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"Americanists" is a new word in the Philippines. It has the same significance there that "tory" had to the founders of the American republic.

Three Filipinos were hanged on the 5th at Manila, so say the press dispatches, by American military authority. They were the presidente, the chief of police and the sergeant of police of a town nominally under civic government. The charge against these men was murder, by "stabbing and burying alive" seven natives "at the instance of Filipino leaders." Whether they were guilty of this crime is not known. There is only one way, consistent with American theories of justice, by which criminal guilt can become known, and that is by jury trial. These men had no such trial, yet they have been hanged, as if lawfully convicted, under color of American law. This has an ugly resemblance to military murder.

The Republican majority have apparently concluded that they can get along without the help of the minority. Not only have they readopted the gag rules, which have degraded the House of Representatives from a deliberative body to an automatic machine for adopting committee reports, but they are now reducing the representation of the minority and increasing that of the majority on all standing committees. In practice they dispense with the advice of minority committeemen altogether; as in the case of the Philippine tariff bill, in which the majority first adopted the bill and then notified the minority that it would be recom-

mended by the committee on a given day, presented to the House two days afterward, and taken up by the House four days after that. The Republican leaders are great believers in simplicity. So was Nero.

Measures having been introduced in congress for the reduction of Southern representation, on the ground that the suffrage right of male Negroes is unconstitutionally denied, a Southern member has responded with a bill for the reduction of the representation from Massachusetts, on the ground that in that state the suffrage right of male illiterates is denied. Both measures ought to pass. Though it is not in the province of congress to fix suffrage qualifications for the states, congress properly has the constitutional right, in apportioning representation, to exclude from consideration all males over 21 years of age who have not been convicted of crime but to whom the states deny the suffrage. It should have the right to exclude not only those persons, but all persons, women as well as men, and convicts as well as illiterates, who are locally disfranchised. While each state should be allowed to determine suffrage qualifications for itself, the voters of a state should not be permitted to represent the non-voters in congress. That is unfair to non-voters, and it is unfair to the people of more democratic states. It is to be hoped, therefore, that these measures for reducing the congressional representation of the Southern States and Massachusetts may be adopted. They do not go as far as they should, but they are in the right direction.

Like a ray of sunshine out of a cloudy sky is Judge Dunne's decision in the contempt case against the Chicago American which he rendered this week. He holds for one thing

that any judge may inquire, upon writ of habeas corpus, into the authority of a coordinate judge to deprive a citizen of his liberty, and may release the prisoner if he concludes that the other judge had no jurisdiction over him. There is nothing novel in this. Judges frequently decide in that way when the coordinate judge is coordinate only in the particular matter at issue, being inferior in other respects. For instance, federal judges habitually entertain habeas corpus proceedings to look into the jurisdiction of United States commissioners who have held foreign fugitives for extradition, though they specifically assert that in extradition proceedings they and commissioners have coordinate jurisdiction. But "judicial courtesy" has been invoked to deter judges of the same general grade from applying this eminently sound principle to each other. It is to Judge Dunne's credit that he has subordinated the vicious practice of "judicial courtesy" to a wholesome principle of law, which has the sanction of precedents of a high order. Judges like Hanecy will be very much more careful about instituting arbitrary proceedings against the liberty of the citizen, when they know that coordinate judges like Dunne may expose the lawlessness of their action and give summary relief on writ of habeas corpus.

Having taken jurisdiction of the contempt case in question, Judge Dunne examined into the character of Judge Hanecy's proceedings and decided that they were absolutely without legal warrant. The decision here turned upon a simple question. Judge Hanecy had convicted the American's editors of contempt because they assailed him by comments and cartoons in their newspaper for a decision he had made. He was

obliged to concede that his proceedings would have been legally baseless if the comments and cartoons had been published after the clerk had entered the judgment and the term of court had passed. But he held that although he had publicly announced his decision from the bench, yet he might change it at any time during the term. For that reason, he argued, the case was still pending, and the publications in question were consequently in contempt of the court. This chaff is brushed aside by Judge Dunne, not carelessly, but in a lengthy and extremely able opinion, fortified by the authority of the highest court of the state. He argues that if Judge Hanecy's theory were correct no man or newspaper could criticise a decision until the end of the term, which in some cases would be months afterward. For upon that theory the case would be still "pending." Such a construction of the word "pending," he continues, would turn the constitutional guarantees of free speech and a free press into "a mere jumble of words," and, so far as court proceedings are concerned, abolish the occupation of the journalist and give his place to the historian.

In concluding his opinion Judge Dunne, referring to Judge Hanecy's autocratic contention, used language that should not be forgotten. It justifies the belief that a reaction toward better ideals is going on in the courts, and encourages the hope that more judges will profit by Judge Dunne's example. He said:

No more effective way can be conceived of suppressing free speech and free press in relation to proceedings in court than by the courts sustaining this extraordinary contention (Judge Hanecy's) advanced by counsel for respondents. In the case under consideration, the judgment rendered by Judge Hanecy, three weeks elapsed between October 28, 1901, when his decision was rendered, and the end of the October term. Under the contention of counsel for the respondents no adverse comment upon that case could have been made until three weeks after its rendition. The court cannot accept or put in force by legal construction such an extraordinary

contention. Public officials, executive legislative and judicial, have always been and always will be subject to criticism because of their official acts. It is one of the incidents and burdens of a public life. If the criticism be just it will commend itself to the public and be effective for good. If it be unjust and unfair it will fail to injure the man assailed. There is no good reason why a judge should have a different law applied to him than is applied to a president, a governor or a member of the legislature. Editorial lawyers, who gather their law from the circulation department of the counting house, have differed and will continue to differ with judges who obtain their law and inspiration from law books and legal precedents. But there is no good reason why, after the judge has given his exposition of the law and disposed of the case before him, such an editorial lawyer may not decide the same case to suit himself. It is only when he forestalls the judge with his opinion, and endeavors in his paper to coerce, intimidate, terrorize, cajole or wheedle the judge into agreeing with his newspaper law, that his conduct by any possible construction of the Illinois decisions, can become contempt of court.

Consequently, the editors whom Judge Hanecy had arrested on his own warrant; had tried before himself, denying them a jury; had convicted in his own discretion; and had sentenced to prison at his own arbitrary will—all for having published what he regarded, and what, if they could not be justified before a jury, were in fact libels upon himself—were discharged by Judge Dunne. Let it be hoped that hereafter in Chicago judges will seek redress for their grievances where other citizens must. That they will go before impartial courts and juries. Let them not again drag their adversaries before themselves. It wouldn't look fair even if it were lawful, and Judge Dunne's opinion makes it clear that it is not lawful.

Senator Hoar is fast making amends to his imperialist associates for his brilliant spurt of democracy over the Philippine question. The autocratic dynasties of Europe (civilized) must view with delight his proposal to have this country enter into treaties with them for the deportation to some desert island of persons of every nationality who teach that

coercive government is in conflict with national law and promotive of disorder. And democrats the world over must be aghast at this cool suggestion to involve the American republic in a partnership with Russia, Germany and Austria for such a suppression of liberty of opinion as would, for instance, enable Russia to call upon the United States to assist it in making a convict-exile of Tolstoy.

Another of Mr. Hoar's imperialistic performances is his measure for making lynching cognizable as a national crime by the federal courts, although in this case he disclaims responsibility for the bill and discredits it in some of its details. We yield neither to Mr. Hoar nor to anyone else in detestation of lynching. It is not with us a party question, a sectional question, nor a race question, but a man question; and we condemn it as we try to condemn every other invasion of liberty, whether by mobs, by individuals or by legislation. It were better for the liberties of this country, however, including those of the Negroes, that even the pernicious race lynchings so prevalent at the South should be endured than that further power should be centralized in the federal courts. These barbarous lynchings cannot long continue. The sober second thought of the whites of the South—already awakening, as such sermons as those of the Rev. Quincey Ewing, of Mississippi, and the repressive action here and there of Southern judges and grand juries and sheriffs, clearly show—will soon end the lynching craze. Not so with the imperial policy of centralization. That is not the vicious craze of a moment, which expands only to collapse; it is one of the persistent forces of human experience. Federal laws against lynching, making it a federal crime, triable by judges appointed for life from Washington, and by juries selected under the direction of such judges through marshals also appointed from Washington, would accelerate and strengthen the

tendency toward centralizing all power at Washington. Such laws are part of the imperial programme.

A British transport fleet of eight ships was reported this month in the harbor of New Orleans, as openly loading munitions of war—mules and horses for use against the Boers in South Africa—at this neutral American port. Well may it be asked how long these flagrant violations of neutrality are to be permitted by our government. Let it be observed that the shipments are not commercial. The mules and horses are sold in New Orleans, not to dealers but to agents of the British army; they are embarked at New Orleans, not on commercial vessels, but on transports of the British government; and they are carried not to foreign markets but directly to the seat of war. If that does not constitute a violation of American neutrality nothing can. When urged to take action in the matter, President Roosevelt is understood to have replied that the courts had been appealed to and decided that there was no cause. That is true. The courts were appealed to, and they did decide that there was no cause. But the reason they gave was that the question is not one for the judicial department of the government, but that it belongs to the executive department, with which the courts have no right to interfere. President Roosevelt is the head of the executive department. He cannot escape responsibility by referring to this judicial decision. On the contrary, that decision fixes his responsibility. What does he propose doing about it? Will he fall back upon the doctrine of his message, that these munitions of war are not for the prosecution of war, but are for the control, by a civilized power, as matter of "international police" regulation, of a "barbarous or semibarbarous" people?

