a lip service to democracy, a hand-clapping service to it, while at heart we believe that our class should rule, that the educated should direct, that we should possess, that we should enjoy—yes, that we should enjoy \$1.25 dinners. I would there were no classes. That there are classes is a fact undeniable, and that fact is proof positive of this hypocrisy. If the belief in democracy were real, vital, living, there would be no classes; there would be a brotherhood. The fact of classes is a proof, not only of the deadening sin of hypocrisy subtly spreading and corroding the heart of the upper classes, the educated classes, the ruling classes, the classes to which we belong, the dollar and a quarter dinner class, but it is also proof of the ignorance and apathy of the lower classes, the ruled classes, the unawakened classes, the great mass of the people. But let us not

Make amends for the sin we are inclined to
By condemning the sin we have no mind to,

and feel a sense of satisfaction in this ignorance and apathy of the mass of the people. They are not awake. They are not fed, nourished, educated, drawn out. Theirs is underdevelopment, and not sin.

The one sin which Christ seemingly never forgave, which he rebuked with scathing scorn, which he denounced in unmeasured terms, is the sin of the

class to which you and I belong, the sin of hypocrisy, the sin of dishonesty, the sin of saying we are democrats and not living it. Sins of the body, no matter how foul, sins of passion and violence, no matter how brutal, sins of ignorance and apathy, no matter how deadly, received forgiveness at his hands. The Magdalenes, the publican, the soldier, the mob at his death, were pitied, prayed over and forgiven. The Pharisee drawing aside his robes lest they be defiled by touch of publican and sinner, is pilloried for ages in words that scorch and burn. There is a good reason for this. Phariseism, hypocrisy, dishonesty, profession without practice, atrophy the heart, dry up the fountains of brotherhood, shrivel the life, blind the moral sight, and is educational and intellectual paralysis. Other sins injure the life; this kills it. Its death is like the chill of freezing which wraps the suffering as in a robe with the sleep of satisfaction. As President Thwing once said:

For the scholar not to believe in the people is intellectual and moral suicide.

A sense of this, rarely argued out and formulated, but none the less real in the hearts of the masses, is what often renders nugatory benevolent attempts of the classes. As Lowell says:

The gift without the giver is bare.

I have often heard the remark in labor meetings that what we want is not charity, but justice. One of the great reasons why the image of Christ is treasured in the hearts of the masses is that he was not born rich, to give gifts and endowments from above; but as a peasant, as one of them on the same level, and he gave himself.

A sense of this, mistily formulated but growing in the hearts of the classes, is the real underlying reason for this meeting and hundreds of other such meetings. Through the blinding mists of the hypocrisies and prejudices of our class, the ruling class, the educated class, we are striving to catch sight of the ideals of democracy, and, alas! too feebly as yet, are we striving to realize those ideals in our daily life.

As Vida D. Scudder says:

To really believe and accept democracy with the solemn consecration that may mean sacrifice, is the most tremendous test of faith in God and man and in man's power to attain the God-like that has ever been imposed on a helpless humanity. Belief in democracy is the last demand of idealism.

This is to be the touchstone of the politics of the twentieth century, the real, living belief in democracy.

Do you believe in a God who has made but a few, the elect, to be saved, and has damned uncounted millions—the God of Calvin and of the eighteenth century, the God of mere power? Ah, no! That kind of a God has gone with all thinking men. But you do not yet believe in a God immanent over all mankind and working in all their hearts by the subtle power of love to reproduce himself, and whose ways and thoughts are not imaged by one man or by one class of men, even if it is the superior class to which we belong. As Mazzini says:

There is something greater, more divinely mysterious than all great men, and that is the human race which includes them, the thought of God which stirs within them, and which the whole human race collectively can alone accomplish.

