

manufactured is not only unsound as a matter of political common sense, but its unsoundness has been frequently demonstrated in political experience. The explanation is that reform leaders and reform organizations are not the reform forces and do not direct the reform forces. These forces are the aggregate of that reform sentiment in the community which is vague and indefinite until some great occasion crystalizes it. No paper organization, however completely it combines the various factions of reform agitators, ever did, or in all probability ever will make such an occasion. There is one way and only one which gives any promise in the present condition of politics of an effective reform party. It is involved in the efforts of the democratic reactionaries. They will make a struggle to regain control of the democratic party and to turn it back in its course. If they fail, there will be no need for a third party in the interest of reform, nor would such a party cut any figure in politics if organized. But if they succeed, after a hard and bitter fight, such as ought by all means to be made against them, then there is more than a fair probability that out of the bitterness of the fight, which will surely attract the deeply interested observation of democratic republicans, a third party will spring up which will have within it all the possibilities of success. A party so born might jump at once either into first place or second, it would make but little difference which, and after that the lines of battle would for the time be clearly drawn between democracy and plutocracy. But they would be drawn just as clearly if the reform forces, in a hearty fight for supremacy within the democratic party, were to succeed in defeating the attempt of the plutocratic elements to regain their power of determining its policy and nominating its national candidates.

The beneficial effects, to some people, of the McKinley victory at the polls continue without abatement.

The stock of the Pacific Mail Steamship company has risen in price in expectation of a subsidy, and the trust stocks generally are "on the boom." And while it is announced that steel rails are to be put up to \$28 a ton, the government has awarded a contract for armor plate which is expected to swell the output of the steel trust by \$15,000,000. Moreover, prices are higher all along the line. But the employes of the steel trust at Milwaukee and at Mingo Junction have been forced to accept a reduction in their wages, as have the iron workers at Youngstown, while the night workers in the Newburg steel mill at Cleveland have been laid off; and in Chicago the first flurry of snow discloses many cases of pitiful and undeserved destitution. A grossly material interpretation of the text: "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath," seems to describe the vital principle of McKinley prosperity.

It is from the northern state of Colorado and not from the south, that news of the latest horrible torture of a negro comes. This negro was a mere boy of 16. He had committed a crime upon a white girl of 11 which caused her death, and for this he was justly amenable to punishment—to precisely the same punishment that ought to be inflicted upon a white boy of equal responsibility for the same kind of crime. But this boy was not treated as he would have been had his skin been white. It is true that a white boy would have been arrested, as the negro was. It is possible that in a Rocky mountain state he would have been lynched, as the negro was. But it is certain that nowhere would he have been tortured at the stake. Yet that is what was done to the negro boy. He was seized by the mob—with the consent of the sheriff who had him in custody, and who ought to be most severely dealt with for his share in the crime that followed; he was chained to an iron stake; wood was piled about him and

saturated with kerosene; and slowly, deliberately, fiendishly, he was tortured with fire until consciousness left him, and then he was burned to ashes. This was not for his crime. Such an outrage upon a white man however villainously criminal, would be impossible in Colorado or anywhere else. It was because, in addition to being a criminal, he was a negro.

In Colorado this extreme expression of race hostility is a worse blot upon the public conscience than it would be in the south. For in the south public opinion regarding negroes has been perverted by a long history of false race relations. The people of Colorado have not that excuse. They are allowing race prejudice and hatred to possess them as a new evil. They will be doing so, that is, if they adopt this crime by allowing the leaders of the mob who participated in the devilish orgie to go unpunished. And that they will do so is almost a foregone conclusion. With but few exceptions only faint expressions of condemnation have been made even in Denver. Nor is this apathy confined to Colorado. Astonishing interviews from other states, even from women, have appeared condoning the lynching. Out of four well-known members of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs interviewed at Albany, N. Y., the day after the occurrence, only one denounced the lynching as a crime. The others found palliation for it in the boy's offense. Of the magnitude of that offense too much in condemnation cannot be said. But if we are to have social order at all, it is vital that the criminal law and not mobs, shall deal with criminals; that punishment shall be expressive of the necessity of punishing criminals and not of the brutish instincts of infuriated men; that in administering punishment there shall be no distinction with reference to race; and above everything else that the sober second thought of the people everywhere and under all circumstances

shall recognize and insist upon these principles.

