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THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1901.

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The Boer war to date has cost the British 73,687 men and $700,000,000 in money. It has proven the most expensive war in history, considering the time it has been carried on. The burden of it is even felt by the great English nation and the injustice of it rankles still in the bosom of every man the world over who values freedom more than commercial progress. The end is not yet. The English are not through expending money to subdue the Boers.

There is said to be no demand for the unpopular silver dollar, but a strong demand for the silver coins of smaller denominations. It is a fact that nearly every man would rather have two half-dollars instead of a dollar. This is almost a universal preference. It is possible that the cart wheel dollar will be coined into halves and quarters, with the settlement of the money question on the side of the gold standard, and the dollar piece will gradually pass out of circulation.

Congressmen Moody and Tongue have opposed the parcel-post bill in congress on the ground that if it became a law it would seriously injure the manufacturers and merchants on the Pacific coast. They know better. The influence against the parcel-post bill comes from the express companies, who are using the manufacturers and merchants of the Pacific coast to pull their chestnuts out of the fire, while they continue the robbery of those who are forced to pay tribute to their monopoly. The chamber of commerce of Portland, pliant in all things and dull in most things, passed resolutions, which were forwarded to Oregon's congressmen, and behind which they hide in their desire to further the interest of the express monopoly, in which a number of prominent republican politicians have large and lucrative participation.

The report of the minister of finance of Mexico shows that the "sister republic" is in most healthy condition. With one-seventh of the population of the United States and one-fourth of the area, Mexico manages to equalize her budget at a little more than $61,000,000. This represents a large appropriation for internal improvements, mostly in the way of railroad subsidies, for an efficient army of 22,000 men, for an always extending system of public education, for a suitable diplomatic, judicial, postal and civil administration generally, and all for about 40 per cent of the city vigilance league's estimate of the cost of running the city of New York. Mexico's government is economically administered and carried on with the use of silver money. Such a condition of affairs does not seem possible to some people who think they know a great deal about "sound money."

The well-to-do, the rich and those who evade taxes are especially favored under the present plan of assessment and taxation. The New York state comptroller, in his report recently, calls attention to the fact "that while in 1870 personal property bore but 22 per cent of the burden of taxation, seemingly a small proportion, in 1900 it bore but half as much (11 per cent), which is certainly out of all proportion to the known increase of the vast amount of personal property in this state." From this it is evident that the average man, whose property is mostly in visible forms, is taxed more and more every year, while the accumulator of personal property in such forms as can be hidden, is reaping a reward for his rascally evasion. Since these forms of property can escape its just share of taxation, in spite of the vigilance of assessors and all the laws of Christendom, why would it not be right and proper to exempt from taxation all forms of personal property, and put the burden of government upon land value alone? If this were done, the average man would find his burden lessened, while the hoarder and manipulator, the tax evading rascal and the greedy accumulator would find their "graft" shorn of its best features, their tricky occupation gone.

TOWNE'S SENATE SPEECH.

Senator Towne, of Minnesota, in his recent speech in the United States senate, advocating a cessation of hostilities in the Philiopines, referred to the petition presented to the senate a few days ago by 2006 Filipinos for a cessation of hostilities and for the granting of independence to the people of the Philippines. He maintained it would "prove a quickening appeal to the ancient spirit of the republic, or its reaction must dedicate the 20th century to a reaction prejudicial, if not fatal, to free institutions."

While discussing events which led the United States forces to the Philippines, Senator Towne referred with particularity to the charge that Aguinaldo had sold his country to the Spaniards for a bribe. He declared the accusation "was gratuitous calumny when we consider that the official publications of our own government contradict and destroy it."

The senator declared that "we were in alliance with the Filipino—an alliance sought by ourselves, availed by ourselves for our own advantage, and finally, to our everlasting shame in the estimation of honorable men, repudiated by us when we found it no longer necessary and when lust of empire had so blunted out moral sensibilities that we could mount from an act of perfidy to the grand larceny of a nation."

* * *

Referring to Admiral Dewey's denial that he had never treated the insurgents as allies, Senator Towne said sarcastically: "I fear the honest sailor's terminology has suffered from recent contact with the nice discriminations of the administration's diplomacy."

Discussing the acquisitions of the Philippines, Senator Towne said:

"It is not easy to fix with accuracy the time when the design was formed to take forcible possession of the Philippine islands, nor to ascertain the mind in whose gloomy recesses this enterprise of sacrilege and violence first gathered form and pressure. There has indeed been evidenced a disposition by its illustrious sponsors, as if their prophetic souls already trembled at the inquisition of after ages, to impute the dubious responsibility to providence itself. I know not which to admire the more, whether the modesty which disclaims credit for the policy or the colossal presumption which challenges and betrays the vaunted confidence of the Almighty.

"No man, no party, no nation can escape accountability for actions by attributing their origin to any other source than human motives and human judgment. The policy of the administration toward the Filipinos must be justified, if at all, in the forum of the reason and the conscience of mankind."

Senator Towne declared that upon the arrival of General Merritt at Manila a distinct change of tone was observable between the United States officials and the Filipinos, the altered attitude being so marked as to force the conclusion "that part of General Merritt's prearranged task was to maneuver out of an awkward friendliness with Aguinaldo and thus to reach a footing for the convenient development of some secret policy with which he had come fresh freighted from Washington."

