

ship by this nation of all the others, under the inspiration of Jefferson and Monroe, or the bitter fruits of an ignoble struggle for conquest and plunder under the inspiration of the tribes of Hannas and Elkinse. Shall we expand as republicans, or as imperialists? as democrats or as monopolists? as missionaries of the gospel of liberty, justice and peace, or as the advance guard of a millionaire army of plunderers? Shall we be animated by the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, or by lust for conquest and dominion? These are questions which are gathering fast and pressing hard for an answer. And to refuse to answer them at all, is in effect to answer them as the imperialists desire. The current has set in for expansion. Resistance to it now would be futile even if it were desirable. What lies before us to do is to choose between republican expansion, and imperialistic expansion.

#### TRIUMPH OF THE COUNTINGROOM.

Time was, in the history of daily journalism, when the editorial department of newspapers was controlled by the editor. Though the editor were a salaried man, working for a corporation, he was master of the paper in all but countingroom details, as a captain is master of his ship. Those were the times of Greeley, of the Tribune, and Raymond, of the Times. Bennett, of the Herald, is not to be considered in this connection, for he was owner as well as editor of his paper. But Greeley and Raymond were hired editors. Yet their word was law to their respective papers. While they did not govern the countingroom in financial details, the countingroom did not govern them in anything. Neither did their subordinates take their cue from the countingroom. All that concerned the paper, as a purveyor of news and an organ of opinion, centered in the editor. He was the paper.

Yet, even in those early days, the conflict between the editorial room and the countingroom had begun. With men like Greeley and Raymond the business manager dared not trifle; but as against smaller men, the editors of other papers, this functionary was already trying to encroach

upon the editorial domain. Still, the function of the editor as master of the paper was too clearly defined and recognized for hired publishers to make much headway against hired editors in the conflict between their departments. The fight continued, however, until the editor was ousted from his chair, and the publisher, as the direct representative of the paper's financial backers, had taken his place; or, more accurately, until the publisher's chair was elevated above that of the editor.

Upon papers in which the owner is also editor this revolution is not particularly noticeable; the owner gives his orders to subordinate editors, as editor. But upon papers in which both editor and publisher are hired men, the triumph of the countingroom over the editorial room has long been an acknowledged, though a guardedly acknowledged, fact. The acknowledgement has been guarded, because on the side of the editor it does not comport with the traditional dignity of his position and the importance of his relations to the public to acknowledge with freedom that he has a boss; while on the side of the publisher, he realizes the importance of having the public suppose that the paper is governed by its editor. Subordinates in each department take their cue from their superiors. Nevertheless, on all hands it is well known that newspapers are controlled no longer by the editor, but by the publisher. He it is who determines what policy pays and what policy does not, what articles may offend the inside friends of the paper and what articles will please them; and so, regardless of the outside friends of the paper, whose sentiments the editor is traditionally supposed to cater to, the publisher gives orders to the editor.

A notable example of the power which the countingroom has acquired over the editorial room was incautiously offered the public by the publishers of the Chicago daily papers when they stopped publication for four days rather than submit to an increase of stereotypers' wages to the aggregate amount for the whole city of \$40 a day. No one who is at all familiar with the editorial mind needs to be told that this stoppage was or-

dered not by editors, but by publishers, and not with the hearty acquiescence of the editors, but against their judgment. If the editors did not openly protest, it was because they had fallen so completely into the condition of what socialists call "wage slaves" that they dared not even dispute with all the powerful countingroom.

Raymond had more than one conflict with striking employes, but he never stopped the Times. And if the publisher of the Tribune had proposed to Greeley to suspend publication rather than add a few cents more to his pay roll, Greeley would have denounced him as a profanely epithetical ass. It is inconceivable that any man with the editorial instinct half alive in his brain should be willing to suspend the publication of a paper of which he is editor for any reason whatever when news is to be had, much less for a petty saving when news is extraordinary. The Chicago suspension could have originated nowhere but in the countingroom. It was almost in the nature of a celebration of the triumph of the countingroom over the editorial department.

This triumph would be unaccountable but for the circumstances which have latterly grown up around all vocations. It is not the result of degeneracy among editors, concurrently with higher intellectual development in the countingroom. Quite the contrary. It is but another manifestation of the monopolistic tendency of the time, which shows itself in all departments of industry, not even excepting that of the lawyer. Rich men own newspapers now, not as a business in which to earn a livelihood, or a profession in which to excel, but as a weapon. They hire editors as they hire coachmen. While they want the newspaper to support itself, that is a secondary consideration, their main purpose in owning and controlling it being to enable them to manipulate other interests out of which they can not only make good the paper's losses, but secure a profit besides which no legitimate newspaper could win for them.