Belief in democracy is not only the last demand of idealism, but anything else is absolutely inconsistent with the ideal of the immanent, loving God, who broods in the hearts of all his creatures, not of a class, but of all, who effectuates his purposes not through special life and ability given to one class and that the class which is on top, but through the love and purpose which stirs and moves in the hearts of all the people. We have done with kings, by the grace of God. We do not believe in their rule, at least nominally. But in its place too many of us have substituted class rule, "Dei Gratia." The idea of the rule of the superior class is simply a change of form of the doctrine of kings by the grace of God; it is not a change of substance, and it is utterly inconsistent with the ideal of the immanent, loving God. This is the modern, the growing idea, the great contribution of the last half of the nineteenth century to the thought of the world. As Mrs. Besant says:

The faith which is built on humanity is faith founded on a rock. All that we need is courage, prudence and faith—faith above all which dares to believe that justice and love are not impossible.

History is formed in the brain of man. The really great events are the births of ideas; these take place not in the councils of princes or the cabinets of presidents, but in the hearts of the masses. The idea of the immanent, universally brooding and universally loving God has been widely sown. Apparently it has lain dormant, but like the seed in the ground, it is germinating. As it grows it will effectuate in a democracy which will be a true brotherhood. It will slough off these other forms of king rule and class rule. It may retain the outside form, but if so, it will then vitalize

them with the spirit of democracy, just as Great Britain is nominally a monarchy, and yet in many things is more of a democracy than we are.

Our present system is aristocratic. We choose our supposedly best to make laws and rule over us. In England they choose the supposedly best for their upper house by heredity. In this country we choose our supposedly best by election. Do we even get the best to rule over us?

Ours is a government by law and not by edict. As long as it is such, the lawmaking power is the supreme power. The executive enforces it. The judiciary interprets it. The executive often oversteps its bounds by issuing ordinances, and the judiciary by false interpretations and the creation of precedents. But these are abuses of the executive and judicial functions which time and effort will remedy. But the law is supreme, and the creators of the law are the real rulers of the country. Our common councils, legislatures and congress, with the executive veto, which is a real legislative function, though given to the executive, are the real crucial points in our political system. They really reign. Because frequently changed, they are inefficient. Because vested with irresponsible power, they are almost always corrupted. But this does not make them the less our rulers, but the more our bad rulers and responsible for the varied evils of our time.

The keynote of the twentieth century is democracy, full-orbed democracy—the rule of the people by themselves. The strategic point of attack is the place where that ruling is done, the making of the laws. "How?" you ask. That is where Direct Legislation comes in. It is very simple. In small communities it is that all the people make the laws to govern themselves, as is done in the New England town meeting, which has spread to many other rural parts of our country. This is done and has been done successfully for generations. In communities too large to have all the people gather together for common deliberation it is done by infusing new vitality and life into the old, highly valued and largely useless right of petition.

By the referendum no law goes into effect under a reasonable time, say, in the state of New York, for 60 days. If during that time a reasonable minority, say, 10,000 voters, sign a petition for its reference to the people, it is held over till the next election, when all the people vote on it, a majority enacting or defeating it. This

transfers the power of veto to the people. It enables the people to defeat bad laws. It is negative, preventive, and only half and the least important half of direct legislation.

By the initiative, if you want a law, you draw it up properly, and if you can get a fair minority of the voters, say, 10,000 in New York state, to sign a petition for it, it would go to the legislature, where it would take precedence of all other business. The legislature could do anything with it that it wished, pass, amend or reject it. But if they did not pass, as petitioned, it would go to a vote of the people at the next election, a majority enacting or rejecting it. Thus the people could obtain what they want. These two constitute direct legislation.

We are already using both sporadically and frequently. Every constitutional amendment is submitted to the referendum. In the Direct Legislation Record for December, 1899, are chronicled 51 local referendums, some of them involving millions of dollars. Almost without exception they have worked satisfactorily. But these sporadic referendums coming from above down, from the ruling classes to the people, are but experiments, and cannot give one-tenth of the satisfaction of real direct legislation, where the demands for laws rise from the people, express their needs and aspirations, and settle living issues. At present the referendums that we have are ambiguous and concern secondary matters; when the people can really speak through complete direct legislation, then real, vital, important questions will be brought up and settled.

