

thus elects him the boss of Tammany will be supreme not only in the distribution of patronage in the state of New York but in the decision of all questions concerning the state and city in which the general government may be interested. It is said, probably with truth, that Croker will have a representative in the cabinet, but that will count for little with him as compared with the control of the custom-house. If he can select the collector and other officers of the chief port of the United States he need ask no more of fortune.

#### Croker Appointees.

The men whom Croker would select to manage the custom-house would have the same sensitive and delicate feelings and the same scrupulous consideration for public interests which Croker himself has exhibited in public matters. Such men, worthy successors of Swartwout and Hoyt, who, under Jackson and Van Buren, defrauded the government at New York, would sit at the receipt of customs at the gateway of the continent, putting valuations on goods and collecting duties. It is no wonder that Mr. Croker is enthusiastically in favor of Bryan, who is to give him control of the custom-house and an imperial revenue.

It is a question whether the voters of New York will view with complacency this alliance which has been entered into between Candidate Bryan and a man of Croker's antecedents. Perhaps the merchants of New York City and of the United States generally will wake up when they understand what the election of Bryan, through the alliance with the most corrupt politician in the United States, will mean to them. Decent voters throughout the United States must be driven away from Bryan when they learn that to raise money with which to elect him assessments are to be levied on dives, saloons, slums and places of doubtful repute in New York City. Vice is to supply Mr. Bryan with a campaign fund. Money from that source will be far more tainted than any contributed by corporations or trusts.

#### Bryan Ratifies Treaty With Croker.

Mr. Bryan has perhaps committed the most fatal blunder of his whole campaign in rushing to New York to ratify his treaty with Croker and make arrangements to carry the state with his aid. Mr. Bryan will set all New York in rebellion and solidify the opposition throughout the rest of the North. It has been apparent for some time that Bryan has no principles. His erratic campaign has showed that. He has jumped from free silver to imperialism, and from imperialism to trusts, dropping one issue after another as he saw there was nothing to be made out of them. As the conclusive proof of lack of principle he has thrown himself into the arms of the imperialist Croker and

asks from him the vote of New York, to be obtained by Mr. Croker's favorite methods of bribery, violence and fraud.

Mr. Bryan has clasped hands with the most unscrupulous and dishonest of Americans. The fluent denouncer of "imperialism" has agreed to hand over the federal patronage in New York to the arch representative of that domestic imperialism which is to be feared the most—that imperialism best known in New York, but not unknown in other cities, which means corruption and debasement of the suffrage and the plunder of property-owners by ruthless politicians of the baser sort. — Chicago Tribune.

#### MEN AND MEASURES.

In his apology for his attitude on the question of ratifying the recent treaty of Paris, Mr. Bryan says that he "believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers, remove the excuse for war expenditures and then give the Filipinos the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty." It is apparent that Mr. Bryan did not foresee or expect that the Filipinos would signify their disapproval of the action of our nation by firing on our troops while the treaty was still under discussion. The treaty was ratified by the senate on the 6th of February, 1899, the Tagals made their first attack upon our forces. Mr. Bryan thought the ratification of the treaty would put an end to fighting, enable the volunteers to return to their homes and remove the necessity for war expenditures. As a matter of fact it resulted merely in the substitution of the Filipinos for the Spaniards as our adversaries in the field, and remove the theater of war from Cuba to the Island of Luzon. Mr. Bryan is not to be blamed for his lack of foresight and of understanding of the situation in the Philippines. We should like to know, however, how he would have regarded the treaty had he suspected that its ratification would not result in peace, that our soldiers would be sacrificed upon the field of battle despite its provisions, and that our treasury would be required to foot the bills almost as though the senate had rejected it. Our curiosity upon this point is not an idle one by any means. In his reasons for advising the ratification of the treaty Mr. Bryan, after enumerating the blessings that would accrue to our nation through the restoration of peace, said "And then give the Filipinos the independence," etc. The cessation of hostilities, the release of the volunteers, and the cutting off of war expenditures seem to have been regarded by him as conditions precedent to the granting of independence to the natives of the Philippines. If they were so regarded, Mr. Bryan is bound to concede that events protest against bestowing liberty upon the Filipinos. If

they were not so regarded his apology is clumsily conceived and awkwardly expressed.

Mr. McKinley's policy, as outlined in his recent speech and letter of acceptance, and Mr. Bryan's, as above defined, differ in this respect only: after the restoration of peace Mr. McKinley would give the Filipinos a reasonable measure of self-government, while Mr. Bryan would grant them independence.

That is the plain deduction from the words employed by them respectively. Mr. Bryan would doubtless protest against putting such construction on his language. We will grant that on this occasion, as on many others, he was talking at random and did not mean what he said. What then is the program which he has in mind respecting the inhabitants of our distant archipelago?

Mr. Bryan's purpose is expressed in his speech of acceptance as follows:

"If elected I will convene congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in Cuba; second, to give independence to the Filipinos just as we have promised to give independence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America and are by the Monroe doctrine pledged to protect Cuba."

The expression of the nation's purpose to establish a stable form of government in the Philippines would be a work of supererogation. The present administration has not only announced that purpose, but it has adopted the only practical means of putting it into effect. The Philippine commission is clothed with ample powers and the President's instructions to it under date of April 7, 1900, disclose a well-considered plan of government to be put into operation as soon as possible. In Mr. McKinley's opinion the establishment of a stable form of government involves the necessity of subduing those who seek by force of arms to prevent our nation from taking any action in the premises. It is very doubtful if civil government can be permanently established in the Philippines until Aguinaldo and his Tagals have been beaten into a proper frame of mind. There is a possibility, of course, that the mere expression of our purpose to give the Filipinos independence, would result in the immediate cessation of hostilities and remove the obstacles that now lie thickly in our path; but there is no certainty that such a thing would happen. Suppose the Filipinos should declare their opposition to the plan which Bryan outlines! Suppose they should refuse to permit our interference in the matter and should assert their unalterable determination to estab-