A copy of the civilian salary lists at Manila under the American government there has come to light. As reported by the Chicago Daily News,

it is an exposure fit to make any sensitive American blush for shame. These salary lists carry 4,606 names. Of that number of office holders 2,044, or nearly 45 per cent., are Americans, and 2,562, or slightly more than 55 per cent., are Filipinos. The annual salaries of these 4,606 office holders amount to \$3,086,989, a mild average of only \$670. But of this amount the Filipinos get but \$806,945, or about 26 per cent., while the Americans get \$2,280,044, or about 74 per cent. It appears, therefore, that only 26 per cent. of the salaries go to 55 per cent. of the officials, who are Filipinos, and that 74 per cent. of the salaries go to 45 per cent. of the officials, who are Americans. Gov. Taft receives \$20,000, which is double the highest salary paid to the governor of any state. Four American commissioners receive \$15,000 each, or three times the salary of members of congress. Other salaries, drawn almost exclusively by Americans, vary from \$5,000 to \$7,500. As these salaries are paid by the people of the Philippines, the circumstances are not altogether unlike those of which the Americans complained so bitterly in 1776, when, in the declaration of independence, they charged George III. with having "erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance."

Instructions have been given throughout the island of Luzon to celebrate annually in the public schools "the birthday of Jose Rizal, the Filipino patriot who was executed by the Spaniards." Such is the order of the American superintendent of public schools in the Philippines, according to Manila dispatches published on the 9th. The dispatches add that "the life and history of Rizal will be recited on this day." What is the meaning of it all? Rizal a "patriot!" Did he not "rebel" against the authority of Spain? We recognized Spain's right to govern the Filipinos when we paid her \$20,-

000,000 for her title. We recognize it now when we are spending \$119,000,000 a year to maintain that title against the inhabitants. If the Filipino who resists our authority is a "rebel," a "guerrilla," a "bandit," surely the Filipino who resisted Spain's authority was also a "rebel," a "guerrilla" and a "bandit." Not even President Roosevelt's adeptness in twisting logic and language can make our title one whit better than the title of the country from which we got it. If Rizal were still alive, resisting our invasion as he resisted Spain's occupation, he would be, in the language of President Roosevelt's recent message, deserving of no more respect or sympathy than an Apache Indian. Why, then, this order styling Rizal a "patriot" and directing the annual celebration of his birthday? It is a dangerous experiment. If we are to keep the Filipinos in subjection our officials in Manila should see to it rather that the word "patriot" is blotted from the dictionary. They should also prohibit the importation or printing of copies of the declaration of independence. References to patriotism and just government resting upon the consent of the governed can do no good in a country that acknowledges our sovereignty only at the muzzles of a hundred cannon and 50,000 rifles.

THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAW.

One of the important subjects to come before congress this winter is the question of reenacting the statute for the exclusion of Chinese immigrants. The existing statute with its amendments expires next May; and not only is there a vociferous demand for its reenactment, but President Roosevelt has in his message advised that policy.

Doubtless the president will be severely criticised for this recommendation, and for signing the new exclusion bill when it shall have passed congress. So also will congressmen who vote for the bill. But all such criticism should be especially considerate, for the Chinese question is difficult and embarrassing to public men. On the Pacific slope gen-

erally, and with organized labor everywhere, this question is for the time the test of political fitness; and the president who should condemn the exclusion statute, or the congressman who should vote against continuing it, would have to be both clear-minded and courageous. The case is one of those, therefore, in which criticism of professedly pro-exclusion statesmen should be most considerably tempered with mercy.

Whatever conclusion anyone may reach regarding the merits of this question as a whole, be he politician or critic, one of the pleas for exclusion which comes from the Pacific slope and is calculated to forestall opposition elsewhere, must be met upon the threshold. It is precisely the same plea that undemocratic Democrats of the South set up in support of discrimination in their section against Negroes. As these Southerners say to the North: "We understand the Negro question and you don't, for we are in the midst of it and you are not," so the Pacific slope says to the rest of the country: "We understand the Chinese question and you don't, for we are in the midst of it and you are not." The Pacific slope therefore asks to be the judge of the Chinese question, just as the South asks to be the judge of the Negro question. As the Negro question is the race question south of Mason and Dixon's line, so the Chinese question is the race question west of the Rocky mountains.

But this plea for local infallibility is utterly without merit. Some questions are, indeed, essentially local. Those that are, may be better judged by people on the ground than by others. Not all questions, however, are local; and those that are not can be no better judged by people on the ground than by strangers. In the latter category come all questions of human rights. Regarding these questions everyone is competent to judge. If there is any difference in powers of judgment between people on the ground and people not on the ground, the difference is in favor of those who are not; for the judgment of those on the ground is likely to be vitiated by local prejudices or traditions, local class interests and other superficial considerations.

Probably the oligarchy of Russia regards itself as better qualified than the American or the English people to pass judgment upon the merits of the Russian autocratic and penal systems. In fact it is not so well qualified. General questions of human rights are there involved, and distant peoples, who are not selfishly interested, are consequently the better judges. In all such cases disinterested peoples stand in much the same judicial relation to those who are selfishly concerned, that the people of the present do to those of the past, and that those of the future will to those of the present. There are few, for instance, who would now deny that the Southern states were wrong, morally and economically, on the slavery question; yet in the days of slavery it was the most emphatic contention of Southern statesmen that the South was the best judge of the moral justification and economic necessity of its "peculiar institution." Disinterested history decides they were mistaken, and that decision is accepted even at the South. If the judgment of those who are temporarily most interested in interfering with human rights were conclusive in such questions, Nero's infamy would stand approved. He was on the ground. Moreover, he was charged with the burdens of responsibility. Upon the theory, then, of our friends at the South and upon the Coast, Nero must have been a better judge of what was good for Rome than we who were not upon the ground and had none of his responsibility. But no one of sense would acknowledge his peculiar fitness.

The theory is a false one. The Negro question at the South and the Chinese question on the Coast are questions of human rights, mixed with questions of selfish local interest. If only the selfish interests were at stake, the decision might better be left to local judgment. But as fundamental and universal principles of government are involved, local public opinion is not the best test. It is likely to be the worst. At any rate, it is open to challenge for bias. As the local judgment of the South with reference to the Negro question is properly challenged, so the local judgment of the Pacific coast with refer-

ence to the Chinese question must be challenged. It is not conclusive. It may be right. But if right, it is right for other reasons than that the question is localized there. The special plea of the Pacific coast should be disregarded, and the question itself on its own merits alone be considered.

Similar observations apply to the demands of labor organizations, whether they be those of the Pacific coast or of other sections. Though the reasons they offer should be received with candor and weighed with intelligence, pleas based merely upon a naked right of labor organizations to dictate labor legislation affecting human rights should be disregarded. The merits of the question—not as a local question and not as a labor union question, but as a national question involving fundamental principles of human liberty, and in that aspect alone—should be decisive, alike in the White House and in the halls of congress.

The essential character of the Chinese question is disclosed by the principal congressional legislation of the past. After our race had induced China and Japan to throw down the outer barriers which those isolated empires had maintained against aliens, it was discovered that in the name of immigration Chinese and Japanese slaves were being imported in large numbers into this country. Public opinion rose against this revival in new form of an abhorrent trade, and from 1862 to 1875 acts of congress were passed to prevent it. These acts were subsequently codified in the revised statutes of the United States, where they now appear as sections 2158 to 2164. They were directed against the importation of "the subjects of China, Japan, or any other oriental country, known as coolies," to be "disposed of, or sold, or transferred, for any time, as servants or apprentices, to be held to service or labor; and they distinctly provided that the exclusion law should not apply "to any voluntary immigration." They also specifically prohibited local legislation discriminating against Chinese, Japanese or other orientals, as voluntary immigrants. Their manifest

object was to prevent the importation of Chinese slaves, and not the voluntary immigration of Chinese workmen.

At that time public opinion would not have tolerated the exclusion of voluntary immigrants. But even then one of the motives for excluding coolies was hostility to all oriental immigration; and the impulse which this motive generated had grown strong enough in 1880 to secure the ratification of a new treaty with China modifying the privileges of the Chinese with reference to this country. By that treaty, ratified November 17, 1880, the United States was allowed to limit or suspend, but not to prohibit, the immigration of Chinese laborers. The first suspension act was accordingly passed by congress May 6, 1882. As amended two years later, this act, reciting that "the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof," suspended all such immigration for ten years. "Both skilled and unskilled laborers, and Chinese employed in mining," were embraced in the exclusion. Although the Chinese treaty of 1880, while permitting this temporary suspension of immigration forbade its prohibition, congress extended the term of suspension for ten years from May 5, 1892; and notwithstanding that the same treaty is still in force, the question now before congress is whether Chinese immigration shall be suspended for still another period. In other words, the treaty permission to suspend is being evasively used by our government, in defiance of the express inhibition of the treaty, as authority to prohibit. For between positive prohibition and repeated suspension the only difference is nominal.

It is evident from this recital of our Chinese legislation, coupled with the reasons for the demand for its extension, that the intention is to exclude from our country permanently one class of men who earn their own living—Chinese workingmen. The matter first comes up, therefore, as a labor question, with sufficient distinctness for consideration by itself. Ignoring other points, let us consider then, for the moment, the exclusion

of Chinese workingmen merely in that aspect.