In its essence what is direct legislation? It is trust on a gigantic scale. It is faith in the whole people worked into an institution and a systematic method. It is not only faith in the people, but it is more, it is faith in God, in an immanent, loving God, who is ever brooding in the hearts and minds of all mankind, and making them fit to decide for themselves what is best for themselves. Complete democracy is a corollary of the highest and noblest doctrine of God. We cannot really and truly believe in a God who is love without believing in the people through whom that God works.

The surely soon adoption of direct legislation marks the dividing line between the stumbling, swaddled childhood of the race, and a consciousness of its stalwart, free manhood. When we have it, our nation can stretch its free hands to high heaven and know

that it is free to act. It marks the coming of an organic social consciousness of the freedom of the community's will. As each person here grew toward the end of youth and drew nigh to manhood, there dawned, perhaps suddenly, a consciousness that he was an independent, free being, separate and distinct from every other being. Such a consciousness is coming to our body politic. Direct legislation is the means by which that consciousness may express and effectuate itself. When had, it will react on that consciousness strengthening and perfecting it. It is the ultimate of democracy, the application of brotherhood and equality to the supreme function of our body politic, the law-making function. It is a seizing of the strategic point in the struggle of the masses for equality, and the brotherhood of which equality is the outward symbol. That is the reason the working men, the trade unions, the farmers all over the country, have so almost unanimously approved of direct legislation. They are wiser than many of the so-called educated classes. Much of our education is simply a weighting with book-learning, and not real wisdom. I have never yet spoken in an audience of the masses without approval of direct legislation by 95 per cent. of them.

He who advocates it, and shows his advocacy by something more than lip-service, cannot be accused of that damnable class hypocrisy of a distrust of the common people of whom the great Lincoln once said, "God must have loved them, He made so many of them;" of a lack of faith in an immanent God, loving equally all His children, and developing Himself through them all; of a disbelief that man is made in the image of God, and that all things work together for good to them that fear Him. The believer in direct legislation is the optimist who because of his faith and hope is able to construct. The constructive forces of the future lie with us.

A North side commuter tells this among other stories of his recent trip across the water: While in England he attended a country fair where a showman was exhibiting a dwarf. A bucolic spectator denounced the show as a humbug, saying: "Why, your dwarf is nearly as big as I am, and I'm not a small man." "That's just it," blandly said the showman; "it's the biggest dwarf in the world."—Chicago Chronicle.

THE STRIKE.

We struck and we beg no pardon for a single thing we did;
Our acts were all in the open and never our hand was hid.
We struck but for living wages, for a chance to better our life;
We struck for our hungry children, for the sake of a loving wife.
We lost, yet oh, what a lesson! Our loss may still be our gain.
Our hands are tied and we're losers till we have broken the chain.
And after all it is foolish to strike for a crumb of bread,
When the fruit of our toil is ours, if we only dared to tread
In the path that leads to freedom, straight over the private soil
Of a land usurper claiming a share in our daily toil.
We're cowards, and let us admit it until we can stand alone,
Daring and doing for justice, taking what should be our own.
The slave is not worth the saving who fawns at his master's feet;
The brave are surely the worthy and fittest far to succeed.
When we are deserving, O brothers, we'll rise as a man, not before;
And justice shall be forever and master and slave no more.
It's not in a land supernal, but here 'mid battle and fray
Where the "kingdom of heaven" follows the dawn of a better day.
—W. J. Martin, in the *Cleveland World*.

Florida—Those Connecticut Yankees are very ingenious, but so impracticable. This morning I was reading of a New Haven man who has invented a process by which an unabridged Bible may be compressed into a piece of lead no larger than a medium-sized marble. Now, of what practical benefit is such a fool scheme?

Wyoming—You're dull. Those pieces of lead will serve a twofold purpose when they are shot into our Filipino friends.

