

need. We are brought, therefore, face to face with the proposition whether we shall exploit the islands in our own interests or prepare for their independence. There are two intermediate courses, but neither is likely to prove satisfactory. The first is to tax ourselves for the development of the islands, conscientiously governing the Filipinos with an eye single to their interests. This is doubtless the plan of those who feel that our occupancy of the islands is providential and that we are in duty bound to take care of "the brown baby left on our doorstep." While such a policy would be entirely inconsistent with our theory of government it is put forth with earnestness by those who have more faith in their interpretation of the plans of the Almighty than they have in our constitution.

There are several objections to this plan, one of which is that the Filipinos would distrust our motives and criticize our administration. They could point to our mistakes as evidence of our ignorance of the situation, and to our legislation as evidence of the care with which we guard the interests of the foreign capitalist. Another objection would be made by our own people, who would grow weary of taxing themselves to help others, when that help was resented. Mr. Gage, then secretary of the treasury, said, when the Philippine question first arose, that "philanthropy and five per cent would go hand in hand." The reader of history will recognize this familiar pair, and will recall many instances in which philanthropy has been taken along to guard the front door while five per cent has entered the premises from the rear. It was supposed by many that the Philippine islands would prove a great commercial prize, besides being a stepping-stone to the Orient. Now that this delusion no longer inflames the imagination of our financiers, less is said about "duty and destiny." Those who justify wars of conquest for the extension of trade never see the hand of God in such a war unless they also see a dollar in the hand. Experience—a rather expensive experience, too—has convinced even the most sanguine that that Philippine trade costs more than it is worth, and that a harbor and coaling station would serve as well for a stepping-stone to the Orient as a whole group of islands inhabited by hostile people. No party could long continue a colonial policy which required an annual appropriation to maintain it, an army to support it, and a repudiation of the Declaration of Independence to defend it.

The second half-way policy is that which England employs in dealing with Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This plan permits the colony to have what is equivalent to self-government, the governor-general retaining but never using the veto power. England has only experimented with this policy where she has built up a colony of her own race; she has not attempted to apply it where she is governing alien races. It is not likely that such a policy would be satisfactory if applied by our government to the Philippines. It would not be defensible on principle, for we are not familiar with any theory of government upon which we could justify the exercise of sovereign authority over people who are denied the privileges of citizenship, and no trade advantages could compensate for the expense which the defense of the islands would under such an arrangement entail upon us. England offers the protection of her navy in return for the allegiance of her self-governing colonies, but she has an imperial policy in support of which she keeps a large navy. We would find it much easier to protect the independence of the Philippines than to hold them as England holds Canada, for if the Filipinos were independent we could secure a treaty from other nations by which her independence would be recognized by all in return for equal trade advantages.

The alternative propositions which the American people have to consider are, first, shall the Filipinos be governed under a colonial policy similar to that administered by England in India? Or, second, shall we treat the Filipinos as we have treated the Cubans, and make them at once a pledge of independence, the pledge to be fulfilled when a stable government is established?

The objections to the first policy are numerous and, to my way of thinking, conclusive. To attempt to govern the Filipinos as England governs India would be an abandonment of that theory of government which has given to this country its prestige among the nations. A nation which recognizes a hereditary king as the source of power—a government in which the people accept such favors as the king may choose to grant—can have self-government in one portion of the empire and arbitrary government in another portion, but people who believe in the inalienable rights of man and find no au-

thority for government except in the will of the people can not consistently secure subjects by conquest or purchase, or retain them by force. We say "consistently," for a nation can not lead a double life. It can not preach one thing and practice another, nor can it in one place defend as inalienable, rights which it extinguishes in another place.

No matter what advantages may be held out as a reward, a republic can not abandon its foundation principles. The fruits of imperialism, be they bitter or sweet, must be left to the children of monarchy; this is the one tree of which the citizens of a republic may not partake—it is the voice of the serpent, and not the voice of God, that bids us eat.

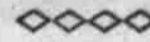


WHAT ABOUT MISSOURI?

The Wall Street Journal says: "In answer to all the to-do about the serving of a subpoena upon John D. Rockefeller, it is refreshing to have the laconic answer which he sent to Judge Landis: 'I will be there.' The man whose word can be counted upon to be at the time and place required does not need to be placed under bond to fulfill his pledge. There is a good deal of stage play about the difficulty of finding Mr. Rockefeller, whenever appearance at court is desired, but somehow or other he does not fail to present himself when he is really wanted. At the same time, he naturally dislikes the idea of being put on the stage for unnecessary gratification of popular curiosity."

Then what about that alleged effort on the part of Attorney General Hadley of Missouri to secure Mr. Rockefeller's testimony? Does the Journal mean to intimate that Mr. Rockefeller was not "really wanted" by Mr. Hadley?