We are aware of the uses which employers would make of the cheaper Chinese labor to press down the wages of American labor. President Roosevelt rests his advocacy of the law solely upon this ground. In his message he says that our labor must be protected from the presence in this country of any immigrant laborers who "represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level." But that plea does not apply to Chinese laborers alone. Labor saving machinery, as well as other laborers than the Chinese, has a similar tendency to depress the American standard of living. Employers make the same use of labor-saving machinery that they would of Chinese immigrants. They make the same use of immigrants from the poverty-stricken regions of Europe. They make the same use of the army of the unemployed and partly employed which is being recruited in greater and greater numbers even from our own native population. There is nothing unique in the use they would make of Chinese laborers. Consequently, if this consideration calls for the exclusion of Chinese laborers, it calls also for the exclusion of European laborers, for a strenuous discouragement of labor-saving invention, and for some drastic limitations upon the native birth rate.

We sympathize with American workingmen in the problem that confronts them, this deadly problem of a relatively decreasing wages fund, which might be more deadly if Chinese laborers were freely admitted. But we do not sympathize to the extent of being willing to support oppressive laws against other workingmen, the more especially as just and effective instead of oppressive and futile remedies are available.

Were American laborers in their desperation to demand legal limitations upon the native birth rate, we would not support them. Were they to demand the suppression of labor-saving inventions, we would not support them. Were they to demand the exclusion of Euro-

pean immigrants, we would not support them. Neither, therefore, do we support them in their demand for laws excluding Chinese immigrants. We do not support them in this, that is, in so far as it is distinctly a labor question—in so far as it is for the purpose of preventing the Chinese from seeking work in this country.

If increasing population, including European and Chinese immigrants, if labor-saving inventions—if these and other things that go to increase the wealth of the country, produce instead the astonishing effect of reducing the relative wages fund of the country, then there must be a cause that Chinese exclusion can neither remove nor modify. Evidently there is such a cause. It is one of our own institutions, unnatural and unjust, which tends to divert wages from earners to non-earners. So long as the land of this country is monopolized by a fraction of its inhabitants, that inequitable tendency will go on, Chinese or no Chinese. We are eager to reverse the evil tendency by any rational method. But we are not disposed to encourage men who draw red herrings across the trail, especially when the scent of the herring leads on to a further invasion of human rights. If American workingmen will not demand the natural rights that are denied them, they have no claim upon sympathizers for support when they demand that other workingmen be divested of other natural rights.

So far as the question of preventing voluntary Chinese immigration is merely a labor question, its settlement against Chinese immigration would injure migratory Chinese workingmen without benefiting American workingmen. To the latter we say, in all sympathy and friendliness, what John Boyle O'Reilly, that true poet of the people, put into the mouth of Liberty when he wrote:

Hither, ye blind, from your futile banding! Know the rights and the rights are won.

Wrong shall die with the understanding. One truth clear, and the work is done.

Nature is higher than Progress or Knowledge whose need is ninety enslaved for ten.

My word shall stand against mart and college: The planet belongs to its living men.

But the Chinese question is more than a labor question. Although the exclusion is limited now to Chinese laborers and certain morally objectionable classes, the evident trend, both of legislation and anti-Chinese opinion, is toward the exclusion of all Chinese immigrants and the deportation of all Chinese residents. And not only the exclusion of Chinese but of Japanese also, and even of our own recently acquired national subjects—the Filipinos and the Porto Ricans. The question broadens out, therefore, into a race question. Let it be considered, then, in that more comprehensive aspect.

Perhaps this point might be fairly dismissed with one general observation based upon the theory of evolutionary progress. If Chinamen are not adaptable to our civilization, they either are or are not better fitted than Americans to survive in the environment of American institutions. If they are not, then they cannot flourish here and would soon cease to come. If they are, then it is not Chinese exclusion that Americans need, but institutions more in harmony with their own civilization.

But without resting the issue there, we are prepared to concede that circumstances are possible which would justify the exclusion from a country settled and occupied by one race, of immigrants from another and unassimilative race. Whenever immigration takes on the character of invasion, it may be treated as invasion. That is to say, communities like individuals have inherent rights of self-defense, and when immigration without arms menaces the civilization of any community toward which it flows, the right of communal self-defense may be invoked upon principles analogous to those which apply to invasions with arms. The Orient has a right to resist revolutionary immigration from the Occident, and the Occident has a right to resist reactionary immigration from the Orient. This does not amount to a denial of natural rights to the earth. It is an assertion of natural social rights. The earth is wide enough for all its inhabitants, without the assumption by any of rights of invasion. Neither does it

amount to a denial of rights of asylum for those who flee from oppression to free communities. People who seek free institutions are not invaders of the free countries to which they migrate. No one who seeks freedom is an enemy to the freedom he seeks. The right, then, to resist invasion, even though peaceable in method if hostile in purpose or effect, is a conceded right. But it is like the right to make war. As no wars but defensive ones are justifiable, so no exclusion of immigrants, though of another race, is justifiable unless defensive. And to justify exclusion, as to justify war, the defensive necessity must be apparent.

Applying that principle to the Chinese question we find no justification for Chinese exclusion. The defensive necessity is not apparent.

Some reasons urged for exclusion relate to the interests of American labor. We have already considered these on labor grounds and found them invalid. On the broader grounds of national invasion by a hostile race they are equally so. There is no evidence of Chinese invasion which menaces any natural, national, or race rights of American workingmen. If these rights are in jeopardy, it is from the operation of unjust American laws subtly inimical to them, and not from immigration of any kind.

Other reasons relate to the indisposition of the Chinese to remain in this country and become part of its citizenship. This reason is disingenuous. If Chinamen go home after a period here, taking their earnings with them, they do us no harm thereby. Have they not left behind, in some form of wealth which is the product of their labor, as much as they take away in other forms of wealth? And if they do not become citizens how can they revolutionize our institutions? Or, if their citizenship would make their immigration desirable or bearable, why do we by our laws forbid their being naturalized, as we have done for 20 years?

Do they colonize clannishly in the midst of American cities? In that they are not different from European immigrants. New York city is full of distinctive colonies, European as

well as Asiatic; Chicago has her colonies—European, Asiatic and Negro; and in New York and Chicago as to their “inferior race” colonies, or in San Francisco with respect to Chinatown, who shall say that the cause is any more the unassimilative and hostile clannishness of the “inferior” colonizers than the inhospitable and oppressive behavior, both individually and collectively, of the “superior” inhabitants?

In the Chinese colonies there is vice and crime. That is true. But the vice and crime of great cities are not confined to such spots. Vice and crime are by no means Chinese peculiarities.

The foregoing considerations include, either by statement or allusion, substantially all the objections to Chinese immigration. And none of these objections are sound.

With all the effort that self-interest and race antipathy can engender and promote, no case has yet been made for excluding Chinese on the ground that their voluntary immigration peculiarly menaces American wages or in any way endangers the rights of American labor, the stability of free American institutions, or the development of what is good in Occidental civilization.

That coolie importation should be prohibited we presume everyone will agree. That could probably be done effectually by simply outlawing labor contracts and making all immigrants understand that they have the freedom of the country as soon as they touch its shores. If this is not sufficient, criminal laws can and ought to be framed against the importation of slaves, whether slaves by purchase or slaves by contract, and whether from China or elsewhere. But there is nothing thus far to justify a further extension of the law excluding voluntary immigrants of any race.

It is as indefensible as aggressive war would be. It is at variance with our best national ideals. It cannot become a fixed policy with reference to the Chinese without being extended in time to other peoples. Even religious toleration might easily be restricted on the basis of this precedent. In a fanatical outburst of “A. P. A.” excitement, for instance, the Chinese

law and the reasons for it could be effectively quoted in support of measures for prohibiting the immigration of Catholics of every nation and race, on the ground that they acknowledge spiritual allegiance to a foreign potentate. The fact that they deny him political allegiance would count for little at such a time. An established national policy of wantonly prohibiting immigration for the ostensible reason that in some way it might possibly become inimical to the dominance in the United States of the American polity, would give a powerful leverage to fanatical anti-Catholics. And with all the rest, such laws as it is now proposed to extend with reference to the Chinese, and which would inevitably be followed by their extension to other nationalities, races, and religions, would react, like imperialism, of which they are part, upon our liberties at home. The policy of free government is incompatible with a policy of restricting immigration for any reason short of its being manifestly a hostile invasion. If the latter policy prevails, the former cannot persist.

Some of the reasons which we have here stated or suggested for opposing the Chinese exclusion law may be sentimental, and we are told that sentiment has no place in this discussion. But they are not all sentimental. As to those that are, let us admonish him to beware who would "pluck the eyes of sentiment" when moral questions are at issue. The time may not be far off when his own rights will depend upon the keen vision of the same sentiment of justice to which we now appeal in behalf of Chinese workmen.

NEWS

The isthmian canal treaty between the United States and Great Britain, referred to and briefly described by President Roosevelt in his message (p. 553), and pending before the senate in its committee on foreign relations, has now been published in full. If ratified, as is likely, this treaty will terminate a series of international complications with reference to a water route across the American continent which have a history of nearly four centuries.

