

The Evening Times

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ADVERTISERS' GUARANTEE COMPANY, By J. R. MASON, President.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1898.

The Ethics of Expansion.

Whether Andrew Carnegie is sincere in his argument against expansion is an open question. If he is, then for an intelligent man who writes books in defense of democracy he is about as sane as a sane man can be. Perhaps it is due to the fact that he is of foreign birth and lacked the advantages of a common school education in America, the chief virtue of which is that the contact with all kinds of boys makes the mind impressionable and absorptive. Most men of foreign birth are disposed to soft-found suffrage and liberty. Perhaps it is not so easy to smother the consciousness of popular sentiment since on that subject personal liberty is but it appears to be too easy to exaggerate the necessity of the ballot in the hands of a particular man that he may have freedom and happiness. As long as a number of persons who are devoted to the principles of human liberty direct the policy of the State, a particular man will not be deprived of the common blessing simply because he cannot vote. A man who has lived in Mr. Carnegie's State only eleven months cannot vote; but he is not, on that account, loaded with chains. Some of the Cubans seem to share Mr. Carnegie's opinion that they will not enjoy any of the benefits of republicanism until a lot of their own people draw salaries from the government.

Nothing is more, in itself, a pleasurable thing, it is important in what it effects. To expand business and to go to the polls to pass a piece of paper to be put into a box is not nearly as delightful as many other things a man may do. It becomes useful and glorious only when it is regarded as the means of protecting men in the enjoyment of life and liberty and in the pursuit of happiness as afforded to men an opportunity for individual development according to their respective desires. The merit of popular suffrage on which American institutions are based is that it permits every man and woman, voter or not, to do exactly as he or she will, as long as it does not interfere with the equal right of any other man and woman to do as he or she will. Some of us would like to be rid of the trouble of voting if we could know that our interests would be served without that trouble. When we do not fear that we are to become the vassals of anybody, several members of the President's cabinet did not go home to vote in the last elections, and Mr. Carnegie himself has loitered in luxurious indolence in his castle in Scotland when elections were held at Pittsburg. Yet he did not fear to come back to this country and did not expect to be put in chains or deprived of any liberty because he had not voted. The people of the Western territories were not served before admission to Statehood, but were as well protected in their personal freedom as anybody in New York. Finally, the people of this city are not conscious of their chains. When Mr. Carnegie called here the other day with his impertinent warning to the President of the tremendous dangers of expansion, the impertinent because it assumed that the President knew less about the subject than the citizen who spends so much of his time in Scotland—he did not observe that we bore the marks of vassals. Yet we have no vassals.

The people of the Philippines are no better than some of the people of the District of Columbia. We have had the superlative advantage of coming into close contact with members of Congress. If we can stand it to be governed by the national legislature, the choice of the American people, the Philippines can. Life is as secure, property is as safe—with the precaution of locks and bolts—business goes on, pleasures are many, here as elsewhere in the land. We have schools, churches, art galleries

and other educational, elevating and pleasurable institutions; we marry and are given in marriage, and we rear our children, without a conscious lack of personal liberty that is not common to all civilized communities. All these blessings the people of the Philippines may have if they are disposed to claim them. Their personal liberties will not be restrained as long as each pays respect to the equal rights of all. What more could the ballot do for them? Because they are not capable of self-government and therefore must be denied the ballot, Mr. Carnegie assumes they must be vassals, the slaves of the American Republic. Women in America are not the vassals of the state any more than the people of Washington. Indeed, there has never been a time when a majority of the people of this country have voted, although each has had the same degree of personal liberty.

So Mr. Carnegie's argument—which he seemingly makes in behalf of the Philippines—is worthless. It is based on the doctrine, he says, that "no man is good enough to hold another in subjection." Not only is it not true that the Philippines will be a vassal State, but it is also not true that they would be better off with a system of self-government. It is the unanimous opinion of all who know them best that self-government would mean perpetual revolution, anarchy, chaos and their final acquisition by some European monarchy. It is not surprising that Mr. Carnegie left the White House in a gloomy state of mind if he had hoped to "turn the President from his policy."

Intellectual Answers.

If the things are "answers" that various officials are now putting in as reports, letters, speeches, etc., the charges that followed the war ought to be disposed of and everybody happy. They would be, too, if answers answered, but they don't. General Shafter's speech at a New York feed is paraded as a reply to and refutation of the allegations that he was just a little worse than a stuffed suit of clothes as the commander of the army that invaded Cuba. Nobody would have expected anything from an officer, and somebody would have taken hold of things. As it was the army relied on Shafter, and it was a matter of retreat or flight, and the American heroes fought. As General Lawton said, "it was a captain's battle," with which the commanding general had nothing to do and about which he did not know enough to send a dispatch in response to the frantic appeals of Secretary Alger. We have never believed General Shafter would attempt to answer his critics, and he does not. He would bring down on his head an avalanche of crushing facts from men who are silent now.

