

fallen back upon the postal deficit, attributing that to the enormous second-class mail. But it is in fact more than probable that the second-class mail, directly and indirectly, pays for itself. What really causes the deficit is the extravagant payments that are made by the department to railroads for mail transportation. This leakage has been exposed again and again, and now it is accounted for. The Chicago Tribune explains how the railroads are protected. They supplied campaign funds galore to Mr. Hanna, and at Mr. Hanna's dictation the late sacrosanct administration did the rest. Note the startling testimony of the Tribune, turned "state's evidence," in an editorial published in its issue of the 13th:

We distinctly charge that after the election of 1896 Mr. Samuel Shallenberger was appointed second assistant postmaster general, in whose office all matters relating to the railway mail service are attended to, in pursuance of a bargain or understanding with the Pennsylvania railroad. Mr. Shallenberger at that time was an attorney for the Pennsylvania railroad. The company had made a subscription—possibly the largest in the United States—to the campaign fund. What could be more natural than that the attorney of the railroad should be appointed to superintend the railway mail service immediately after the election. Still, it was a second-class bargain, and in any other country would have disgraced everybody connected with it. Shallenberger is still in office.

No further explanation of the "economical" crusade against second-class mail matter as a cover for extravagant payments to railroads is necessary. The Chicago Tribune has let the cat out of the bag.

The Bucklin or Australasian tax amendment to the Colorado constitution (p. 11, and vol. iv., p. 810), which has already had many vicissitudes, is now subjected to another attack designed to prevent a formal expression of the popular will in its favor. As our readers know, this amendment, adopted by the legislature over a year ago, and to be voted upon by the people of Colorado next November, would allow any county in which a majority of the voters so decide, to draw its local revenues whol-

ly from land value taxation. It would not put this system of taxation in force; it would merely allow the people of the respective counties to put it in force or not as they choose. It is, therefore, simply a home rule amendment, a county referendum on taxation. But there are diligent efforts on the part of the land grant railroads and the other speculative interests of the state to prevent the submission of the amendment to the people. The latest form these efforts have taken is an application to the supreme court of the state for a writ restraining the secretary of state from printing any constitutional amendments upon the ballots. The contention is that constitutional amendments proposed by the legislature for submission to the people must be in harmony with the rest of the constitution; and that if a proposed amendment would alter the constitution fundamentally, as it is claimed the Bucklin amendment would, it can be made only by a constitutional convention.

Desperate efforts are being made by the Republican machine of Illinois to create an appearance of harmony where there is no harmony. Nor can there be harmony there in view of the boss-ridden character of the Republican state convention. Its nomination of Albert J. Hopkins for United States senator was in no sense a party nomination. As Hopkins and Lorimer had packed the convention, he was nominated by himself and Lorimer. In these circumstances there is an excellent opportunity for the Democrats to name Senator Mason's successor. If it were positively known that a democratic-Democrat like Alschuler, whose popularity throughout the state was demonstrated when he ran for governor two years ago, would be sent to the Senate if the legislature were Democratic, while Hopkins would be sent if it were Republican, there is every reason to believe that the Hopkins machine, which captured the Republican state convention by "boodle" and ballot-

box stuffing, would be demolished at the polls.

A wonderful meeting was held at All Souls' church, New York, early in April. Thomas L. James presided, and Walter S. Logan, Recorder Goff, and that redoubtable spiritual knight of the unspiritual sword, the Rev. Dr. MacArthur, all spoke. They discussed a great theme—"the thought of the past, the thought of the present, the thought of the future, with reference to man's relation to his fellow man." Then, inflated with the idea of brotherhood, this meeting solemnly resolved in testimony thereof to erect "a monument to Philanthropy"! After that the meeting adjourned. The inscription on its proposed monument is to be a sentence about brotherhood, from the strenuous Mr. Roosevelt, who believes in making all men brothers even if he has to kill them to do it. A more appropriate inscription would be this: "A mountain labored and brought forth a mouse."

We regret that a misunderstanding of the circumstances led us into the error of saying last week (p. 67) that a constitutional initiative is to be voted on in Rhode Island at the next general election. Such an amendment was before the general assembly of the state, but the Republican members made opposition to it a party measure and defeated its passage in both houses. The question of submitting such an amendment, and not its adoption, is therefore likely to be the leading issue before the people at the November election.

PUT YOURSELF IN HIS PLACE.

To be self-centered is the original condition of mankind. The infant knows of nothing and cares for nothing but self. And this original condition is never wholly eradicated even from the most altruistic characters. Each of us is to his own imagination always the central sun around which everything else revolves.

So essential to our sanity is this in-born habit of looking out from our-

selves upon the surrounding universe, that he who should succeed in habitually looking in upon himself from the world without would risk totally losing his mental balance. Yet it is only by occasionally withdrawing ourselves from ourselves, and getting our moral bearings by taking a survey from the standpoint of our brethren, that we become civilized. It is only in this way that we can apply that touchstone of righteousness in human relations, that infallible test of civilization—the golden rule of the Nazarene.