As early as 1513, when it had been demonstrated that there was no natural waterway through the continent, propositions were made to pierce the isthmus of Panama with a canal. By 1550, four different routes had been suggested, one of which was across Panama and the other across Nicaragua. The dispute over these two routes has continued ever since and is not yet settled. The Panama route now considered is from Colon to Panama, across a low and narrow strip. This would be a sea level canal. The Nicaraguan route is from Greytown to San Juan del Sur, across a wider strip and through a mountainous country where locks are necessary, but where Lake Nicaragua at the summit offers natural advantages. Early in the seventeenth century an English company made an actual attempt to cut through the isthmus of Panama, but Spain interfered, and nothing more was done until 1827, when Simon Bolivar, president of New Granada (now Colombia), revived the subject. Eleven years afterward New Granada granted rights to a French company, but the company went no further than to make a survey. Along the line of this survey, however, Gen. Aspinwall built the isthmian railway, at the time of the gold excitement of 1849, to facilitate travel between the Atlantic coast and California. A second canal concession was granted by New Granada to a French company in the early 80's. This company was under the management of Ferdinand de Lesseps, of Suez canal fame. He was overwhelmed and ruined by financial scandals connected with the enterprise and partly due to American opposition, the French government refusing aid because the United States objected that French control of the canal would contravene the Monroe doctrine. Under a reorganization, the French company now claims the advantage of concessions and a partly finished canal. While the Panama projects were passing through this history, plans were on foot also with reference to the Nicaraguan route. In 1825 an American company, acting under concessions from the Central American Republic (of which Nicaragua was then a part), made surveys for a Nicaraguan canal. But it did nothing more, and the subject lapsed until after the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 between the United States and Great Britain. Great Britain had taken possession of Greytown, the natural eastern terminus of the Nicaraguan route, as

protector of the Mosquito Indians; and the United States, believing that Great Britain contemplated controlling the canal, and acting pursuant to the Monroe doctrine, had protested. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty resulted. By one of the provisions of that treaty, both Great Britain and the United States were prohibited from obtaining control over or special commercial advantages in any ship canal between the two oceans. After a generation, during which nothing effective had been done with reference to the Nicaraguan route, American statesmen began to refer to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as obsolete in so far as it interfered with American control of the prospective canal; and in 1899 (vol. i, No. 43, p. 9) the senate passed a bill which provided in effect for a canal under control of the American government. Though this bill went no farther, it stimulated diplomatic efforts for a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. About a year later, February 5, 1900 (vol. ii, No. 97, p. 9), such a treaty was laid before the senate. This was the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Great Britain relinquished by it to the United States all rights of control of the canal under seven rules for preserving its neutralization. But the senate amended the treaty in points regarding which Great Britain declined to concur (vol. iii, pp. 601, 775). The amendments objected to were: (1) The one striking out a clause inviting other powers to agree to the neutrality of the canal; (2) the one specifically abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; and, (3) the one inserting a clause giving to the United States military control for police purposes. Great Britain having rejected the treaty as thus amended, the second Hay-Pauncefote treaty was drafted and submitted to Great Britain last Spring (p. 106) and was signed (p. 521) at Washington by Lord Pauncefote for Great Britain and Secretary Hay for the United States, November 18, 1901. This is the treaty now before the senate, the text of which has just been made public.

There are five articles to the pending treaty. In substance they are as follows:

I. This treaty supersedes the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

II. The canal may be constructed under the auspices of the United States, either directly or through corporations or individuals; and, subject to this treaty, the United States "shall have and enjoy all the rights

incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal."

III. The following rules for neutralization shall control: (1) Canal to be open to vessels of commerce and war of all nations on equal and equitable terms. (2) It shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right or act of war be exercised within it; but the United States "shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder." (3) Belligerent vessels of war and prizes shall take in no supplies in the canal except such as may be strictly necessary, and shall not linger. (4) Belligerents shall not embark or disembark troops or munitions of war except temporarily in case of accidental hindrance. (5) These rules and the general rules of war to apply with reference to belligerents to waters at either end of the canal within three marine leagues. (6) All works appurtenant to the canal to be under the protection of the same rules.

IV. No change of territorial sovereignty or international relations of the countries traversed by the canal to affect its neutralization or the obligations of this treaty.

V. Ratification clause.

The treaty is substantially the same as the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty as amended by the senate. Except that the first and the second articles are transposed, that the 7th rule of the first treaty as amended is embodied in the 2d rule of the second treaty, and that article IV. of the second treaty did not appear in the first treaty as amended there are no changes other than in unimportant phraseology.

Since the publication of the new treaty, it has been reported from Washington that strong influences are at work in the senate to prevent its ratification. These influences are said to flow chiefly from the transcontinental railroad interests, which control not only the great continental lines, but also the Panama railroad. A ship canal would check their monopoly by enabling independent shipping lines to run between Atlantic and Pacific ports without being compelled either to go thousands of miles out of their way around Cape Horn or to submit to the discriminating exactions of the Panama railroad.

When Senator Lodge introduced in the senate the Philippines tariff

bill, noted last week at page 553, objections were made by members of the lower house that this was a revenue measure and ought not to originate in the senate. The Lodge bill seems in consequence to have been abandoned and a House bill, prepared by Mr. Payne, has been agreed to by the Republican majority of the ways and means committee. The minority members were notified on the 10th that this bill would be taken up in full committee on the 11th, reported to the House on the 13th, and considered in the house on the 17th. It is designed "temporarily to provide revenue for the Philippine islands," and will re-enact the tariff act of the Philippine commission as to imports into the archipelago; will apply the Dingley schedules to imports from the Philippines into the United States; and will appropriate the duties on imports into the Philippines to Philippine uses. After the adoption of this bill on the 11th by the committee, it was arranged to bring it finally to vote in the House on the 18th.

From the seat of war in the Philippines an engagement at Labo, province of Camarines, is reported, in which three Americans of the Twentieth infantry were killed. The town of Lipa, province of Batangas, is reported to have been attacked by Filipinos, one American soldier and several "Americanists" being killed. An attack on Nagartean, province of North Ilocos, was repulsed without American loss.

The habeas corpus case of Mr. Patterson, the British subject who, as the secretary of Sixto Lopez, accompanied Lopez in this country, has been dismissed by the American supreme court of the Philippines. He had been required upon landing to take an oath of allegiance to the Philippines; and, refusing, was arrested for deportation. Having been now remanded after a hearing by the court upon the writ of habeas corpus, he is to be deported to Hong-Kong.

From South Africa there comes an obscure British dispatch which indicates that another British force has barely escaped capture by the Boers. The event occurred near Heilbron, which is in the extreme north of the Orange Free State on the line of the railroad to Pretoria. According to this dispatch, Gen. DeWet had concentrated about 2,000 Boers near Heilbron, and a British force went out to capture them. This force ap-

parently only escaped capture itself because of the timely arrival of reinforcements. There seems to have been fighting lasting two days, in which the British suffered unreported losses, and were forced to retreat, reinforcements and all, to Heilbron. Whatever the full facts may be they are as yet withheld either by Lord Kitchener or the British war office. Two captures by British have been reported during the week, the latter of importance. It comprises practically the whole Bethel commando, the prisoners numbering 131.

The pressure of the war upon British resources is indicated by the recruiting of troops in Canada and Australia and the reported decision of the ministry, just made, to send to South Africa all the reserves who have not completed 12 years of service. Lord Brodrick, the British war secretary, in a speech at Glasgow on the 11th, charged the Boers with an increasing disregard for the laws of war, and intimated that they will not much longer be treated as belligerents.

Concern is felt with reference to the reconcentrado camps, because the British government is unusually dilatory in reporting the death rate for October. It is feared that this delay indicates a heavy increase of deaths. On the other hand, satisfaction is expressed over the statement of Lord Onslow, parliamentary secretary of the colonial office, made at a public meeting at Crewe on the 9th. He announced that the concentration camps have now been placed under the control of the civil authorities and that no pains will be spared to make them healthful places, adding that reconcentrados who wish to go to the coast will be allowed to do so.

American sentiment on the reconcentrado policy in South Africa found expression at the Auditorium in Chicago on the 8th when Bourke Cockran, of New York, addressed an applauding audience which packed the large hall to inaugurate measures for Boer rescue and relief. Contributions amounting to \$6,000 were made, and resolutions calling upon the president of the United States to act were passed. Further steps expressive of sympathy include a request to the Rev. Hiram W. Thomas, the famous clergyman of Chicago, to visit the reconcentrado camps and report their condition to the people of this country.

NEWS NOTES.

—The chamber of deputies of Peru, on the 5th, sanctioned the gold standard law, which had already passed the Peruvian senate.

—The Pennsylvania railroad is arranging to secure an entrance into New York city by tunneling instead of bridging the Hudson river.

—New South Wales has followed the example of New Zealand in adopting a compulsory arbitration law to prevent strikes in labor controversies. The bill was enacted on the 8th.

—Urged by the Anti-Trust league, the senate has refused to confirm the appointment by President Roosevelt of Attorney General Knox. It refers the charges against him to the judiciary committee.

—The French Society of Modern Alchemy claims that three of its members, MM. Jolivet, De Lassus and Hooghe, all chemists of reputation, have succeeded in manufacturing gold out of cheap materials.

—At the ninth annual debate between Princeton and Yale, which came off at Princeton on the 6th, Yale won the negative of the proposition that the fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution has been justified.

—Patrick A. Collins, Democratic candidate for mayor of Boston, was elected on the 10th by a plurality of 18,970, over Mayor Thomas N. Hart, the Republican candidate for reelection. This is the largest Democratic plurality for five years.

—The American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at Scranton on the 5th, with 283 delegates present, representing 1,500,000 organized workmen. The convention has adopted resolutions advocating Chinese exclusion. It refused to support the exclusion also of Japanese and other Asiatics.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 35 of that publication.

Washington, Dec. 2 to Dec. 9, 1901.

Senator Frye, president pro tempore, called the Senate to order at noon on the 2d (p. 1). After passing resolutions notifying the House and the President (p. 2), the body adjourned for the day.