As a matter of fact is it not plain that Mr. Rockefeller sought to evade the writ issued from Judge Landis' court and intended to hide out as he did in the Missouri case? It is not difficult to believe that Mr. Rockefeller surrendered simply because his advisors learned that Judge Landis would not relent and that the game of hide-and-seek in this instance would attract such wide-spread attention and stir up such a bitter public sentiment that criminal prosecution—the one thing feared by the arrogant monopolist—would be demanded by the people.



ALL ALONG THE LINE

The New York Press advises Judge Landis to assess a merely nominal fine against the Standard Oil trust on the theory that a heavy fine would be but a tax upon the consumers of oil.

Would it be wise for a court to confess society's helplessness in the presence of well-dressed rogues?

How would it do for Judge Landis to assess a fine of \$29,000,000 in the proceeding now before the court and then instruct the United States district attorney to proceed against the individual officers of the oil trust, causing their arrest and prosecution under the criminal clause of the Sherman anti-trust law?



TIME FOR ACTION

John W. Gates, formerly at the head of the Illinois Steel company, charges that of the metal now used for the manufacture of steel rails not more than two-thirds is good material. According to Mr. Gates, by the use of this inferior material the steel trust saves from ten to twenty per cent.

The Railway Gazette boldly charges the steel trust with responsibility for the great loss of life through railroad wrecks. Following are extracts from the Gazette editorial:

"There is no individual or company which knows better how to make a good rail than does the steel corporation, with its splendid army of experts; nevertheless it knowingly makes rails which break and kill people.

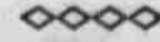
"Specifications as furnished by the railroad companies are totally disregarded, and rails, especially in the new and heavier sections, are furnished with spots in them so full of impurities and so brittle that they must necessarily break when subjected to the strain of traffic. The steel company knows this quite well."

The Gazette distributes the responsibility in this way: "First, the criminal willingness of the steel corporation and the companies allied with it to manufacture rails that cost human life; second, the attitude almost equally criminal on the part of many high railroad officers to ignore the plain truths that are being

brought before them by their superintendents and chief engineers."

It is also charged that this same steel trust sells to Japan perfect rails and at ten dollars per ton below the price charged in the United States. Yet these men who exact excessive toll from the American consumer; who sell good rails at a low price to the foreigner and inferior rails at a high price to the American; these men who "knowingly make rails that kill people"—these are the "captains of industry," the "guardians of the national honor," the "trustees of God!"

Does it not occur to the thoughtful American citizen that it is high time the trusts which find shelter in the tariff be destroyed and that the men who "knowingly make rails that kill people" be held personally responsible for their crimes?



PALPABLE HITS

On the witness stand before Judge Landis, John D. Rockefeller said that while he is president of the Standard Oil company the position is "purely honorary" and he professed ignorance of the company's affairs.

On leaving the witness stand Mr. Rockefeller promptly joined Vice President John D. Archbold in a signed statement declaring: "Since the enactment of the interstate commerce law in 1887 the Standard Oil company has most carefully observed its provisions and in no case has wilfully violated the law."

Commenting upon these facts, the New York World makes several palpable hits when it says:

"Now if Mr. Rockefeller, who admits that he has been a dummy president for ten years, can not tell what are the capital and dividends of the Standard Oil—matters of common knowledge and public record—how does he know for sure that the Standard Oil has most carefully observed the provisions of the interstate commerce act? What weight does he imagine his assurances can carry?"

"As for Vice President Archbold and Mr. Rockefeller's other partners, they have repeatedly denied with virtuous indignation that the Standard Oil has engaged in rebating as was charged in Commissioner Garfield's report, yet the Standard Oil has been recently convicted by a United States jury on some 1,400 counts in connection with these very charges.

"Possibly Mr. Rockefeller is as unfamiliar as he appears with the present management of the Standard Oil. Is he displeased with it now that the Standard Oil is convicted of violating the law on a wholesale scale? If so, how will his displeasure manifest itself toward his subordinates? Will he give proof of his sincerity by remaining the dummy president of a law-breaking trust while both confident of its law-abiding principles and unconcerned about its big dividends."

STILL A BOY

"Still a boy," we heard one say
To another, half in jest.
Then fun-wrinkles joined in play
With a laugh of merry zest;
And the jolly frame of him
Shook with bursts of sheepest joy
As he answered back with vim,
"Well, I'm glad I'm still a boy!"

Still a boy—aye, true enough—
Glad, yet gentle; pure and kind;
Molded sure of manly stuff—
Kind of boy it's hard to find.
Kind of boy it's good to see—
Man-boy, wholesome, simple, true—
Kind of boy you'd like to be
If the choice were left to you.

Still a boy—how many now
Have forgot the solemn eye—
Have forgot the wrinkled brow
Is the boy's that once came by?
Call him back—it is his due;
Let him come with youth and joy
Back into the heart of you,
Laughingly, and still a boy.

Still a boy—ah, well-aday,
Boys are scarce enough at best.
With the rippling roundelay
Let the boy still be your guest;
Let him cleave unto your heart
In boy-confidence and hold—
Still a boy—the man apart,
Long, long after he is old.

—Frank Bates Flanner in The Reader.