

# The News and Observer.

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## LEADS ALL NORTH CAROLINA DAILIES IN NEWS AND CIRCULATION.

### A RINGING LETTER BY BARION MUTLER

Giving His Position on the Proposed Amendment.

### HE SETTLES QUESTION

WHILE ATTENDING THE DEWEY CELEBRATION AT NEW YORK.

### POLOGIZES FOR HIS DELAY IN MATTER

Mr. Mutler Declares that he Has Risen Above Considerations of Race and is Emulating the Example of his Noble Predecessors.

To the Editor:— During the entire summer just passed I was engaged at the University of North Carolina in mastering the science of jurisprudence as outlined by my predecessors, Messrs. Coke, Blackstone, Kent, et al; incidentally in preparing myself to stand for admission to the bar of the state, and in fitting myself to pass on certain public questions that I foresaw that I should be called upon to settle.

On the 5th of September, 1899, I was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court and immediately left for New York to attend the Dewey festivities and relax my mind from the labors of the summer. I have found time, however, during the two days of the celebration to thoroughly study the proposed constitutional amendment in North Carolina, and I find without much surprise that it is clearly in conflict with the provisions of the constitution of the United States. I ought, perhaps to have studied the proposed amendment and to have settled its fate, one way or the other, earlier but, as I have said, I was busy during the summer. Therefore, I trust the people of the state will pardon any seeming dereliction of duty on my part. I have disposed of the matter in ample time to save them the necessity of holding a futile election by indicating the decision of the United States Supreme Court should a question of the constitutionality of the amendment ever come before it. This celerity I admit to be at variance with the slow and plodding methods of some so-called lawyers who must perforce feel their way with infinite labor, while genius can grasp the heart of the matter without taking its eyes off the parade.

I am not insensible, sir, that there are some persons so suspicious by nature that they may question the disinterestedness of my motives and there may be some so abject and mean as to insinuate that my course has not been dictated by the purest patriotism. It will not be the first time that my conduct as a public man has been misunderstood or that I have been accused because of my efforts to save the country. Because I found it necessary to the consummation of my work of reform to accept office, and did accept it after exhausting all honorable means to avoid a pinnacle so distasteful to a man of my retiring disposition, I was accused by some base men of wanting office. I should not be surprised if these same traducers go the length of asserting that my opinion as a jurist has been colored by a desire to remain in office, an imputation that I shall spurn with the lofty scorn that befits my character and the falsity of the charge.

That I shall encounter any difficulty in maintaining the position I have taken, I do not for a moment believe even should some be so rash as to dispute the correctness of my conclusions. I am sure that the people are with me. They are not forgetful of the things I have done for them nor unkind of the things I have told them before. The people know that I have often exposed conspiracies against their welfare and their liberties. The people will understand that in this my judgment is as infallible as in the past and my motives as disinterested. While I shall feel a deep sympathy for any of my brethren of the bar who undertake conclusions with me upon the legal question involved, and should prefer to spare them, I can not allow my personal feelings to swerve me from the path of duty when called to champion the rights of the people.

I trust, sir, without seeming egotistic, I may remind the public that this will not be the first time in my career that I have risen above racial divisions and animosities and have felt impelled to take the side of the weaker and darker skinned of my fellowmen. It is the duty and province of the public man to ignore the color line. In this I can not claim to be the pioneer in the state. Other wise and patriotic men pursued the same course just after the civil war; I do not claim to do more than emulate their pure and unselfish example. I am proud to feel that the mantle of Tourege, of Littlefield, of Dewese, has descended upon my shoulders. I shall endeavor to show, in the future as in the past, that I am not unworthy to wear it. Panoplied in such armour the darts of the demagogue and the slings of the slanderer will be powerless to reach or injure me.