Upon reassembling on the 3d, it listened to the reading of the President's message, the text of which is printed in full at page 25 of the Record. A McKinley memorial committee (p. 28) to act with a similar committee from the House was appointed.

On the 4th Senator Burrows presented a petition from the legislature of Michigan (p. 68) praying for a constitutional amendment for the election of senators by popular vote. A similar petition by the legislature of Oregon (p. 69) was presented by Senator Simon. The following bills relating to subjects of general interest were presented and numbered as indicated: No. 1, currency; 2, election of senators; 3, protection of president; 62, Pacific cable (p. 73); 153, Chinese exclusion; 155, monopoly of mineral lands; 161, Philippines; 176, national banks;

155, Chinese exclusion; 186, statehood for Oklahoma; 187, statehood for New Mexico (p. 74); 262, Oriental trade (p. 76); 490, Nicaragua canal; 491, Pacific cable; 696, arid lands (p. 80); 649, monopolies (p. 81); joint res. 1, presidential succession; j. r. 2, time of meeting of congress; j. r. 4, election of senators; j. r. 7, election of senators; j. r. 9, election of senators (p. 82). Senator McComas offered a resolution on anarchy, printed in full on page 82, and Senator Vest offered one on the same subject, printed in full on page 83, after which the senate adjourned for the day.

Following some routine business on the 5th Senator McComas called up his resolution on anarchy (p. 106), introduced the day before, and made a set speech upon it, which is printed at page 165. He was followed by Senator Hoar, whose extemporaneous remarks appear on page 106. One bill of general interest was introduced: No. 682, immigration (p. 100). The senate adjourned to the 9th.

Proceedings on the 9th were of little importance. Large numbers of petitions were presented, including one from the legislature and governor of Montana praying for a constitutional amendment making senators elective (p. 173), and two from the governor and legislature of Utah (p. 174)—one praying congress to grant the suffrage to women and the other asking the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures. Senator Hoar offered a resolution (p. 180) with reference to an international island as a place of exile for anarchists; and Senators Laurin and Tillman, of South Carolina, engaged in a personal discussion (p. 182) in the course of which the latter challenged the former to unite with him in a joint resignation. The bills and resolutions on subjects of general interest were as follows: No. 1117, lynching; 1118, injunctions (p. 176); 1296, railroad land grant in Alaska (p. 179); 1346, hours of postal work; 1348, ship subsidies (p. 180).

House.

The clerk of the last House called the House of Representatives to order on the 2d (p. 2), and after roll call David B. Henderson, speaker of the last House, was elected speaker. The vote for speaker was 191 for David B. Henderson, 150 for James D. Richardson, 1 for L. W. Stark and 1 for Amos J. Cummings (p. 4). Other officers were then elected and resolutions were adopted notifying the Senate and the President, after which a discussion arose over the rules (p. 5). The Republican majority forced through a resolution adopting the rules of the Fifty-sixth congress with slight modifications. Efforts on the part of the Democrats to amend the proposed former rules were declared out of order under a motion for the previous question (p. 5), and they were adopted (pp. 7, 8) by a party vote. Bills relating to the following subjects of general interest were introduced and numbered as indicated: No. 1, oleomargarine; 2, statehood for New Mexico; 3, trade monopolies; 4, oleomargarine; 5, Pacific cable; 8, bankruptcy; 9, reciprocity; 10, oleomargarine; 14, industrial cabinet officers; 17, trusts; 19, currency; 20, customs tariff; 21, lynching; 28, wire nails (p. 11); 48, trusts; 62, arid lands; 63, arid lands; 79, Alaska (p. 11); 82, hides (p. 12); 96, industrial cabinet office; 106, criminal identification; 109, federal courts; 114, war tax; 112, tax on state bank bills; 116, penny postage; 121, alien contract labor; 123, metric weights and measures; 125, arid lands; 128, federal crimes; 129, currency; 132, constitutional amendment; 141, immigration (p. 13); 146, commerce; 155, currency; 168, Pacific cable; 160, Oriental trade; 168, Pacific cable; 171, forestry; 172, forestry; 176, anarchy; 177, anarchy; 178, internal revenue; 179, internal revenue; 181, national banks; 182, government bonds (p. 14); 213, contempt of court; 215, labor hours; 216, tariff; 220, constitutional amendment; 221, anarchy; 223, pensions; 227, Alaska; 232, tariff; 243, pensions (p. 15); 249, union label; 261, Industrial Commission; 262, contributory negligence; 272, Pacific cable; 273, commerce; 276, dairy products; joint resolutions—No. 1, election of senators by direct vote; j. r. 5, statehood for Porto Rico; j. r. 7, marriage and divorce; j. r. 10, election of senators by direct vote; j. r. 13, constitutional amendment; j. r. 14, repeal of 16th amendment; j. r. 15, constitutional amendment (p. 16); j. r. 17, tax on incomes and inheritances; j. r. 18, constitutional amendment (p. 17).

On the 3d the House listened to the read-

ing of the President's message, and after appointing a McKinley memorial committee to act with a similar committee from the senate adjourned to the 6th. Bills on the following subjects were offered: No. 1983, repeal of stamp taxes; 1989, bankruptcy law (p. 28); 2013, immigration; 2015, statehood for Arizona; 2039, common carriers; 2040, commerce; 2048, anarchy; 2054, metric weights and measures (p. 39); 2056, anarchy; 2067, anarchy; 2069, trusts; 2071, exclusion of Chinese; 2080, trusts and tariffs; 2081, alien contract labor; 2087, trusts and tariffs; 2088, trusts and tariffs; 2089, tariff; 2090, tariff; j. r. 20, constitutional amendment; j. r. 23, constitutional amendment; j. r. 27, war in South Africa; j. r. 28, election of senators; j. r. 29, marriage and divorce; j. r. 31, constitutional amendment; j. r. 32, terms of president and congress; j. r. 40, polygamy; j. r. 41, election of senators (p. 40); j. r. 43, constitutional amendment; j. r. 44, direct taxation; j. r. 45, trusts; j. r. 51, treason (p. 41).

Upon reassembling on the 6th the House transacted routine business and adjourned to the 10th. Bills and resolutions on the following subjects of general interest were proposed: No. 3061, bank currency; 3052, contempt of court; 3062, Chinese exclusion; 3072, Hawaiian laborers; 3076, labor hours; 3089, Chinese exclusion; 3090, land laws for Hawaii (p. 144); 3099, removal of law suits to federal courts; 3105, trusts; 3110, Isthmian canal; 3129, tariffs and trusts; 3180, the mall and trusts; 3131, trusts and interstate commerce (p. 145); 3148, convict labor; 3168, postal restrictions; 4300, tariff on tea; 4301, desecration of the flag; 4308, tariff on wire nails; 4313, train robbery (p. 146); j. r. 56, polygamy; j. r. 57, divorce; j. r. 58, taxing corporations; j. r. 18, congressional representatives for Massachusetts (147).

MISCELLANY

THE OPEN SECRET.

Sweet secret of the open air—
That waits so long, and always there, un-
heeded.
Something uncaught, so free, so calm,
large, confident,
The floating breeze, the far hills and broad
sky,
And every little bird and tiny fly or flower
At home in the great whole, nor feeling
lost at all or forsaken,
Save man—alight man!
He, Cain-dike, from the calm eyes of the
angels,
In houses hiding, in huge gas-lighted of-
fices and dens, in ponderous churches,
Beset with darkness, cowers;
And, like some hunted criminal, torments
his brain,
For fresh means of escape, continually;
Builds thicker, higher walls, ramparts of
stone and gold, piles flesh and skin
of slaughtered beasts,
'Twixt him and that he fears;
Fever himself with plans, works harder
and harder,
And wanders far and farther from the
goal.
And still the great world waits by the door
as ever,
The great world stretching endlessly on
every hand, in deep on deep of fathom-
less content—
Where sing the morning stars in joy to-
gether,
And all things are at home.
—Edward Carpenter, in Reformer (Lon-
don).

To-day hasn't been so bad, has it?
Well, to-day was once a part of the
future that you worried about.—
Atchison Globe.

THE PRESIDENT'S ANTI-TRUST PROGRAMME.

Extract from sermon delivered by Rev. H. S. Bigelow, Sunday evening, December 8, at the Vine St. Congregational Church, Cincinnati.

The weakness of the president's views on the trust problem ought to be apparent to those who criticize Mr. Bryan's anti-trust measures, for President Roosevelt's anti-trust programme is identical with that of Mr. Bryan with the single exception that Mr. Bryan did see what the president denies, that protective tariffs have been a factor in the trust development. The want of clearness of thought on economic problems is not apparent in that portion of the message which considers the trusts. In one place the president asserts that the trusts are not due to "the tariff nor to any other governmental action." Elsewhere he speaks of the corporation "which derives a portion of its wealth from the existence of some monopolistic element." What is a monopolistic element but an advantage conferred upon one and denied to another through the operation of unwise laws?

It is full of hopeful significance, however, that the president should even hint at the real remedy as he does in his message when he speaks of the proper taxation of the trust as one of the problems to be solved. It is to be hoped that he will come to appreciate more fully the vital connection between the trust menace and unequal taxation. Mayor Tom L. Johnson showed a more comprehensive view of the trust problem than any political leader of prominence to-day, when he said: "Trusts live through special privileges granted to them, upon which they do not pay taxes. Tax the special privilege and the question will be solved."

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

"A BUSINESSLIKE ADMINISTRATION."

