

as relentlessly faithless public servants who, with malice aforethought, promoted those policies.

It was in these respects that Mr. Godkin rendered his best service. At a time when respectable rascals were outraging the truest ideals of public life, when hypocrites in high places were giving an air of piety to public crime, when teachers were inculcating the morally destructive doctrine that righteousness is a plaything of time, place and circumstances, Mr. Godkin held aloft what he believed to be the standard of immutable moral principle.

What if he may have been now and then mistaken? What if he seemed to be intolerant? His mistakes were those of the wolfhound thrown off the scent; his intolerance was that of the upright judge dealing with high-handed crime. With all their mistakes and all their intolerance, the New York Evening Post and the New York Nation, which Godkin edited so long, have been among the most efficient agencies for civic righteousness in this country.

### "THE HONOR OF THE ARMY."

We hear much just now about "the honor of the army." So did France when the Dreyfus episode was on.

Imperialistic tendencies always parade in military fashion. When Rome was passing from republic to empire, the legions demanded patriotic worship. When Bonaparte was rushing France backward into absolutism, the "grand army" was his shibboleth. To William of Germany the army is the most sacred thing in the realm next to himself. And now that our own country has plunged into imperialism, denunciations of criminal acts committed by army officers upon inhabitants of the distant country they have been sent out to conquer and subdue, are smothered by demands that we respect "the honor of the army." We, too, are thus invited to set up a military fetish for permanent adoption.

Before we joined the procession of world power imperialism, an appeal

to refrain from criticising public policies or military cruelties, out of respect for "the honor of the army," would have produced a popular anticlimax. Regular armies were hated for their historic associations as the tools of despotic power. Our people have always detested them.

It is true that volunteer armies, raised for particular emergencies and to be disbanded when the emergency was over, have commanded and deserved popular respect. As applied to volunteers for a defensive war the "honor of the army" is a phrase full of patriotic meaning. And defensive wars are the only kind we ever waged, with one infamous exception, until President McKinley discovered that conquest is our destiny and learned from the old slaveholding oligarchy that our destiny determines our duty. But "the honor of the army," as applied to regular troops, means in any country what it means in all countries. It means in the United States what it means in France, in Germany, in England, in Russia, or wherever else a regular military force is disciplined into that unquestioning obedience which makes it a fit implement for "the man on horseback."

In France "the honor of the army" is the catch-phrase of Chauvinism, and a verbal capsule for such iniquities as those of the Dreyfus persecution. In England "the honor of the army" is the catch-phrase of jingoism; it palliates the devastating reign of the British conqueror in South Africa. In Germany "the honor of the army" is the modern catch-phrase of the almost obsolete doctrine of divine right. In Russia "the honor of the army" is the catch-phrase of absolutism. In the United States this same phrase now rolls smoothly off the tongues of imperialists as justification or excuse for barbarities that are shocking to the unmilitary mind. Johnson's definition of "patriotism" as the last refuge of a scoundrel, might be fairly paraphrased in a definition of "the honor of the army" as the ready refuge of a Christian savage.

Honor is not the peculiar attribute of armies. Honor is as honor does. We don't speak of the honor of the fire department. Yet fire departments are at least as useful as standing armies and the service as dan-

gerous. We don't speak of the honor of the police force. Yet a police force is at least as necessary as a standing army and its honor as important. Then why should we speak of the honor of the army? Why should we defend it against charges of crime by parrot talk about its honor? Isn't all this solicitude about the "honor of the army" borrowed from the manners of those well dressed scoundrels of the eighteenth century who could stick a man as a butcher sticks a pig and cared nothing for their debts unless they were gambling debts, but who were forever prating about their "honor"? The honor of the army is not assailed by charges of crime. It can be assailed only by its own dishonorable acts. The question must always be, not whether the charges are shocking, but whether they are true. Whenever accusations of such dishonorable acts are answered with confessions, accompanied with denunciations of the accuser as an assailant of "the honor of the army," there is danger ahead.

History teaches that nothing is more dangerous to the liberties of a people than popular reverence for "the honor" of a standing army. That is one of the essential poisons of militarism. "It is needless to say," writes Goldwin Smith, in his recent admirable essay on "Commonwealth or Empire," "what is the relation of militarism to political liberty. It has been the same ever since the military power enslaved Rome." And the advance of militarism among us may be marked by observing the attitude of our people toward our regular army.

If they regard "the honor of the army" as something which cannot be questioned they are far gone in militarism. If politicians make a fetish of "the honor of the army," these politicians think the people are far gone in militarism, for politicians keep their ears to the ground. But if the people hold our army to the same accountability that they would hold our fire departments, our police forces, our legislators, or any other public servants, and do so with such emphasis that the politicians can make no mistake, then they are still safe

from militarism. Let us pray to be delivered from the tyranny of a phrase which, by raising the standing army above reproach or criticism, would make it a fit implement for the needs of some ambitious and despotic commander-in-chief.