This much I have felt it my duty to say now to relieve the suspense of my fellow citizens. If, as a result of it,

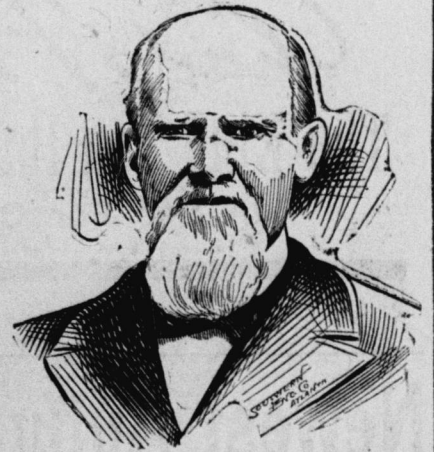
they shall insist upon my continuing to serve in a public capacity I may be induced to do so. I have dedicated myself to my country, and to keeping 120,000 negroes in a position where they can vote for me and restore the kind of government we had in North Carolina from 1835 to 1869. Yours for the good of the People, BARION MUTLER.

### FOR THE AMENDMENT.

Hon. A. A. Campbell Will be in the Thickest of the Fight Next Year.

Murphy, N. C., Oct. 5, 1899. Hon. A. Campbell, sometime known as "Hoola Boom," writes Labor Statistician Lacy that he has sold the Murphy Bulletin and retired from journalism for the present in order to devote his time to the mining of copper in North Carolina.

To the Editor:—The above appeared in the News and Observer of the 21st



A. A. CAMPBELL.

inst., and I beg to say that that portion of it which refers to my having sold the "Bulletin" is a mistake, but was no doubt believed to be correct by the party who gave you the information. I simply sold my old Washington press, but did not sell the title of the Bulletin, and don't want to sell it either. From present indications I think it very probable that I will have occasion to run the Bulletin on a cylinder press in 1900 to advocate the adoption of the amendment to the State Constitution, which if adopted will be calculated to elevate and purify the ballot box of the old North State.

Very truly,

A. A. CAMPBELL.

### THE AMENDMENT.

An Important Part That Seems to Escape Notice.

Meform, N. C., Oct. 6, 1899. To the Editor: In renewing my subscription to the best daily in the State I wish to call your attention to an important part of the Constitutional Amendment that no one seems to notice. In my mind all the wisdom of men could not draw a compulsory educational bill that would be as effectual as the passage of the proposed amendment, and if the white people don't watch the negroes will excel them in common education.

Another important part of the negroes' welfare is to eliminate him from politics; they are contented and place all confidence in the white man until election comes, when they are fired by inflammatory speeches almost to rebellion. They are ignorant and innocently led to their detriment by men that have no care for their welfare whatever. They have realized the fact that white men are going to rule this country and treat them all right as far as they merit it. With kind feelings for the negro I would say be patient and trust to a higher power that will do them justice.

JESSE BRAKE.

### THE TRINITY COLLEGE STUDENT.

Washington Messenger.

In reading the mammoth edition of that most excellent paper, the News and Observer, we have been forcibly struck at the number of students of Trinity College that have come to places of honor and distinction in the State. Hardly the write-up of a town appears in its columns but what the Trinity student appears and the doings of the boys that went from its historic walls are inscribed, and the part they are acting in the progress and development in the State. We are not surprised at this when we reflect in the long ago these boys have been trained by a man like Craven, and are now being fitted for life's battle by a Kilgo. No one can read the pages of this mammoth paper without being struck with the fact that the former students of Trinity College are playing so small part in the onward progress of North Carolina, and in the development of his native State. And if we are to judge from the present outlook of this most excellent school and the increased attendance the important part the college has played for the upbuilding of the Old North State is to continue, and it is to be a power for good in the future as it has been in the past.

### A GREAT TOBACCO MARKET.

(Baltimore Sun.)

Within comparatively few years, Winston, N. C., has grown to be one of the most important tobacco markets in the South. For the year ended September '99, over eighteen million pounds of leaf tobacco were sold in the Winston warehouses, and it is expected the sales next year will pass the twenty-million mark. During the tobacco year just closed, Winston shipped 16,639,942 pounds of manufactured tobacco, and the revenue tax aggregated \$1,906,793. The shipments of tobacco were larger than the year previous, as were the stamp sales. The figures for the previous year, on tobacco, spirits, cigars, cigarettes and war, aggregated \$1,156,576.65.

### BRYAN ARRAIGNS IMPERIALISM

The Value of an American Soldier's Life.