Chicago again furnishes the most striking example. With only two inconsequential exceptions, the news-

papers of Chicago are owned by rich men, who are not newspaper men, and whose object is not to serve the public with a newspaper but to serve collateral interests of their own by befooling the public. And without exception every newspaper in Chicago is as obedient to the commands of a little coterie of rich men, who know nothing of journalism and care nothing for it except as the poor fellows they hire may help their financial schemes along, as is a weathercock to the fluctuations of the breeze. So complex are financial ramifications in Chicago, and so intimately do they blend with public corruption, that no great piece of public corruption can be run to its hole without disturbing financial interests which connect with and control the governing proprietors of every newspaper in the city. "Thus far and no farther mayst thou go!" is the admonition under which every editor of a Chicago daily paper does his work. The editors are controlled by the countingroom, and the countingroom receives orders from the millionaire owners, who in turn are governed not by perceptions of journalistic duty, but by an acute understanding of their own collateral interests. Even if they were disposed to act disinterestedly they could not, because they are entangled in the financial network.

## NEWS

Since our report of last week, Santiago has surrendered. At the time of that report, which closed with the 13th, Gen. Shafter had given the Spanish commander until noon of the 14th to accept the American terms of surrender or submit to a bombardment. This was the last of a series of truces, extending altogether from the 4th, which were granted for the purpose of securing the surrender of the city without further fighting. In compliance with Gen. Shafter's demand, the Spanish commandant decided on the morning of the 14th to surrender, and he asked the appointment of American commissioners to meet Spanish commissioners for the arrangement of details. American commissioners were accordingly appointed. They were Gens. Lawton and Wheeler and Capt. Miley, the Spanish commissioners being the

British consul and two Spanish officers.

The work of the joint commission was soon accomplished. Not long after midnight on the 16th, the surrender had been definitely settled. It comprised all that part of Cuba lying to the east of an imaginary line running north from Aserradero, about 25 miles west of Santiago on the southerly coast, to Las Palmas, which lies in the interior, and thence northeast to Sagua on the northerly coast. Included in the surrender were all the Spanish troops and materials of war in the surrendered territory. The Spanish forces were to march out of Santiago with the honors of war, depositing their arms at a point agreed upon, where they were to be subject to the disposition of the United States government, it being understood that the commissioners representing the United States would recommend that the arms be returned to the Spanish troops to be carried by them back to Spain. Officers were to retain their side arms, and officers and men their personal property. The Spanish records were to be retained by the Spanish commandant. Cuban soldiers in the Spanish service were to remain in Cuba upon parole if they wished; but all other Spanish troops were to be transported at the earliest possible moment by the United States to Spain. The formal surrender was to take place on the 17th.

The formal surrender took place according to the agreement. At noon on the 17th, the American flag was hoisted over the house of the civil government in Santiago. Meantime the Spanish flags had been lowered, and the Spanish troops continued to deposit their arms, which they had been doing since daylight, in an armory guarded by an American force. Gen. Toral also formally surrendered the territory and all the stores under his command. Among the surrendered munitions were 10,000 rifles and 10,000,000 rounds of ammunition.

Preliminary to the formal surrender the honors of war were paid, at a point between the lines, to the Spanish commandant, who thereupon escorted Gen. Shafter and his staff into Santiago. A reception at the palace, tendered by the archbishop of Santiago and the Spanish commandant to the American general and his companions, was accepted. Among the

other amenities attending the ceremonies of surrender was the return by Shafter to Toral of the latter's surrendered sword. Gen. Garcia is reported to have declined Gen. Shafter's invitation to accept the Spanish hospitality.

The military expedition which thus terminated in the capture of an entire army corps of Spanish soldiers with all their munitions, together with more than a third of the territory of the Province of Santiago, and won military honors of the highest order in the fierce fighting of July 1 and 2, an expedition which was made especially notable by the brilliant victory that Commodore Schley won over Cervera in totally destroying the latter's fleet with the loss to the American navy of but a single life—this expedition was organized at Tampa, Florida, early in June. It made a false start from Tampa, on the 6th of that month, but on the 13th and 14th got finally under way. It consisted of 35 transports, four tenders and 14 warships as convoys. All the troops—773 officers and 14,564 enlisted men—were regulars, except the 2d Massachusetts and the 71st New York. On the 20th of June the expedition arrived off Santiago. The debarkation began on the 22d of June under the protection of Gen. Garcia's Cuban troops, and was completed on the 23d. This was at Baiquiri, about 12 miles to the east of Santiago. An advance in the direction of Santiago was immediately made, and on the 24th, near Sevilla, a skirmish was fought with a loss to the Americans of 17 killed and more than 50 wounded. The Spanish, with even greater loss, were driven back. Meanwhile the expedition was receiving reinforcements. By the last of the month the American line had advanced to within three miles of Santiago, and on the 1st of July a general and bloody engagement was fought, which extended well over into the 2d. At the close of this battle, the American line had advanced to within half a mile of the city. On the 3d Cervera's fleet, which had participated in the battle of the preceding two days, attempted to slip out of the harbor, and was totally destroyed by the American fleet, which, in the temporary absence of Admiral Sampson, was under the command of Commodore Schley. On the same day, Gen. Shafter demanded the unconditional surrender of the city. Then began the series of truces which culminated on the 17th