There is political significance, using that word in its broader sense, about the spread into northern states of the anti-negro feeling. That it is spreading is no longer open to doubt. Nor is this horrifying Colorado lynching the sole evidence of it. Only a few months have elapsed since a reckless hue and cry against negroes was raised in New York, and instances of discriminating treatment in different parts of the country are becoming more and more frequent. Considering these facts in connection with other familiar facts, it is evident that the race question is on the eve of settlement against the negro. Highly significant in this connection are the reports that keep on coming from Washington to the effect that Mr. McKinley is hoping to organize a strong white party in the southern states, now that the race question has been settled there by the suppression of the negro vote, reports that are confirmed by the marked refusal of administration congressmen to reduce southern representation in congress by the number of negroes the southern states disfranchise. This means that the disposition of the republican party to maintain equal rights is at an end. It is as clear as day, to whoever will observe and think, that there is a fast growing tendency, among the classes of people that give the republican party its strength, to treat negroes in all respects as an inferior race—to deny them the full protection of the laws and to encourage their exclusion from participation in government. This tendency has grown with the raising of elementary issues in politics, with the issues of classes and masses, of plutocracy and democracy. The negro's status is such that the blow against the "lower classes" can be delivered most effectively first at him. Prior to the recurrence of those elementary issues in American politics the democratic party had, as a matter

of pro-slavery tradition, been ranged against negro rights. But with its return to democratic principles, its recognition and defense of those rights were inevitable. It could not long plead for the declaration of independence without casting aside its traditional prejudices against negroes. And it is fast doing so. "Bryanism," as it is called, or the "new democracy" as it should be known, stands for equal rights, politically and industrially and regardless of race. Yet we find the New York Age, the leading negro paper of the east, congratulating its readers upon "the passing of Bryanism." Let us take the liberty of warning the American negro that if "Bryanism" does pass, the hope of negro and white alike—those of both races who depend upon their own labor for their living—will pass with it. This is a critical time for the negro, and if he cares for his rights he will do well to think more and trust less, before it is too late.

Disappointed at the refusal of the Filipino patriots to lay down their arms upon Mr. McKinley's election, as his supporters had promised the American people they would do, the administration is now inspiring Washington correspondents to feel the public pulse on the subject of adopting the barbarous tactics which Kitchener in the Transvaal has copied from the Weyler regime in Cuba. The war must end, and the Filipinos are to be literally crushed, no matter what lengths of brutality it may be necessary to go to in order to do it. Such are the intimations. One inspired correspondent puts it succinctly when he says:

The administration, according to a high official, has become weary of the long-drawn-out war. It is now proposed to give the Filipinos a taste of real war; and, though the innocent may suffer, it is only by this means, it is believed, that the guilty can be reached.

That sort of thing wouldn't have sounded nice before election. But the popular endorsement of McKinley eases the way for more aggressive steps in the direction of imperialism

now than would have been prudent then.

Another inspired Washington dispatch puts the same idea into some such shape as this: "No mercy is to be extended in future to the Filipinos, but the innocent are about to be made to suffer with the guilty." To that dispatch Sixto Lopez, the distinguished Filipino, replies with a rebuke that should make Mr. McKinley's blood tingle with shame. It is humiliating to the true spirit of American patriotism to be obliged to acknowledge the justice of Lopez's exalted condemnation, when in reply to this American threat to exterminate his countrymen without mercy, he says:

The Filipinos have not been able to discover any special evidences of mercy in the past. If by showing no mercy to the innocent it is meant that noncombatants are to be treated the same as combatants, I fail to see any difference between the proposed methods and the methods of Spain in Cuba, which were so vehemently and justly objected to by the people of the United States. Apparently the scandal of the reconcentrados is to be reenacted by America. But the point is this: The Filipinos neither ask nor desire mercy, and would not accept it from America nor from any other nation. What they want is justice.

Compare that appeal to justice by this representative of our Filipino "subjects," with the grossness of the American policy of subjugation, which every now and again frankly discloses its plutocratic character. Once more has it done this through no less important a traveler in the Hannaistic procession than Congressman George H. Ray, chairman of the house judiciary committee. Mr. Ray is confronted with the possibility of a supreme court decision denying congress the constitutional power to impose a tariff upon trade between the United States and the "colonies." Should that court so decide, congress would find it necessary either to get rid of the Philippines or to forswear all further "protection to home industries." For free trade between the states and the Philippine archipelago would throw the states open