### A WARNING FROM FRANCE

REPUBLICANS OBJECT TO BEING CALLED IMPERIALISTS.

### THE REPUBLIC IS RUN IN THE INTEREST OF

Syndicates. They have had Rich Pickings and Now are Clamoring for Pastures New. Imperialism Means Competition with Cheap Labor.

(Speech of Mr. Bryan at the Texas Carnival.)

"I want to speak of new issues. If we could go to the country today on the very same platform that we had in 1896 and have no other issue presented than the issues then presented I believe that we could win our fight; but providence has been good to us and in the last two years issues have been presented to us in addition to those we had in 1896. We have not only grown on the old issues, but we have grown on the new ones.

"The Republican party today stands for a large army. In 1886 we had 25,000 soldiers in the regular army and in December, 1898, a Republican president asked for 100,000 soldiers in the standing army, making an army four times as great as in 1896; and if any Republican tells you that the President wanted these soldiers to beat down an uprising in the Philippines you tell him that a Republican President asked for 100,000 soldiers two months before there was any uprising in the Philippine islands. At the time the President sent his message to Congress in the early part of December there was no uprising anywhere. The treaty with Spain was practically agreed upon and there was no evidence of any necessity for a large army, except as a permanent policy of the government; so that when Mr. McKinley asked for the army it was not for an emergency, but it was for the permanent, continued policy of the United States. In other words, we are to choose between an army of 25,000 and an army of 100,000. I will venture the assertion that in any of the nations that have gone to militarism you can not find an instance where such a large increase was demanded. Consider a moment: Grant an increase of 300 per cent at the very first step. How easy it will be to give them one hundred per cent and double it, and then one hundred more and double it and make it 400 per cent! When you start on the road from dependence on the people to dependence on soldiers, there is no place to stop until you reach the endurance of the people. In Europe they have an armed soldier riding upon the backs of every toiler. There were men in the Republican party that wanted a large army. They have wanted it for years, but they could not get it because there was no necessity for it; but the moment the Philippine question came how quickly did they take advantage of it and, hiding behind what they called a necessity, they then demanded this increase that they have wanted for many years. I don't believe the laboring men of this Union will look with favor upon this attempt to make a great military establishment which, when created, will not only be a burden to the producers of wealth, but will be a menace to their government itself.

"Some one has referred tonight to the case of France. There we find a great army demanding the conviction of an innocent man and, my friends, the French president had to immediately pardon the convicted man out of respect for the protests of the civilized world against militarism (cheers) and when in this Union we have a great standing army we would have a horde of life-holding officers. When we have a horde of soldiers, we will not only have the burden that is borne in other nations, but a grave menace to the very life of our government, and also, my friends, if we have an imperial policy we will have a large standing army. You never can reduce the army below 100,000. It will be constantly augmented if this Nation enters upon an imperial policy.

"And let me say a word here about the word imperialism. Our opponents don't like to be called imperialists. I am not surprised. I have known them before to object to words that described them. I remember that in 1896 they did not want to be called 'goldbugs'; they wanted to be called advocates of sound money and of an honest dollar, but they did not want to be called 'goldbugs.' It was not until after the election that they blossomed out as goldbugs and pointed to the victory for the gold standard. And now they don't want to be called imperialists; they say they are expansionists. Well, they don't seem to be expansionists. The word don't fit. If we were going up in the wilds of Canada and take a stretch of country to be settled by American citizens it would be expansion—it would be extending the limits of the republic—but when we cross the ocean it is not expansion; it is imperialism. It is imperialism and no other term describes it.

"What defense do they give for an imperial policy? Not one in ten will give any defense at all. The first man you meet tells you that it is too late to discuss the question because the treaty settled that. The next man tells you that it is not time to discuss it yet because the Filipinos have not laid down their arms and the third one says that while he does not know what is going to be done, that he has implicit confidence in the President. (Laughter.)

"It is hard to get a man to defend imperialism, but when you get a man who has the audacity to defend an imperial policy you will find that he will make one of three defenses; I have never heard but three defenses of imperialism. The first is the financial argument; that there is money in it. The second is the religious argument; that God is in it. The third is the political argument, that we are in it and can't get out of it. (Laughter.) These are the only three reasons that I have ever heard given.

