

# The Public

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As stump speakers, Hanna and Roosevelt make an elegant combination for an imperialistic campaign. Hanna with his full dinner pail issue, and Roosevelt merely as a spectacle, recall the "bread and circus" politics of imperial Rome.

Mr. Hanna's contract with that "twin relic of barbarism," the Mormon church, to throw the Mormon vote for McKinley, is a fit sequel to the presidential agreement with the proslavery and polygamous sultan of Sulu.

A significant banner was that which the great procession of striking miners carried while parading through Wilkesbarre on the 2d, and which read: "We want our dinner pails filled with substantial food, not coal barons' taffy."

To which political party in this campaign are the trusts contributing campaign funds? Would the trusts contribute to any political party without reasonable assurances of governmental protection in return? The answer to those two questions should determine the vote of every intelligent republican who has felt the deadly pressure of the trust.

It now transpires that Aguinaldo, instead of urging his people to fight until the American elections, in the hope of a Bryan victory, as the administration press has tried to make the public believe, assures them that either event will aid the Filipino cause. Should Bryan be elected, he says, the United States will recognize their independence; should McKin-

ley be reelected, he will become involved with the allies in a war in China, and for troops to use there must weaken the American army in the Philippines. Aguinaldo evidently expects independence in either case. Under McKinley, at the cost of more blood; under Bryan, by an honorable peace.

Judging from British dispatches, the much-talked-of "invasion" of Europe by American capital consists in the purchase of foreign monopolies by American syndicates. This kind of invasion will yet prove more disastrous to our foreign fellow men than an invasion by an army with banners.

We have occasionally expressed an opinion that the Bourbon democracy of the south, which is chiefly responsible for the undemocratic treatment of southern negroes, only awaits a favorable opportunity to go bag and baggage over to the McKinleyized republican party. There have been many signs of late, entirely apart from the logic of the situation, which strengthen this opinion. One of these is the announcement that ex-Senator M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, who led the white terror against the South Carolina blacks in the seventies, and whom Tillman afterward extinguished, has indicated his intention to become in name, as he already appears to be in fact, a McKinley republican. When "democrats" like Butler become republicans, it is high time for a good many "republicans," white and black, to become democrats.

An American court-martial in the Philippines has convicted two commissioned officers of torturing seven Filipino prisoners by hanging them by the neck for ten seconds. So we have one indisputable instance of tor-

ture. The crime is proved. Other instances are charged by newspaper correspondents; but we hear of no court-martials, though one peculiarly brutal species of torture, that of throwing prisoners upon their backs and pouring them full of water, is reported by the correspondents to be common. And when the penalty imposed in the one case of conviction of which the American public has been advised is considered, the torturing of Filipinos by American military officers would appear to be without danger of serious punishment. Though these two officers had been convicted of hanging seven of their prisoners by the neck for ten seconds, a torture that must have been agonizing, they were sentenced to be—reprimanded!

Advocates of postal savings banks may be put to their trumps by the condition of the postal savings bank system of England. While its report for 1898 showed a surplus of assets over liabilities of \$50,000,000, its report for 1899 shows an excess of liabilities over assets of \$2,500,000. From 1876 until 1895, the bank made an annual profit, over and above the expenses of operation and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest paid to depositors; but there has been a yearly loss since 1895, culminating in 1899 in what in a private institution would be confessed insolvency. Postal savings banks may be useful institutions, but the British experiment is not as good evidence of it as it used to be.

The British Tories have thrown shame aside and adopted some of the campaign dodges of American McKinleyites. They began the parliamentary campaign now in progress by calling the elections for a date three months in advance of the new registration of voters. The elections are

being held, accordingly, under an old registration, thereby disfranchising voters who have changed their residence since this registration was made. Most persons so disfranchised are presumed to be liberals, the liberal party being recruited chiefly from the poorer classes, who move oftener than the well-to-do. Had the tory minister postponed the elections until after the 1st of January, instead of calling them hurriedly in the fall, the liberal party would have been to that extent strengthened. As it is, the tories get this rather off-color advantage. Such a trick is so peculiarly Yankeeish that it is difficult to believe it was originated by our transatlantic cousins, even those of the tory strain. But another election trick of which the tories are guilty was unquestionably borrowed from this side. It consists in publishing for the first time, in the midst of the campaign, sensational war documents that have been stowed away in the pigeon holes of the war office for months. The tories get these public documents as public officials and ostensibly for public purposes; but as public officials they withhold them from the public until as political campaigners they can publish them to their supposed advantage for campaign purposes. That electioneering trick is borrowed from Mr. McKinley, who invented it for the present presidential campaign and has used it without shame though with indifferent effect.