No sane person who reads the summary of his alleged answer can find anything more than an apology—the order to move came suddenly by telephone and it was different from the order given. This, however, does not excuse the appalling incompetency in matters to which Shafter makes no reference. We know from the testimony of Colonel Roosevelt about the endless confusion at Tampa and the perplexity or inefficiency of the commanding general, who referred everybody to a non-existent or hidden and obviously ignorant quartermaster, who, when evaded or found, assigned all the troops to a single transport as a joke and left them to fight it out, or because he was distracted. General Shafter does not tell why he did not see that weapons, equipments and supplies, which are the lifeblood of an army, were provided and taken along and why there were no lighters or other means of effecting a landing. Indeed, he has boasted that he secured "voluntary contributions," which are the product of the experience of the world's great generals. He does not explain away the specific charges that he took no pains to have anything landed but the soldiers and their guns, and even the soldiers had to look out for themselves. Unfortunately they took their appetites ashore with them. He does not explain the lack of a hospital system, of provisions for the care of the wounded who were left to bleed to death on the field or crawl alone to the rear. He makes no mention of his refusal to allow the troops to use the frisky Spanish mules that were idly grazing while the soldiers had to carry back-breaking loads for miles in the fierce heat of a tropical midday, or of his refusal to detail, at the request of the surgeons, enough colored troops to act as a sanitary police to prevent the dreaded incursion of epidemic disease. He is even more evasive than the Surgeon General. He has nothing to say of the transport horrors with the responsibility for the worst of which he has been charged. An apology is not an answer. There was shown in the case of Secretary Alger, who hoped his letter to Depew would serve as a reply to his critics.

Nor is the report of Secretary Long an answer to the charge that Sampson has deliberately sought to wrest from Schley the well-earned glory of Cervera's defeat. It is more specific than most of the alleged refutations of criticisms, but it is only the more blamable on that account. Anybody who has followed the varied and contradictory accounts which Sampson has given of the same event must concede there is reasonable ground of suspicion that the relation of facts has been framed and changed in a way to meet the necessities of the argument in favor of Sampson. It is possible that Secretary Long's confidence in Sampson is so complete that he has accepted his explanations and his revised statements of facts without subjecting them to the critical scrutiny justice to Schley would require. We are not called upon, however, to discover the cause of the Secretary's favor to Sampson, but only to note the plain fact that in order to make the claim of the latter appear anything but ridiculous there has been a readjustment of geography and time without any seeming warrant. Such a readjustment is clearly to Sampson's advantage and has no other conceivable cause.

Hard Luck.

In investigating the subject of wooden legs and arms, a newspaper writer lately discovered a man of decidedly curious experience. His story has two or three different morals—differing with the point of view. Some years ago this man, a naturalized Russian citizen of this country, was run over by a cable car and lost both legs. He had no money to buy wooden legs, so he set about peddling lead pencils and other small articles, hoping to earn a living thereby. Sympathetic buyers enabled him to make from thirty to fifty dollars per

A Side Affair Altogether.

So far as we have had opportunity to observe there was absolute unanimity in the forgetfulness of the American papers to observe that the late canvass was the skimmish line of 1900.

The New Order in Porto Rico.

Much may be done by the United States government for the people of Porto Rico, by sending wise and clear-headed men to exercise the supreme authority there. But even if we do our best it will be a long time before a peaceful, orderly and happy government can be established throughout Porto Rico.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS.

To the Editor of The Times: Your editorial the other day on the Christian Scientists was exceedingly bright and entertaining, and doubtless, to the average reader, perfectly convincing. You are a man of no ordinary intelligence, I fully agree with you that "there is no warrant for calling the system scientific, and that there is no trace of common sense in the philosophy of Mrs. Eddy's doctrine." You are, however, a scientist, in the sense you mean, and Mrs. Eddy's philosophy is only a misapplication of the idealism of Plato. As a theory of existence it is as good as any, and as nearly susceptible of proof, in a final analysis, both to philosophy and science, the universe consists of sensations.

Nothing, anything, is back of these we cannot know, and we are, therefore, observed and classified these, carefully noting the conditions under which they occur, their sequences and relations. While the idealism of Mrs. Eddy's doctrine is not at all, it can definitely say that there is a system and order which is invariable. I place the appearance called my finger in the appearance called fire, and the sensation of heat is the result of the experience of every human being, in this respect, is the same. The physician dropping the philosophic justification of a common sense, applies those drugs (and there is no question as to) which an enormous amount of experience and observation has shown to be necessary to remove the sensation of pain and to bring about the desired result. It is not his normal, that is, regular and orderly, appearance. The Christian Scientist does not deny these sensations—certainly the idealistic philosophy does not, but he refuses to see any necessary order or connection between them. You may, he says, put the appearance finger in the appearance fire and not experience the sensation of heat. But the sensation of heat is a fact in the universe absolutely undeniable, as it is a matter of consciousness. It is at this point that he runs squarely against the laws of nature, and he has no hands which he can put in the fire, but he generally manages to transport his faithful followers into a veritable furor at will. He had an absolutely inimitable trick for his patron's pet aversions, which he called "the law of the mind." When he raised both his hands to cap that was a sign for the whole band to let loose their stored-up thunders. He himself did not join in. His neighbors must never know that he had the usual prayer. Then he would take out his handkerchief, and the applause would suddenly end. 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