"Let me say a word about expansion. My friends, I don't like to discuss a great question on the low plane of dollars and cents. If I were to ask you what you thought of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' would you get a lead pencil and paper and try to figure up the amount to be stolen and the chances of being caught before you would give me an answer? To me it seems an absurdity for a man to begin to calculate in dollars and cents the wisdom of an imperial policy.

"In 1896 they denounced the Chicago platform. Some ministers denounced it. One Eastern minister said that the platform was written in hell; another said that the devil wrote it and the last remark I felt to be a little personal, because a part of it I helped to write. I do not believe that a single plank violates the ten commandments or the moral law and if you can show me a plank in that platform which violates any of the commandments or any moral precept I am willing to abandon it and never again advocate it. But there is no such plank in that platform; no matter what you may think of that platform the party's position upon the questions are set forth so that no Republican can urge that about it. The position is this: That this country can not afford to sell its birthright for a mess of pottage. But if there is any Republican here who can not climb upon that high platform I will suggest a low one that he ought to be able to climb on, and that is that you ought never to do wrong unless it does pay. And then I challenge you to show that it does pay to carry on an imperial policy. Any man who defends imperialism from the low standpoint of dollars and cents must show how much it will cost to conquer eight million Malays seven thousand miles away from our shores, scattered over one thousand two hundred islands, living under a tropical sun and fighting in the protection of the jungle. You must show how long it will take and how much it will cost in men and in money, and then you have got to place an estimate upon the lives that will be sacrificed.

"You tell me there is money in it! What is the life of an American soldier worth? Conceive, if you can, of the man who would put a money value upon the men of his neighborhood and then estimate there was money in it. (Wild yells.) How much will it cost? You can not tell, but if you could estimate in dollars and cents the amount it would cost to conquer and reconquer, you would then have to estimate what you are going to get back, the time in which you are going to get back more than you spent and then you would have to find out who is going to get the money that you will take out in return for the money you spent. If you do this, you would find that the people that pay the taxes would spend what you would and the people who run the syndicates would get back what you get back.

"This Nation has been run for the last ten or fifteen years in the interest of the syndicates. They have had rich pickings in this country and I am not willing to change our form of government in order to give these syndicates pastures green across the ocean. I am not willing that the people of this country should be bound with an enormous army and with the expenses of imperialism in order that a few syndicates may be permitted to organize banks, and electric light plants, and street railways and factories in the Orient, and if any man tells you that there is going to be profit there I want him to know that it will be capital and not labor that will go to the Philippine islands. Not an American citizen will go there to work for his living. If an American citizen goes there it will be to work for somebody else who lives over there. They will send capital there, not labor, and every dollar of capital that goes out of this country to the Philippines lessens by just so much the capital in this country to develop this country and give employment to American laborers. Not only does it mean this, but it also means that it will open in this country labor to the cheap competition that comes from the Orient.

"We decided that the Chinese were not good enough, when they wanted to come in, but our Republican friends want to make the Filipino come when he does not want to come. If we made laws to exclude a few Chinese, should we reach out and force these people there to come in? You tell me that our country will furnish a home for our surplus population. I tell you that you have not studied the experience of other nations. Here is Jamaica not far from our shores with all the blessings of an Anglo-Saxon domination, and yet there are 600,000 black people there and only 14,000 white people. Java, under The Netherlands for 300 years, has 25,000,000 brown people and less than 60,000 of white people. Take the Philippine islands with their 8,000,000 of people, 50,000 Spaniards and 5,000 half-breeds, yet under Spanish rule for 300 years. Take India with its 300,000,000 of people and 100,000 of British birth."

### HE LAUDS DEWEY, CONDEMNS OTIS

MacQueen's High Opinion of Our Admiral.

### FULFILLED HIS PLEDGES

FILIPINOS SATISFIED WHILE HE WAS IN COMMAND.