By putting ourselves imaginatively in the place of another, under any given circumstance, we are able to realize what it is that we would men should in similar circumstances do to us. So advised, we are prepared, if we are civilized and not savage, to do even so to them. And whether we are civilized or not, we are able to understand why others do what we condemn, and are prompted to suspect that possibly we might in their place have done even the same as they. No moral exercise is more urgently needed than this by the American people at the present time.

Some of their trusted leaders, who lately assured them that "marked humanity" has governed the conduct of their soldiers in the Philippine islands, but are now obliged to confess that this conduct has been characterized by "marked severity," explain that the severity, though savage to a degree, is excused if not justified by the barbarities of the savage foe we have to meet in that far away tropical archipelago. Let us make the test, then, of putting ourselves in the place of the Filipinos. Let us try to realize what we might have done had we been they and our country instead of theirs the scene of a devastating policy of assimilative benevolence.

What if some alien race—the Chinese, for instance, or the Japanese, or a wholly strange race of giants from Mars—had secured a landing upon the California coast, and taken possession of San Francisco?

What if they had then issued, about Christmas time, 1898, an edict from their potentate, asserting that he had purchased this country and its peo-

ple of Messrs. Rockefeller, Hanna, Morgan, & Co., and proclaiming his sovereignty, while assuring us that he was inspired only by the most benevolent intentions?

What if his military representatives had preceded this by sending a floating war engine of unprecedented killing capacity to New Orleans or New York and anchoring it menacingly in the harbor?

What if the Americans had felt helpless in the presence of a foe so destructively armed with novel war machinery and so anxious for a bloody fight?

Suppose the Americans had nevertheless held their ground, only yielding now to their invaders' threats a few yards and then to their blandishments a few more, until they had received reinforcements and arrayed a formidable army against us, crowding us back farther and farther and lining up to our lines, with no neutral ground between.

Suppose that then one of their sentries had fired upon an American who did not understand the gibberish in which he was challenged and so failed to obey the foreign sentry's demand.

And suppose that now, a deadly shot having been fired by one of the invaders six weeks after they had declared war upon the United States by proclaiming sovereignty over it, some of the men on our line had returned the fire, whereupon the invaders had trained their great war machines upon us, and swept Alameda and Oakland and all the neighboring towns off the face of the earth, filling trenches to the brim with the torn and ghastly bodies of our compatriots, the slaughtered inhabitants.

Suppose that after that this race of benevolent invaders had pursued the dwindling American armies over the mountains, across the deserts, down to St. Louis, up to Chicago, over the Alleghenies to the Atlantic slope, and with their irresistible slaughter-machines had bombarded our coast from Canada to the Gulf and mown down our people and burned down their homes the whole country over.

Suppose they had called us by opprobrious names, as offensive to us as "nigger" is to men of darker hue.

Suppose they had gone to the In-

dian reservations and turning our traditional savage enemy upon us, given him a chance to "get even."

Suppose these savages had scalped the American dead, and had tortured the living who refused to yield to the advancing conqueror.

Suppose the invaders themselves had learned the arts of savage torture from their savage allies and had resorted to them in cold blood to extort from stubborn American patriots information about the movements of their compatriots and the hiding places of defensive arms.

Suppose that one of their trusted officers had forged a letter purporting to come from an American general to President Roosevelt in his hiding place in the Adirondacks; had utilized this forgery to get access to the President; had pretended to be a prisoner in the custody of American patriots who were in reality Tories under his command; had been hospitably relieved with food by the President while on his way and almost dying of starvation; had come to Mr. Roosevelt's house with his pretended captors, who at a signal from him had shot down the hospitable and confiding President's few attendants and kidnaped the President himself; and had for this exploit been rewarded with high promotion by the potentate at his home in Asia or in Mars.

Suppose the invaders had ordered Americans into reconcentrado camps, and to enforce obedience had cut off all possibility of food supplies outside and laid waste the surrounding country.

Suppose they had retaliated for desperate assaults not in accordance with their ideas of civilized warfare, made by some unpacified Americans, by selecting by lot American prisoners, total strangers to the offense, for execution.

Suppose they had forced some Americans to guide them to the hiding places of others, and had punished alleged delinquents in connection with that repugnant task with summary death.

Suppose their commander in Illinois had issued orders directing that every American in that state over ten years of age and capable of bearing arms should be ruthlessly killed.

Suppose, in a word, that this alien

race, with its gigantic implements of destruction and slaughter, had invaded our country as we have invaded the country of the Filipinos, and that we had suffered at its hands what the Filipinos have suffered at ours, how much better would we have treated our invader than the Filipino has treated us?

Should we not have been as savage as he is accused of being? Should we not have furnished the distant potentate, who was trying to assimilate us benevolently, with ample material for justifying savage means of enforcing his benevolence on the ground that he had a savage foe to assimilate? Let each of us probe his own conscience with that question before venturing to condemn our "little brown" brother in the Orient.