G. T. E.

"No," said the practical politician, "we don't want him figuring in the campaign."

"But he is exceedingly well informed."

"I doubt it. He has put in all his time studying the tariff and finance and the United States constitution. He doesn't know anything about politics."—Washington Star.

"Does the constitution follow the flag?" shouted the eloquent spell-binder.

"Mine didn't," coughed the emaciated color sergeant from the Philippines.

G. T. E.

"How do you buy your ice here?"
"Well, we buy it by the damp spot on the sidewalk, but we pay for it by the hundred pounds."—Chicago Tribune.

BOOK NOTICES.

Basil A. Bouroff, a graduate student of the University of Chicago, puts forth a book on "The Impending Crisis" (Chicago: Midway Press Committee), in which he deals statistically with the familiar and increasingly pressing question of whether the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. But Mr. Bouroff's book is unique. Its central idea is expressed by the term "dividogenesure," a word which the author coins to contrast with "primogeniture." In this country we have escaped the influence of primogeniture only to fall under that of dividogenesure, which, "as a principle of tacit reality," says the author, "separates the people into two classes: 1st, into individuals of multiple expenditure in each case, but with a possible semi-income for supplying this expenditure; and, 2d, into individuals of also multiple expenditure for living, but at the same time of multiple incomes sufficient to leave a considerable net profit or balance for their future. This balance or profit, in some cases, gradually amounts to millions of dollars' worth of wealth, remultiplying further incomes most rapidly; while the individuals of the first class become absolutely dependent upon the second even for the semi-income which may at any time be refused them on account of too many individuals in need of resources for incomes belonging to the second class." Mr. Bouroff works out this idea with the aid of statistics, and concludes that if the present tendency continues it is only a question of time when "the people, with all their superior productivity and phenomenal increase of wealth will have neither wealth, nor property, nor rights, nor sufficient means for existence." The method of the book is distinctively what the universities call scientific.

"The People's President," by Rev. L. G. Landenberger (St. Louis: Balmer & Weber Music House Co. Price, 25c.), is a good rollicking campaign song set to a German melody. While the rhythm of the verses and the character of the music are of a higher order than is usual with campaign songs, it retains all the catchy qualities of that kind of lyric. The author, who is a Swedenborgian minister, quotes from Swedenborg this appropriate as well as singularly significant text for the song: "The essence of uses is the public good. Everyone who is delighted with the uses of his function for the sake of use, loves his country and fellow citizens; but he who is delighted therewith not for the sake of use, but only does it for the sake of him-

Ten Cents

To encourage the circulation and extend the influence of

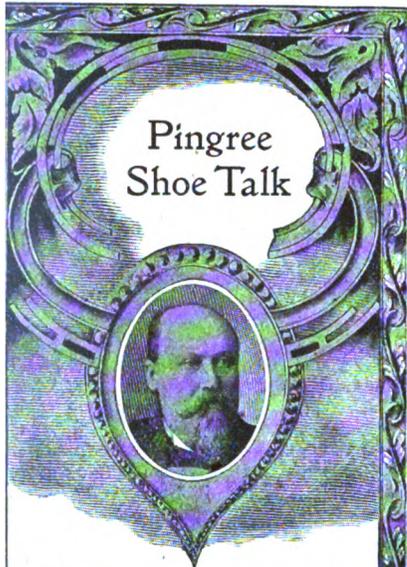
THE PUBLIC

during the remainder of the Presidential campaign, it will be mailed weekly to any address in the United States, Mexico or Canada, from the present date to and including the issue of November 10, 1900, for

Ten Cents

Address: THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

self, for honors and wealth, does not in his heart love his country." The song is dedicated to all who love the declaration of independence and believe that the flag of our country means freedom wherever it floats. It is, therefore, needless to say, a contribution to the Bryan campaign.



Pingree Shoe Talk

The happy gift of being agreeable, unlike most useful arts, requires no laborious study,—only the desire. Thousands are anxious enough to please, but they cannot,—their feet ache!! *Pingree Shoes* afford the most efficient remedy,—they fit snug, but feel loose.