### THE "DEVILMENT" BEGUN BY MERRITT

"If Dewey Had Been a Commission of One We Could have Got Aguinaldo." Custom House Scandals. Autonomy Under America's Wing.

(New York World.)

Somerville, Mass., Oct. 4.—The Rev. Peter MacQueen, who spent several months in the Philippines among the leading American officers and civil officials and with the Filipinos, today gave to The World correspondent a detailed report of his investigations and the conclusions which he has formed.

Mr. MacQueen has been interviewed frequently since his return from the Philippines, but claims that his views have been nearly always misrepresented. This is the first statement that he has given out.

"The people of this country," he says, started in at Manila with a sincere purpose to do justice to the Filipinos.

"As long as Admiral Dewey was in full charge every pledge was fulfilled, the Filipinos were universally satisfied. With the coming of General Merritt the devilment began.

"This General is described to me by the best men of our land as 'a haughty martinet.' He it was who sent his inferior officers to negotiate with Aguinaldo, and then, when Aguinaldo made for the fulfillment of agreements made for the officers, thus sent, Gen. Merritt haughtily said that he had had no dealings with the insurgents.

### FIRST POINT OF FRICTION.

Gen. Merritt thrust aside the Filipino generals and placed Col. Du Boce, of the First Californians, in the insurgent trenches nearest the sea, in front of Manila. Col. Du Boce told me that that was the first point of friction.

"When Gen. Lawton arrived in Luzon everybody expected him to assume entire command of the army. If this had been done, there is no manner of doubt in my fair mind that the war would have ended pretty quickly.

"Be it said on our side, the Filipinos were very insolent. No other soldiers in the world would have stood so much.

"Our army, mostly of volunteers, was one of the best fighting machines that ever went into battle. They were brave, they were just, they were magnanimous. But they would pick up things in houses and churches just to have for keepsakes. So the Filipinos got the idea when we took most of the things out of their houses that we were inveterate thieves. "When Gen. Lawton arrived in Luzon everybody expected him to assume entire command of the army. If this had been done, there is no manner of doubt in my fair mind that the war would have ended pretty quickly.

### OTIS MAKES ALL HIS ENEMIES.

"Gen. Otis has the unfortunate ability of making everybody his enemy. Lawton does not criticize him, but any one can see that he is vexed and embarrassed by the pettiness of the palace.

"The Peace Commissioners were very estimable men, but they came too late. They were not trained diplomats.

"If Dewey, with his marvellous genius for saying and doing the right things, had been a commission of one, we could have got Aguinaldo.

"As it was Otis was too busy. Dewey was too old, Worcester was too much after bugs and pictures, Dewey was too tired, and Schurmann was too credulous. "I went with an army of 1,500 men, one of whose avowed objects was to distribute peace proclamations. We killed 150 Filipinos, wounded 300, and distributed one proclamation, but that was to a blind man who could not read.

"The generals of the Filipinos are young men. Revolutions build their nests in young brains. In strategy Piedad Pilar and Luna have shown themselves equal to our best men. In diplomacy Paterno is clearly ahead of any one but Dewey.

### CENSORSHIP TOO STRICT.

"The press censorship was far too strict. Bass, Collins, McCutcheon and all the others who signed the round robin I can vouch were careful, honest men. The whole American public has been misled by this silly censorship. Aguinaldo gets his news directly from the palace. This is cheaper than by wire from America, and more reliable.

"The custom-house is a seething abomination and a scam. I always lost everything I had coming through it. It is run by military incompetents. One chief ran it a few months, and then tried to start a bank. People say they are not honest. I know they are not polite.

"The Filipinos like their own priests, but hate Spanish friars as the gates of hell. Everybody I met among the natives was a good Catholic. I often met our American priests on the field. They seemed to be hard-working men and took great care of the wounded and the

dead of both sides. The American priests had more power than the Spanish priests with the natives.

"There are Americans going into Manila who do not represent even the average class of Americans citizens. Take some of the civilians. There are a Mr. Brown, whose name is Baranski, and a Mr. Carmen associated together in the American Commercial Company. I have it on the authority of Mr. Brown and Timothy W. Coakley, of the American Company, that Mr. Brown and Brown sell tomatoes at \$1.00 per case, whereas the duty on tomatoes is \$8 per case.