* * *

If there was doubt of the prearrangement of the plan it was banished, in Senator Towne's opinion, by the president himself. The third article of the protocol with Spain read: "The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control and disposition and government of the Philippines." Yet despite that definite provision, the president urged, on December 21, 1898, his famous "benevolent assimilation" proclamation.

Thus, he continued, the delimma is this: "Either that article of the protocol does not mean what it says or the president of the United States in causing the issuance of the proclamation to which I have referred, broke the plighted faith of this government. It is not agreeable to me to use this language; but I devoutly believe that the republic is at the gravest crisis of its history, and I feel that a necessary preliminary to its getting safely out is to cause the people to realize how it came to get in."

Senator Towne said of the president's proclamation that among the roses of its soft rhetoric of love, its fair speech about our coming 'not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, of the 'mild sway of justice' and of 'benevolent assimilation,' the already justly awakened distrust of the Filipinos clearly beheld the unsheathed and glittering steel of despotism."

* * *

"If we are bent on slaughter," said he, "let it be in open guise. If we lust for this people's land let us not glaze our enterprise with false and sinister pretense. Rather let us boldly raise the somber flag of international piracy, whistle scruple down the wind, and then close in upon our feeble victim, to the cry of 'loot and glory.'"

Senator Towne maintained that the United States was under the obligation of circumstances, if not, indeed, actual promise, to grant independence to the Filipinos, and that, among nations, the former was quite as binding as the latter.

In support of his contention that the Filipinos were perfectly capable of governing themselves, he pointed out that 80 per cent of the population of Luzon can read and write, and holding that the government established by Aguinaldo was strong, symmetrical and progressive, even in the difficult and disturbing conditions which surrounded it. He declared that the Filipino statesmen would creditably meet almost every emergency in even the most advanced government, and would have dignified and ornamented the early struggles for nationality of any people known to history. There is excellent reason to believe that, even at this day, the existing Filipino government, low as it is in estate and migratory to some extent as to location, exercises a wide and respected authority in the Philippine islands and is obeyed quite generally by the local authorities in the interior.

"There is not the slightest ground for believing that any appreciable impression has been made upon the determination of the Philippine people to resist us to the end. There is no evidence that any strong pro-American element has any existence whatever. As the result of two years of wasting war we occupy about one five-hundredth part of that archipelago. No district is really 'pacified.' We hold the ground our troops stand on, practically nothing more.

* * *

"During the campaign of 1900 it was a false accusations against the opponents of the administration policy that they were keeping alive a smouldering 'rebellion' in the Philippines. The newspapers and magazines made most of this foolish argument, and, in many a pulpit, where the gospel of the bullet has supplanted the Christianity of the Bible, the pious anathema of prudent priesthood rose to heaven on the wings of prayer."

Senator Towne then declared that after the elections the resistance in the Philippines increased, and that it had been announced in the senate within a week that 30,000 American soldiers would be needed in the islands for an indefinite period.

"Is it not clear," he inquired, "that the way of duty is equally the path of profit? Do we need to own people in order to trade with them? Is it not better to allow our customers to live, to have their good will, and give them the means of payment, than to kill the strongest of them, to gain the hatred of the survivors and to impoverish all by desolating war?"

He held that it was better to trade liberty to the Filipinos for security to the United States in the islands than to force a "sullen unwillingness into slavish compliance with some of our customs," by the employment of an army of 100,000 men.

It was the habit of defenders of the administration policy to sneer at the term "imperialism," he added, but it could not be sneered away. "You can have imperialism without an empire, just as the Romans found that they could have a more than royal master, though he did not wear the name of king," asserted Senator Towne.

"The retention of the Philippines will commit us to the whole program of empire. There is no law among nations, as Hamlet says there is among men, by which a bad appetite grows by what it feeds on. No nation in history has resisted it, and to every nation that has yielded to it it has brought disaster. Athens succumbed to it and perished. Rome indulged the mad ambition and followed it to her downfall. It was the ruin of Venice. It will work the destruction of England, in my opinion, ere the close of this fateful century. Are we, with all the lessons of history before us, to prove the next victim of this insatiate passion—the greatest, most lamentable, most gratuitous sacrifice in all human tragedy?

"I do not wish to convey the impression that in my opinion the present policy will, at one full sweep convert this republic into an empire in fact. But I do say that the seeds of empire lurk in this policy and, in time, will bring them to their flower and fruit, unless we make a seasonable prevention.

* * *

"God speed the day when the American pepole, whose annals blaze with a record of unqualified heroism, and who again and always, if some great cause demand it, would freely pay with life itself the price of its defense shall have the moral courage to do their civic duty—a rarer thing than to face undaunted the canno'ns mouth—and with their sovereign voice declare that this unholy war for greed and empire shall be stopped, and that no soldier of the United States shall ever again in all our history be sent to other lands to war on people fighting for their liberty.

"I shall not willingly cease to dream of a 20th century devoted to the demonstration, the first and only one in history, that 'a government of the people for the people, and by the people,' need not perish from the earth. There is inspiration in the thought that to our beloved country may be reserved the culminating glory of the ages in crowning with success the long experiment of rightous self-government."

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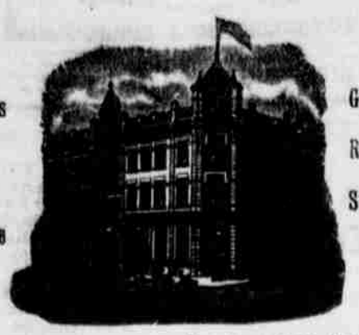

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