There are Pingree Shoes for Women, Men and Children. Genuine ones are always stamped Pingree & Smith. They cost from three to five dollars, according to fineness. They come in all shapes and in various leathers.

AT FIRST-CLASS STORES
ASK YOUR DEALER!!

- "Gloria" \$3.50,—for Women
- "Composite" \$3,—for Women
- "Governor" \$4,—for Men

are Pingree Specials and the best shoes in the world for these prices. The genuine are always stamped with these trade-names.

"PINGREE SHOE TALK"

just off the press, is an exceedingly interesting booklet. It will be sent you upon application,—free, together with a *clever souvenir*.

PINGREE & SMITH

Established 1866. DETROIT

HENRY GEORGE ASSOCIATION.
LECTURES GIVEN AT
HANDEL HALL,
10 East Randolph Street, Second Floor,
EVERY SUNDAY AFTERNOON
At 3 o'clock sharp.

Program for Sunday, September 23rd:
MR. LOUIS F. POST,
"DEMOCRACY AND THE NEGRO."

ATTORNEYS.

Chicago.

CHARLES A. BUTLER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Suite 616, Ashland Block, CHICAGO.
Telephone, Main 2711.

HARRIS F. WILLIAMS,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
865 Chamber of Commerce Building,
CHICAGO.

JOHNSON, McGRATH & WAAGE.
ALFRED T. JOHNSON.
JOHAN WAAGE. JAMES E. McGRATH.

LAWYERS,

SUITE 906 TACOMA BLDG. Telephone Main 3644.

NELLIE CARLIN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
1202 Ashland Block, Chicago.
Telephone Central 925.

Houston.

EWING & RING,
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS,
HOUSTON, TEXAS.
Presley K. Ewing. Henry F. Ring.

EDUCATIONAL.

THE KATHERINE L. MALTBY
HOME AND SCHOOL.
NEW YORK, BROOKLYN HEIGHTS,
160 Joralemon Street.
Highest city advantages. Academic, Collegiate
and Special courses of study. Regular resident
students, \$500. Twelfth year.



The Best Flour is
H. R. Eagle & Co.'s BEST

Made from the finest
Minnesota Hard Wheat
by the Most Improved
Process. TRY IT.

H. R. EAGLE & CO., 76 and 78 Wabash Ave.,
CHICAGO, ILL.

The Public

is a weekly paper which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the really valuable news of the world. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

Subscription, One Dollar a Year.

Free of postage in United States, Canada and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. Payment of subscription is acknowledged up to the date in the address label on the wrapper.

Single copies, five cents each.

Published weekly by
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,
1401 Schiller Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Post-office address:
THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

A mortgage is like Deacon Smith's mule, "dreadful sot in its ways." It has a habit of bobbing up regularly. While you live you can take care of it. After that,—well, you'd be wise now to consult

HENRY C LIPPINCOTT,
Life Insurance Expert,
921 Chestnut Street,
Philadelphia.

TIMELY BOOKS

Sent to any person, who may return or remit price in 10 days.

- The Preparation of Ryerson Embury... 75c
- Reconciled, A Story of Common Life... 25c
- Japanese Notions of European Polit'l Econ... 25c
- Our Farmers of the Revenue... 25c
- The Single Tax, Post... 25c
- The Trusts, Collier, Just Published... 25c
- Natural Taxation, Shearman... 30c
- Progress and Poverty, George... 30c
- Our Country, Strong... 35c

Prices include postage. Same books in cloth binding 20 per cent off. For any book on earth, Old or New, address

H. H. TIMBY, Book Hunter,
CONNEAUT, OHIO.

To Smoke
or
Not to Smoke
is
Not the Question
if they are
MOOS' CIGARS.

J. & B. MOOS,
95 Randolph Street, 58-64 Dearborn Street,
CHICAGO, ILL.