### THE PROSPERITY OF CARMEN.

"It is said that Mr. Carmen came to Manila six months ago as a penniless man, and that today he is a monopoly of the Nipa Thatch and the cases for transportation of the Pasig river. Mr. Brown is often seen with American officers, when these officers are intoxicated, taking them to their homes. I have watched him thus again and again.

"Mr. Brown is connected with the saloon business, and that is the business which flourishes best in Manila.

"The abuses referred to are undoubtedly caused by the fact that we retain the impractical duties of the Spanish regime in force. These duties are levied not only on foreign nations sending in produce, but also upon the produce of Spain. Heretofore everything in the line of Spanish groceries and provisions came in free of duty; hence table living was cheap. Now we have ungodly duties on condensed milk, canned tomatoes, etc.

"There is no use in any American citizen trying to get into Luzon just now to start in business, because, if he takes in his merchandise honestly through the custom-house, it would be impossible for him to make a living.

"I know that some of our soldiers oftentimes levy blackmail on the people of the city, going, for example, into a Chinaman's house and charging him \$5 for the tax of his piano. So much is this carried on that a day or two before I came away the walls of Manila were plastered with a proclamation of Gen. Otis calling attention to the fact that no citizens should pay taxes to any one except at the places established by the Government.

### NATIVES WANT AUTONOMY.

"I think the people in the islands generally would rather have an autonomous government under an American protectorate than anything like a colonial or annexation arrangement.

"I am inclined to think that their national aspirations are very much stronger than most people imagine. However, it looks reasonable to me that, with a large and efficient army, order can be restored and Aguinaldo's army captured.

"Then it will depend upon how justly the people we send there treat the Filipinos. Nobody could justly have the opinion that either the American Government or people mean to oppress the inhabitants of the Philippines, but many of the agents sent there are undoubtedly corrupt.

"For instance, I saw on the books of the Red Cross Society of California an account of how two young fellows, one an army officer and the other a Red Cross officer, had stolen the supplies of the Red Cross, sold them, and had gone into business and were now prosperous business men in Manila. As long as such dishonesty and cruelty are possible with our soldiers and civilians, I do not think there will be any lasting peace in the Philippines.

"But I do think that if the campaign was given into the hands of one man who was competent to run the army, and another man who was competent to run the civil administration, we could have peace.

"There is a good deal of jealousy between the high officers of the army, and that makes it difficult to force matters to a focus with the Filipinos.

"If the dispatches are true that Wheaton, Lawton and MacArthur are to have separate commands, each one with full power, I do not think it is in human nature that they should work in harmony.

### OTIS SHOULD GO.

"It seems unfortunate to retain Gen. Otis in command of the Philippines. He may have all the qualifications and have the confidence of the Government, but, inasmuch as he has entirely lost the confidence of the soldiers and civilians in the Philippines, I think we will find it more difficult to handle things with him as Governor-General than we would if we had a new man—a man like Gen. Leonard Wood or Gen. Irving Hale.

"I do not agree with Dr. Schurmann if he thinks that the sphere of hostility to America in the Philippines is a small one.

"The natives of all the islands I visited, Cebu, Negros, Pany, Sulu and Luzon, seemed to feel that we are the aggressors, except the people of Jolo, who do not believe that we are going to establish a very firm government over them, or one distinctly American.

"Towards the end of July in Manila the soldiers seemed to degenerate. The war began to assume the ugly phases of a race war. The new regiments do not have the calibre of men which the volunteers had. They are much apt to kick and cuff the natives. Langley Jones, of the Associated Press, assures me that he saw on the Escorta, from his rooms in the English hotel, over a hundred unjustifiable assaults by Americans on the Filipinos.

"An American chaplain in Malabon, whose name I withhold, told me that in his first parish work he had been told by the natives of Malabon that their wives and daughters had been assaulted by our soldiers. He could only authenticate five cases.

### A PSYCHOLOGICAL QUESTION.

"We need to study the question psychologically. These people are not as our people. Our very voices rasp them.

(Continued on Second Page.)