"I spent a short time in the city hall at home the other day," said a Cleveland man who did not care to be quoted, "and I can see now how Mayor Johnson manages to get so much work turned out by his administration. His motto for all his helpers seems to be: 'Do things; don't talk about them.' He seemed to know as much about each department as does the man who manages it. As each subordinate came in to report, the mayor always wanted to know if

'anything was doin',' and not merely going to be done.

"I call it emphatically a business-like administration."—New York Letter to Cleveland Dealer of December 5.

THE TENDERLOIN CLEANED UP.

"I think Mayor Johnson has been too generous in the matter of granting pardons to workhouse prisoners," said President Buckley, of the city board of elections, Wednesday, "but at the same time I want to give him credit for cleaning up the Tenderloin district."

Buckley has lived at the corner of Wood and Summit streets, where he owns property, for many years.

"That district," he continued, "has never been so quiet as it is now. All the decent people who live down that way say the same thing, and if they don't know no one does. When Johnson became mayor he started out to clean up the Tenderloin and he did it right. The two worst places in the city, where thieves and thugs congregated and were harbored, one on Ontario street and the other at the foot of Seneca street, were closed up and they are now torn down. Since Johnson has been mayor policemen have been standing at the doors of other tough places in the district, excepting those which have been forced to close as the result of this system. I don't agree with Johnson in everything he does, but I like to see a man given credit for things he does that deserve commendation."—Plain Dealer of December 5.

DEMOCRACY NO RECOMMENDATION.

Twenty men were added to the police force by Director Dunn yesterday on the order of Mayor Johnson.

The new policemen will not have uniforms and they may not carry guns and clubs for any great length of time. The mayor concluded that owing to the amount of crime being committed an emergency had arisen in the affairs of the city justifying an enlargement of the force. As soon as conditions are normal, or sooner, if it is thought advisable, the 20 men will be returned to private citizenship.

"In selecting these men," said Mayor Johnson to Director Dunn, "I want you to get the best men who have passed the necessary examination and are eligible to membership on the police force. Go over your list carefully and select the most intelligent of the candidates. There must be no question as to politics. If it

should happen that the 20 brightest men on the list are republicans, those are the men you are to appoint. The fact that an applicant is a democrat is no recommendation."—Plain Dealer of December 6.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SENATOR HOAR.

For The Public.

Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.—Honored Sir: Let me congratulate you on the zeal you have manifested in the direction of stamping out anarchism. It occurs to me that I may be able to afford you some helpful suggestions before you offer the measures in the senate.

I pray you let us be guarded in this movement lest we commit irrevocable errors. I well remember how, when I was a much younger man, I was deeply engrossed in the movement of that period directed to the stamping out of abolitionism. If my memory serves me you were as ardent in that movement as you were afterward fervent in your satisfaction that the stamping out process had not prevailed. Those of us who wanted to stamp out that agitation were impressed with a sincere conviction that the abolitionists were miscreants who had no other purpose than to deprive our southern friends of their property. The mistake we made in youth was that we did not clearly recognize that the stamping out of the anti-slavery sentiment was not to be accomplished by the processes we undertook to apply. However, a beneficent Providence so arranged it that notwithstanding our failure to stamp out that agitation, property rights were buttressed rather than weakened. Many thousands of our fellow men were slaughtered in the final phases of the agitation, but since property interests were fortified by the result we had no real tears to shed, though many of us who underwent the metamorphosis to which I have referred, made many displays of solicitude for the poor fellow at the front.

Whatever the result of this new crusade on which you have made so notable and so noble a start, let us see to it that we do nothing to endanger our vested interests. Our first duty, as you seem often to have recognized, is to our class. The landlord class cannot afford to indulge in division and dissensions. But it is always wise to keep up an appearance of strife among ourselves for the tenant may be relied upon to

take sides with one or the other faction. Therefore be not cast down if some of our friends criticise your bill. At heart we are all one, and will stand by our order.

Doubtless you will cover all the more important points of your bill, but I venture to direct your notice to some features that may be regarded as trivial, yet may prove of enormous value to our interests.

We shall find that if we provide an island for the miscreants we are trying to stamp out, there will be many who will pose as offenders for no better reason than that they are desirous of getting to some place where they will not be subject to the landlord. Hence see to it, respected sir, that no volunteering be allowed by your measure; and guard, too, against pleas of guilty, lest many of our workmen may seek exile, and thus deplete our labor supply.

You and I both understand that the insurgency animating most of these anarchists has its origin in a sort of morbid sympathy for the miseries of the disinherited classes. The sight of human misery makes them unhappy, and they are doubtless eager to escape its continued observation. Then, too, some of the visionaries among them go so far as to entertain the notion that a tranquil social order and the highest degree of prosperity and happiness are to be attained only where the institution of landlordism finds no foothold.

Unfortunately, they have much historic warrant for their belief; and therefore we must be cautious in dealing with this whole matter. We should see to it that the island is not capable of sustaining human life, so that all the deportees may soon die of starvation, else history may repeat itself. England lost some of her American colonies by a similar venture as that on which we are about to embark, and will surely lose all her Australasian possessions in the same way, unless some providential interposition in favor of our class shall be vouchsafed to us.

In tracing my lineage to the First Families of Virginia, I have never cared to delve further back than the slave-holding period of the colony, lest I might chance upon the humiliating intelligence that my forbears were among the thugs, thieves, harlots and cutthroats who were sent over to become the founders of King James' Colony. Botany Bay, a penal colony, a receptacle for the scum of

the earth, also demonstrated that the vilest have in them the germ of an exalted decency, which will flourish and flower in an atmosphere of liberty. In both these instances a prosperous and refined people sprang from pernicious beginnings, putting our class to shame, both at arms and in the industrial pursuits. And the reason for this can be traced to the benignity of nature. Hence we must guard well against the possibility of our transported anarchists finding it possible to live where we intend to send them. True, to deport them to some barren island, as has been proposed, will be very much like sentencing them to death by torture; but we must not allow such considerations to deter us in this emergency. To allow these vile outcasts to build up a successful colony without landlords would be an object lesson for which a deluded world is nearly ready, and it were suicidal to us to lend any encouragement at all to such an undertaking.

And not only is it needful that the place to which we shall send the anarchists shall be bleak and barren, but we must not allow them to take with them any books calculated to give instructions in such arts as that of intensive cultivation. Kropotkin, one of the noisiest of the tribe, is the author of a book called "Field, Farm and Factory." Being an anarchist himself it may well be feared that many of his clan know of this book, and they may succeed in baffling our best efforts by learning how to "make the desert blossom as the rose."

And there are other books that must not be allowed to corrupt the young of that colony. We cannot afford to let them take, for instance, the "Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson." True, our class has forgotten Jefferson, but when we were young we used to regard him as a great American. Happily he is a back number these days. But the anarchists take much comfort from his declaration that "that is the best government that governs least," and the logic of such a declaration may be fraught with serious consequences.

No books at all should be allowed them except such as have been properly edited. Herbert Spencer, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Stephen Pearl Andrews, and writers of that class can scarcely be sufficiently "reduced," and so we ought to prohibit them altogether. But what shall we do about the Sacred Scriptures? Here

is indeed a distressing dilemma. The teachings of that book are a constant menace to our class. Fortunately in our own country we experience no ill effects from its revolutionary outgivings, but that is because we are generous with the incumbents of our pulpits. These emigrants, however, will get away from the influence of right and safe interpretation, and one dare not guess what sort of exegetical comfort they may derive from their unassisted reading of that dangerous book.

Could not your bill provide for an expurgated edition of the Bible? Above all things let us cut out all that would serve to encourage the heresy that God made the earth for all mankind, and not for our order only. In any event we must take Jesus out of the Bible, and the sooner we do it the better, even in the Bible for home consumption, for we cannot count on our ability to keep his influence asleep very much longer.

Let the bill be explicit also on another point; that only the head of a condemned family shall be deported, no matter how much other members of the brood may be guilty of holding heterodox opinions. We must not make it easy for the culprit to get a start in the new land, and we must not deplete our labor supply. The head of a family having been transported, it is clear that the remainder of the "bunch" will be more ready to serve at reasonable wages. Our servant girl problem, unimportant as it now looks, will be one of grave import before long, and we ought not to deprive ourselves of possibilities such as I can see in this feature of the bill.

I know of some anarchists who do not approve of murder—indeed who are so bigoted in that regard that they would not even kill an animal for food—who claim to be interested in the philosophy of anarchism because they profess to be convinced that the chief end of government is to protect landlordism, and who affect to believe that no social tranquillity worthy of the name is possible where landlordism exists. Unfortunately for us, some of these men live exemplary lives, are animated by a keen sense of honor, and strive to deport themselves as if they really believed that silly rot about all men being brothers. Could we not embody in the bill some provision whereby men of that kind might be given an opportunity to

make public recantation and adopt the doctrine that the earth was made for the landlords? Surely that were a humane provision; and I realize how sincerely you strive to maintain your reputation for humaneness, a tendency in you which was emphasized in your admirable attitude last April in your excellent display for the poor Filipinos. That you afterward modified your views somewhat is greatly to your credit, for it shows you to be a safe man, and not a fanatic who would go to any extent in the advocacy of an ideal.