No better effect in behalf of McKinleyism has been produced by the spectacular trip of Roosevelt as a rough riding spellbinder through the farther west, where it had been assumed that his swashbuckler characteristics had made him peculiarly popular. His trip appears to have been a painful failure. The hardy pioneers did not take him seriously, but looked upon him curiously as a tenderfoot giving an imitation. Then he was put at a disadvantage by orders from headquarters to lay aside his gold standard speeches. This was at the

request of the local leaders, who wired that his speeches on that subject would lose their states. So this strenuous representative of the party, whose principal candidate declares and whose manager insists that the money question is the "immediate" and burning issue, was forced to be silent on the money question in the very states which he had set out to conquer on that issue. So flat a failure did Roosevelt's rough and tumble tour in the west prove to be, that his party has made the most of a Rocky mountain mining town disturbance in which, to his professed delight, he figured vicariously as the object of the miners' wrath. The disturbance had been caused by Senator Wolcott, who is excessively unpopular in the mining districts of Colorado, but who ventured to take Roosevelt in tow. But Roosevelt, though undisturbed in his speech except by a rude question which he answered more rudely than it was asked, assumed the role of a visitor assaulted by a democratic mob and now tries to make political capital out of it.

This disturbance in Colorado calls for reflection upon the different ways in which the republican leaders and democratic leaders deal with disturbances of adversaries' meetings by their respective followers. What a mob may do is not so important as how the party leaders regard its action. It is that that gives responsible color to the event. Now, in 1896, Mr. Bryan's meetings were disturbed more than once. Republican rowdies mobbed him in Chicago, and plutocratic toughs broke up his meeting at Yale college. To these disgraceful acts the republican candidate and the republican leaders, big and little, gave their silent approval. Not one word of condemnation or protest or admonition did any of them utter to prevent repetitions of these outrages. But when the Colorado mob, last week, angered by the presence of Wolcott, had broken out riotously at Roosevelt's meeting, the democratic convention of the county where it happened passed resolutions

condemning "the spirit of intolerance exhibited on that occasion," and disavowing "all responsibility for the disturbance;" while Mr. Bryan himself promptly and publicly condemned the action of the mob. Parties and candidates being responsible for the lawlessness of any of their supporters only in so far as they acquiesce in it, Mr. Bryan is certainly in much better position regarding the Colorado demonstration against Roosevelt than was Mr. McKinley three years ago regarding similar riotous demonstrations against Bryan.

In his anti-trust speech at Nebraska City, Neb., Bryan characteristically and completely demolished the attempt of J. Sterling Morton to raise a local prejudice against him on the basis of legal proceedings instituted by the populist attorney general against the starch trust. A so-called nonpartisan meeting had been called to protest against these lawful proceedings on the ground that they would have the effect of closing the Argo Starch company at Nebraska City and throwing the local employes out of work. Mr. Bryan appeared upon the ground to reply to this demagogic protest. He showed from J. Sterling Morton's own paper, the *Conservative*, that in May, 1899, the Argo company was so prosperous, though a competitor of the National Starch trust, as to afford, in Mr. Morton's language, "irrefutable evidence of the fact that no combine or capital can crush out a well-managed private concern." Yet in September, 1899, the Argo company joined a competing trust, organized under the laws of New Jersey; and in August, 1900, the competing trust joined the original trust, thus destroying competition altogether. Consequently the populist attorney general began the proceedings in question, under a law of the state, to prevent the merging of the Argo company into the all-absorbing trust.

Upon the foregoing facts Mr. Bryan, with characteristic point and