## NEWS

The coal strike looms up as the most important event of the week. At the time of last week's report (p. 106) four out of the necessary five districts of the United Mine Workers of America had joined in a call for a national convention with a view to extending the strike so as to include not only the anthracite region, where it is now in progress, but also all the coal mines of the country. Three of these districts were those into which the anthracite region is divided, and the fourth was the Michigan district. The necessary fifth has since joined in the call. It is the West Virginia district, No. 17. This district was reported on the 26th by the secretary-treasurer of the national organization as having taken that action at a conference of district organizers and officers held at Fairmount, W. Va., and President Mitchell has since admitted the fact. The calling of a national convention is, therefore, now imperative; and as the five districts which have joined in the call will be entitled to a majority of the delegates, it is believed that a general strike will be ordered.

A strike throughout the West Virginia district had already been ordered at a convention held at Huntington, W. Va., on the 24th. It is ordered to begin June 7 and to continue until the demands for an increase of wages by from 10 to 22 per cent. shall have been granted. The number of miners involved is estimated at from 30,000 to 40,000. This strike, like the anthracite strike, was declared after all efforts on the part of the workmen to secure a joint conference of workmen and employers had failed.

A teamsters' strike against the meat trust packing houses at Chicago was declared by the Packing House Teamsters' Local Union on the 25th to enforce its demand for an increase of wages. The strike went into operation at once, and on the 27th every packing house in the stock yards was tied up, their teamsters having in a

body refused to haul for them. They negotiated with the big express companies for substitutes, but the express drivers refused to take the strikers' places. Then they applied to the railroad companies to switch their cars to points where the wagons of retail butchers could get at them, but the railroad freight handlers declined to do any work in furtherance of the meat trade. At this writing it is expected not only that there will be a general strike throughout the stockyards, but also that the retail butchers will close their shops out of sympathy with the strikers, and that there will be an absolute suspension of trade in meat in Chicago. The smaller dealers are willing to adopt the teamsters' scale of wages, and some have formally done so, but the large packers refuse all concessions.

Another Chicago strike is imminent, one in connection with the operation of the street cars. Should it occur it will be due to low wages and to efforts on the part of one of the street car combinations to break up a recently formed union of street car employees.

Some six weeks ago several employes were dropped from one of the lines for having joined the union, and a feeling of resentment became general at once among the men. Until then the meetings of the union had been in secret, but on the 2d of May five open meetings were held at which 1,665 employes joined the organization. At that time there was no design to strike. On the contrary, all strike talk was discouraged. Since then large numbers of men have been discharged for alleged incompetency who are all members of the union, which intensifies the general feeling of resentment. Attempts to confer with the employers have been frustrated. They refuse to confer with a committee of the Federation of Labor, and also with one composed of their discharged employes. They do offer to confer with committees of their own men, but it is feared by the latter that this is intended as a trap to catch the union leaders among their employes for the purpose of making examples of them. To offset the labor organization, a benevolent association of trusted employes of the traction company has been formed by or with the approval of the company.

The Chicago Federation of Labor took decisive action on the 11th with

reference to a possible strike by adopting resolutions declaring that—as the tactics of the Union Traction company are plainly intended to precipitate a strike, it is the sense of this Federation that all our efforts should be concentrated on the promotion of organization until such time as the membership thereof shall be justified in presenting their reasonable demands to the company and thus protect the public from inconvenience; and be it resolved, further, as an earnest of this pledge, that we request all affiliated unions to contribute a sum equivalent to 1 cent per capita per week on their membership until it shall become necessary to increase the contribution; and be it further resolved, that each delegate here present pledge himself to bring his local union into the closest harmony with the foregoing resolution, with a view to hastening the contribution, so that no victimized men may suffer and thus be discouraged from showing their activity; and resolved, that the Chicago Federation of Labor, wishing to demonstrate its fairness to the public, will again send a committee to request the company to refrain from further discrimination against its employes on account of exercising the constitutional rights as American citizens to organize, and in the event of a refusal to meet us in a spirit of fairness, the executive board be authorized to take such action as may be necessary in the premises.

Pursuant to the last of these resolutions a committee of the Federation has been in conference with Franklin McVeagh, the local member, along with James H. Eckels (who is also a director and officer of the traction company), of the committee of the National Civic Federation on arbitration, of which Senator Hanna is chairman. As we write (May 29) it is rumored that this conference has proved successful and that the strike will be averted. The demands of the street car employes are in substance that all employes discharged for becoming members of the union, now numbering about 150, shall be reinstated; that the union shall be recognized by the company; and that the scale of wages be raised to 25 cents an hour.

Still another important strike has been in progress for several weeks past. It is that of the licensed tugmen's union of the great lakes. This strike, which originated at Duluth, has affected the whole shipping interest of the lakes from Duluth to Buffalo. The Duluth firemen and line-men, who had received \$60 a month last season, struck against accepting