One other matter: Your bill should contain a provision somewhat similar to the "lettres de cachet" of blessed monarchical memory. There will be many cases where the undesirable person will be difficult to reach in court, and perhaps unwilling to volunteer to emigrate. Why not allow each senator, each chief of police, and perhaps a few other functionaries, to have such letters with them at all times, so that no formality at all will be needed to secure the prompt deportation of the suspect. We must, as far as possible, guard against open trials, lest the accused may be able, through the medium of the degenerate press, to give their version of their vagaries, and all such contain animadversions on our class. I have in mind one man who would better be deported on a letter of that kind than openly tried. I refer to one Debs, who, on the assassination of our late esteemed president made bold to say: "As long as there is misery at the bottom there will be no security at the top." What is the use of affording the opportunities of a spectacular trial to a miscreant who condemns himself in advance by such utterances?

In making a legal definition of the word "anarchist" for the purposes of your bill, I think you should be careful to avoid employing the term in its etymological or philosophic sense. Better to cling to the definition made by the young newspaper reporter's lexicon.

I was much impressed with that part of your speech of last April on the Philippine situation which you devoted to your pride of ancestry. I realize now, in much greater measure than I did at that time, that in our pride of ancestry may be involved the pride of material inheritance, and you would have done violence to that phase of your pride of ancestry if you had persisted in a

course that might have alienated many subscriptions from our campaign funds. One may well tremble in contemplation of all that might have happened had we possessed less ammunition in the campaign treasury.

If the dangers I have pointed out to you in this anarchistic matter should compel you to take counsel of history I will not be among those to blame you for so-called apostasy. There is no doubt in my mind that you will be guided by our best interests, and that you will adopt my suggestions as being in consonance with the interests of our class, for all progress, all order, in short all the blessings of civilization depend on the continuous comfort of the propertied and enlightened class.

One line of thought, however, disturbs me. Many of us who were in the movement to stamp out abolitionists, as you may remember by recalling your enthusiastic adolescent attitude on that question, later found it to our interests to become identified with precisely what we had condemned; many of us, including your honored self, were against a single gold standard, yet have since found it expedient to align ourselves in favor of that wise measure; we were ardent, enthusiastic anti-imperialists last April and were earnest in our intention to stamp out imperialism, yet by June we had given over all desire to attack the empire, and indeed we do not now merely acknowledge the empire, but we are unbounded in our undying devotion to it. And so, if we both live long enough, may it not chance that instead of remembering our present ardor in the endeavor to stamp out heretical opinions, we may come to adopt them ourselves? It is a gruesome thought, but at our age, respected and venerable sir, we have no longer the luxurious sensation of surprise. Fraternal yours from property rights,

HERMAN KUEHN.

70 Dearborn St., Chicago, Dec. 9, 1901.

A FILIPINO APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Reprinted from the Weekly Springfield Republican of November 22.

A LETTER FROM SIXTO LOPEZ.

Hong-Kong, Oct. 12, 1901.—I have been favored with a certified copy of the appeal sent from Hong-Kong by the Filipino central committee to the president of the United States. In framing this appeal the committee has carefully avoided the discussion of matters of contention, except in

so far as was necessary to a clearer understanding of the real situation. They have also refrained from stating all the facts relating to the growing discontent and the indications of unrest in various parts of the islands. They were anxious, so they inform me, to avoid anything which could be construed as a threat or a defiance. Such a construction would be entirely foreign to their intention, which embraces a sincere desire to provide a possible basis for a friendly settlement of the conflict.

I can state, however, that I have had access to evidence which indicates that the situation is even graver than as stated by the committee. And here in Hong-Kong it has been asserted, by one who has seen much of the Philippines, that "all the officers in Manila, both military and naval, with whom he conversed were of the opinion that the whole of the Philippine archipelago would be again under military rule within two years at the utmost." I cannot, of course, vouch for the truth of this statement, or the probability of its fulfillment, but if the facts of the case, such as they really are, have not been made known in America, it should be remembered that there is a vigorous censorship, which has been admitted as not entirely confined to the interests of military operations.

APPEAL OF THE FILIPINO CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

4 Ripon Terrace, Bonham Road.

Hong-Kong, Oct. 10, 1901.

To the President, Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., United States of America—Sir:

Before proceeding with that which forms the body of this communication, we, the Filipino central committee, on behalf of our fellow-countrymen, desire to express our sympathy with the people of the United States, who have been so suddenly and tragically deprived of their distinguished chief magistrate, in the person of the late President William McKinley. In the presence of such a painful circumstance we should prefer to maintain a respectful silence, but the nature of this communication will make it clear that it is impossible for us to longer delay its transmission.

The committee, having authority to act from the general in command of the Filipino forces, beg to submit for your earnest attention and favorable consideration, an appeal, the objects of which are to secure, if possible, permanent peace in our country, and to suggest the establishment of such re-

lations between the two countries as shall meet the approval of the American government, and at the same time satisfy the legitimate aspirations of our people.

In making this appeal it is first necessary to state what we regard as the underlying cause of the conflict, and to draw attention to the increasing gravity of the present situation, not in a spirit of defiance, but in order that truth may guide future deliberation.

The most important fact, and one about which there has been the gravest misapprehension, is that relating to the origin, intensity and extent of our people's aspiration for independent national life. It has been represented that this aspiration is of recent growth; that it took its rise after the arrival of the American land forces; that it was entertained not by the people in general, but by "a few politico-military adventurers;" and that the purpose of the previous rising of the Filipinos had been solely to obtain reforms, and did not include separation from Spain.

All these statements are the reverse of what is true, and we are forced to the conclusion that, with those who made them, the wish was father to the thought.

It is true that at a certain period in the insurrection of 1896-7 our people did agree to the treaty of Biak-na-Bato, which has been cited by some as evidence. But this treaty was intended simply as a stepping-stone to independence. For with the control in governmental affairs which its stipulated reforms would give, or with the accession to our arms which the actual money payment would otherwise provide, the means of obtaining final independence would be secured. Thus our people had the prudence to be content to walk ere they ran; but the intention to secure final separation from Spain was ever present with them. The aspiration for independence existed long prior to any of these events. In July, 1897—five months before the signing of the treaty—Aguinaldo issued a proclamation in French and Spanish, in which he said: "National life unjustly withheld from us, we, children of liberty, will show to the whole world that, just as we have a language of our own, so we are worthy to have a country and a government of our own. Therefore, led by zeal for the public welfare, we aspire to obtain our liberty and independence."

The aim, too, of Dr. Rizal was inde-

pendence. In his great work, "El Filibusterismo," published ten years ago (1891), he adopts as the motto and motive of his book the significant words of his intimate friend, Prof. Blumentritt: That the monks themselves were unconsciously acting in such a manner as "to extend the ideas of filibusterism throughout the entire country, and to convince the last Filipino that there exists no other salvation save separation from the mother country."

The works of Rizal were the inspiration of the insurrection against Spain, as the Spaniards and religious orders knew only too well. Consequently, the assertion that the idea of independence arose for the first time after the arrival of a certain American general showed an entire lack of knowledge of the real situation.

Owing to this lack of knowledge of the real cause of the opposition to American authority many conclusions have been reached which events have since proved to be erroneous. Thus, it was declared that the capture of our capitals and the dispersal of our organization would put an end to the war. Indeed, it was then and many times thereafter stated that the war was over. Again, after the American forces had been largely increased without any apparent effect, it was authoritatively declared that the Filipinos were only awaiting the result of the presidential elections, and that 60 days thereafter all armed resistance would cease. This having proved incorrect, it was then asserted that the one thing needful was the capture of our leader, and when that had been achieved, the war was again declared to be at an end.

Any one of these prophecies might have been fulfilled if the grounds upon which they were made had been true. If it had been a fact that the masses of the Philippine people were being misled or forced into the conflict in order to satisfy the ambition of a few unscrupulous adventurers, the last vestige of opposition to American authority would have been crushed out long ago. But all these prophecies have failed because they did not take into account the intense and universal desire of our people for independent national life, which has been, and will continue to be, the perennial spring of all opposition to foreign rule, to which alone must be attributed the fact that a practically unarmed people, notwithstanding the successive loss of their capitals and the capture of their chief, have been able to avoid a crushing and final defeat at the hands of a country

immeasurably superior in power and wealth.

A review of the present situation also will show that this aspiration has lost none of its force. All the reverses which our people have met with, and all the rigors of a war in which, in many respects, mercy has not been conspicuous, have not lessened their determination to continue the defense, at whatever sacrifice. The capture of our leader is regarded as one of the fortunes of war. The consequent temporary decrease in our defensive operations has proved to be simply an example of the ebb and flow which accompany all military conflicts. The surrender of some of our generals has served to separate the chaff from the wheat, while the taking of the oath of allegiance by a number of our people may, in cases where sordid motives did not enter, be attributed to causes other than that of desire for American rule, or a surrender of their aspiration for independence. The hope that American rule would find favor with our people, owing to the establishment of civil government, has not been realized. We have evidence from private sources showing that during the last three months discontent with the present situation has been growing more intense. It should be remembered that, according to the best information at our command, drawn from American official sources, only 35 out of the 78 provinces have been placed under what is termed civil government; and of these we know that in several our countrymen are only held in check by superior military forces, and are only waiting a more favorable opportunity to assert their rights. From recent dispatches we learn also that in three of the provinces apparently pacified, preparations are being made for risings in support of the national defense, and this notwithstanding the approach of the dry season, when the natural advantages in military operations lie with their opponents.

In support of these statements we point to the pronounced recrudescence of the armed resistance to American control which has recently taken place; to the fact that out of those provinces placed under civil government three were in July last returned to military rule; and to the equally significant fact that of the three Filipino political parties in the Philippines, two are working, by peaceful means, for ultimate independence, and the third for admission as states of the union, all rejecting the colonial idea.