For ourselves, we sadly fear that if Americans were in the place of the Filipinos, even the moderate limitations upon savage warfare of "General Order No. 100" would be insufficient to restrain acts of resentment that might be called treacherous and cruel. There are strenuous Americans who, under such provocation, would invent water torture variations and sweat box devices that would make a Sioux warrior fairly ache with jealousy.

It is much easier for a powerful invading army to observe the humane rules of the inhuman game of war, than it is for a weak people whose country is invaded. Yet in this respect we have totally failed, disgracefully failed, even in the role of powerful invader. What license might we not have run into had the situation been reversed and we been the victims of invasion instead of the criminal aggressors. Let us be cautious about concluding that we are civilized and the Filipinos savage, even if it turns out that the Filipinos were first to resort to treachery and cruelty. They have not been "patriotically" fighting for the possession of other people's homes, as we have. They have been desperately and despairingly fighting for their own. And it does make a difference. He who defends his country against foreign invasion may be excused many things which no possible provocation can excuse in an invader.

NEWS

Universal horror was excited by news on the 9th that the city of St. Pierre, on the island of Martinique, had been totally destroyed and its inhabitants killed, by an eruption of the neighboring volcano of Mont Pelee.

Martinique is one of the West Indies in the Lesser Antilles chain. Its capital city is Fort-de-France, and it is held as a dependency by the French, who began to colonize it in 1635. The colony is under a French governor and an elective general council, besides municipal councils for the 32 communes into which it is politically divided. It is represented in the French legislature by one senator and two deputies. The area of the island is 380 square miles. It is 40 miles long by 12 wide, and its population in 1895 was 187,692 (90,373 males and 97,319 females). Only 1,307 were born in France. Its principal agricultural products are sugar cane, coffee, cocoa, tobacco and cotton, and its chief manufactures sugar and rum. The island has historical interest as the birthplace of the Empress Josephine. There is a cluster of volcanic mountains in the south and another in the north. A line of lower heights connecting the two forms the backbone of the island and culminates in the northeast in Mont Pelee, a volcanic peak, 5,000 feet high, which overlooks the city of St. Pierre.

The first news of the disaster came from St. Lucia, the next island to the south of Martinique. A British steamer, the "Roddam," had returned to St. Lucia from Martinique on the 8th, almost a wreck, with 17 of her crew dead and the captain seriously burned. She had narrowly escaped being annihilated by a storm of red-hot ashes which had destroyed all the other shipping in the harbor of St. Pierre, including the Quebec Steamship company's steamer "Roraima." The "Roddam" escaped only by cutting her cables and steaming out of the harbor at full speed. This report was confirmed on the 10th by a dispatch from the commander of a French cruiser who had cabled to his government in Paris at night on the 8th, stating that St. Pierre had been completely destroyed by an immense mass of fire which had fallen on the city at about eight o'clock that morning, and that the entire population (25,792 at the latest census)

was supposed to have perished. He too reported that all the shipping in the harbor had been wrecked. The eight survivors of the destroyed "Roraima" were rescued by him. They said that between seven and eight o'clock on the morning of the 8th Mont Pelee seemed to explode. The land appeared to be convulsed, and the waters of the harbor to pick up the steamer and throw it at the sky and then to let it drop into a seething caldron, where it was wrenched to pieces. It was not until the 11th that a landing at St. Pierre could be made and the true condition of the city ascertained; and on that day the American consul at Guadeloupe, who had been ordered to investigate, reported the disaster at St. Pierre as complete. The city had been literally wiped out, and the American consul there and his family were among the dead. It now appears that the destruction was caused by what one of the dispatches describes as "one all-consuming blast of suffocating, poisonous, burning gases." No person inside the limits of the city seems to have escaped, and it is believed that in all cases death was instantaneous when the first whiff of the poisonous fumes entered the lungs. Bodies were burned and charred, but this is supposed to have occurred after death. A mountain resort, Morne Rouge, nearer to the volcano than St. Pierre, and where some 600 people were staying, was unharmed.

Another volcanic eruption in the Lesser Antilles occurred at about the same time with that at Martinique, though reported later. This was on the island of St. Vincent, about as far south of St. Lucia as Martinique is to the north of it. St. Vincent, like St. Lucia, is a possession of Great Britain, under a British administrator and a colonial secretary. It has an area of 13 square miles and its population in 1891 was 41,054, of which only 2,445 were whites. The capital is Kingstown, with a population of 4,547. Fears for St. Vincent arose immediately upon receipt of the terrifying news from Martinique; for it was known that a volcano in St. Vincent, which nearly destroyed the island in 1812, had been active for several days, and on the 8th the St. Vincent cable had suddenly ceased working. On the 10th the governor of the Windward islands, to which group St. Vincent belongs, left St. Lucia for St. Vincent to investigate, and three days later he