But we wish to state distinctly that

our war is being waged in the spirit of the declaration of independence. Our objects are the same as those which animated the founders of the country with which we are now in conflict, and from whom we receive moral "aid and comfort." And we are fortunate in finding our justification written upon the brightest pages of American history. Our war is not of recent origin. It was originally directed against the usurpation and despotism of Spain. And it is only by accident, or by that change of fortune which we least of all expected or desired, that we now find ourselves in conflict with America. In a recent proclamation Gen. Malvar, now in command of our forces, declares: "Our banner is not that of war against America, but of the rightful defense of a people whose most cherished and sacred rights have been trampled under foot." He further declares that the aim is not to "kill all Americans, who, like ourselves, have mothers, wives, daughters or sons who would mourn their loss," but to defend "our legitimate right to have a government of our own and an independent national life." In this he expresses with dignity and precision the sentiments of every right-thinking Filipino.

It is natural, when an armed conflict arises, that there should be a large element of mutual distrust. But we respectfully submit that this distrust has been increased by the continued refusal of the United States to give assurance that the rights of the Filipino, as they understand them, will receive ultimate recognition. It is true that we have been promised many good things, but accompanying these promises there has been a demand for unconditional surrender to American authority, without any assurance that the one thing which we value most will ever be granted to us. This demand, and the absence of this assurance, are regarded by our people as evidence that their rights are not admitted. They hold that to yield to this demand and to thus cease their defense would be rightly construed as an admission that their rights did not exist. They argue—and we consider the argument legitimate, whatever the real truth may be—that if there is no intention to permanently deprive them of their rights America ought to be willing to give some kind of assurance to that effect. Such an assurance, we are all agreed, would put an end to a conflict which, by its peculiar conditions, is one of unusual severity and horror. And the withholding of such an assurance, in the

face of a consummation so desirable, only adds to that distrust which no promise of good government, prosperity or social enlightenment can dispel. It ought to be evident to American statesmen that there must be more than mere adventure or personal ambition in this dogged resistance of our people. It ought to be apparent by this time that the theories hitherto advanced are inadequate to account for the facts. The failure of the American authorities in the Philippines to restore peace can be attributed to only one cause. Neither rigorous methods of warfare nor the establishment of civil government, with promise of prosperity and social well-being, has proved effective, because these promises, though admittedly good, in no way satisfy the aspiration of our people, and therefore can have no effect upon the situation. When the bread of national life is asked for, it will not suffice to offer a stone, even though the stone be a diamond.

In view, therefore, of the remoteness of a settlement of the conflict under present relations, and in view of the impending serious loss of life and property, unhappily to both parties, should the relations continue, we lay aside our pride and appeal for a reconsideration of the situation, in the hope that a way may be found, mutually satisfactory, of ending this conflict, by giving such intimation to our countrymen as will assure them of the ultimate recognition of their legitimate rights.

It is only human for us to believe that we are in the right, and, so believing, we should naturally regard such a reconsideration as an act of justice. But we realize that those who support the present policy consider us to be in the wrong, and we should therefore accept a reconsideration of the matter by them as an act of magnanimity.

We are conscious that in making this appeal we are adopting an unusual course, and we realize also that there are difficulties in the way. But we hope that with the acknowledgment that we shall herein make, and with the assurances which we propose to give, these difficulties may be surmounted.

Apart from contending claims—which we believe are capable of being adjusted by the method hereunder suggested, in a condition of peace—the chief difficulty to a settlement of the conflict lies in the contention that anything in the form of negotiation

with those who offer armed resistance to the authority of the United States would be liable to misconception, and would result in a loss of prestige to American arms. The popular form of this contention is: "We must first teach these Filipinos to respect us and to submit to our authority."

The "respect" of a people who have been battered into submission is a respect which ought to be regarded by every free American with pity, contempt and scorn. Our real respect can be obtained by other and more dignified means. We do not require any further lesson to teach us the immeasurable superiority in power of a nation which has enjoyed all the blessings of liberty for more than 100 years, and which is ten times as great in population, and incalculably greater in wealth. We, on the other hand, have been struggling under a corrupt and archaic despotism which retarded all progress and sapped the natural power of our people. In our present condition our forces are, by comparison, limited in monetary resources, very inadequately armed, and of necessity, imperfectly organized. We therefore consider it no discredit to acknowledge, and we do authoritatively acknowledge, that the American power is supreme, and that the prestige of American arms has been vindicated throughout this conflict.

A second difficulty is founded on the assumption that, if internal control were given to the Filipinos, those of our fellowcountrymen who had supported American authority would be liable to maltreatment and disability.

Such an assumption is hardly in harmony with the belief, held by many Americans, that a majority of our people are in favor of American rule, for a majority ought surely to be able to defend itself. But apart from this, we contend that the supposition is groundless. We know that a large proportion of those who openly support American authority do so only to avoid suspicion, and many of them have assured us that their heart is with the cause of their countrymen in arms. There are some Filipinos who, for reasons of their own, have taken a position in favor of American occupation, and there are a few also who are fighting against their fellow-countrymen. The treatment by our government of such men as Buencamino, Tavera and the Macabebes, who opposed the Filipinos in the insurrection against Spain, is in

itself sufficient to dispel any fear of future ill-treatment. But at the proper time satisfactory undertakings could be given of protection, and of amnesty to those who have taken up arms against our people for all acts done under American authority. America would always have the right and the means to enforce such contracts, and this ample protection would be given to these men, although naturally they will not be able to escape social ostracism whether under American or Filipino rule.

A technical difficulty arises out of the fact that the Philippine government has never received recognition by the United States or by any other sovereign power. It has been contended that there is consequently no Philippine authority with which the American government could negotiate, even if it had the desire, and that to have relations with those claiming such authority would imply a recognition which America cannot and will not give.

We claim to have authority on behalf of the Philippine people—authority which, having been properly conferred, is acknowledged and would be obeyed. But if there is technical validity in the above contention, our people would be prepared to accept an assurance of the ultimate recognition of their rights through an indirect channel, either by proclamation to the Philippine people in general or by an annunciation of policy to the people of America, or by such other method as may be deemed proper. The technical difficulty would thus be surmounted, and the object of this appeal achieved, without giving recognition to any real or "so-called" Philippine authority. And as soon as peace had been established a constitutional convention could be convened similar to the one operating in Cuba, with which all future relations could be held, and by which all differences could be adjusted.

Without necessarily seeking for recognition of our authority, we consider it proper to state, very briefly, by what authority we act:

In an official communication, dated 31st of July, 1901, Gen. Miguel Malvar, in supreme command of the Filipino forces, confirms the power previously held by this committee, and supplements it, declaring us to be the body legally representing those in arms, and recognizing in us the fullest powers.

Finally, in the hope and with the earnest prayer that this appeal may

meet with a favorable response, we respectfully represent that no way can be found of putting an end to this unhappy conflict which does not include an adequate assurance to our people of some form of ultimate national life. We ask in all sincerity: Is not this aspiration both legitimate and laudable? And if so, what other course would you have a self-respecting people adopt? What greater proof of our sincerity and devotion could there be than the prolongation of resistance, even after the complete supremacy of American arms has been established? The armies of America can march unresisted from end to end of our country, but wherever they are not present our people unite, drawn together by a common desire. The American armies can defeat our troops, but they cannot defeat or destroy this desire, unless by the destruction of those who hold it—and such an act as this we can never believe the American people would knowingly authorize.

And if it prove that yours should be the hand to liberate our people, a name honored in your country will be beloved and ever memorable in ours.

With every assurance of our esteem, we beg to subscribe ourselves, yours with great respect, Per el Comité Central Filipino.

El Presidente, G. APACIBLE (rubricado).
Consejeros, E. RIEGO, V. Ilustre,
CELESTINO RODRIGUEZ (rubricado).
El Secretario, CAYETANO LUKBAN (rubricado).
El copia, C. LUKBAN.
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BOOK NOTICES.

The Austin-Haas debate (A. C. Austin, Hudson, South Dakota. Price, 20 cents;) is a pamphlet of 21 pages, in which Mr. Austin collects, arranges and explains the statistics which show that the excessive exports of the United States, instead of testifying to generally prosperous conditions here, disclose a heavy drain upon American resources.

PERIODICALS.

—The Single Tax for November (Glasgow, Scotland) is replete with information about the spread of the movement it represents, especially in Scotland and England. It is also strong on the editorial side. An especially valuable article describes the progress of the single tax idea among the cooperative societies of England.

—The December Comrade (28 Lafayette Place, N. Y.), is an improvement upon previous issues. Ernest Crosby writes of "A visit to John Burroughs" in a different vein from the conventional magazine article of that species. Franklin H. Wentworth contributes some taking verses in newsboy slang on "The Newsboys' Christmas," and one handsome black-letter page is occupied with a religious satire—"A New Chapter of the Bible"—capitally done by Herbert N. Casson.

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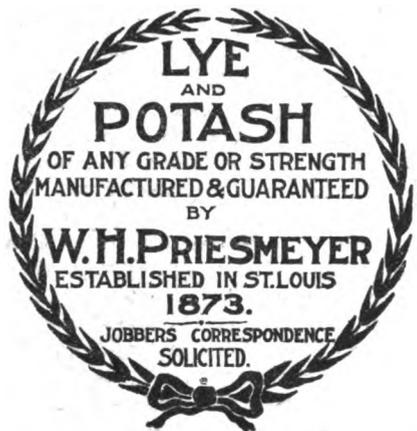
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