

The Times.

THE TIMES COMPANY.
 TIMES BUILDING,
 TENTH AND B STREETS,
 RICHMOND, VA.
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 Remit by draft, check, postoffice order, or registered letter. Currency sent by mail is at the risk of the sender.
 Times Telephone—Business Office, New York, 234; Old Phone, 429; Editorial Rooms, New York, 61; Old Phone, 526.
 Composing Rooms, New York, 22.
 Second-class postage paid at Richmond, Va.
 All subscriptions by mail payable in advance. Watch the label on your paper, if you live out of Richmond, and see when your subscription expires, so you can renew before the paper is stopped.
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MANCHESTER BUREAU, 112 HULL STREET.
 PETERSBURG AGENT, MR. & C. HUTCHINGS, 7 LOMBARD STREET.

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SUNDAY, JANUARY 22, 1899.

WHAT WISEMEN HAVE SAID OF IT.

In his Spirit of Laws, Montesquieu says, book 4, chapter 6: "If a democracy conquers a nation in order to govern it as a subject, it will jeopardize its own liberty, because it will confide too much power to the officials who are sent to the conquered country."

Montesquieu has been accepted for two centuries as one of the wisest men the world has ever had. Statesmen and political economists the world over have been resorting to his works for instruction and inspiration in questions of government. In his profound and truly statesman-like papers that the Federalist contains, James Madison showed that he had been a constant and eager student of the "Spirit of Laws," and they crop out in those papers oftener perhaps than in any other book to which he refers.

Montesquieu has indicated here the true point of objection to our acquiring the Philippine Islands and holding them as colonies. We will confide to those we send there to govern them more power than men who live in republics should have, and we will be forced to do it because they will be unable to govern the turbulent, half-civilized people who live in the Philippines without commanding authority. We will thus set up before the eyes of our people the spectacle of men who rule, not by law, but in great measure, by their own will, and in this example is catching and will breed many here who will desire to imitate the example. If once the example is set of any class that can put the laws aside, the laws will fall into contempt, and soon all will want to do the same thing and the democratic government will come to an end. Our public men should study this aphorism of this wise Frenchman and take it deeply to heart. It has a vast meaning and is the result of this sage's reflections upon the lessons of all the history of the past.

On Tuesday last Mr. John Morley, addressing his constituents in England, criticized the "prevailing spirit of jingoism and imperialism." He denounced it as "entirely opposed to the lessons of Mr. Gladstone, lessons to which he would feel himself untrue were he to allow himself to drift in acquiescence with a course of policy which he believed injurious to our material prosperity, to the national character and to the strength and safety of the imperial State."

He frankly admitted that he took a pessimistic view of the difficulties threatening throughout the world, and said: "I think we are nearer the beginning of them than the end."

It was his firm conviction that "the prevailing spirit of imperialism means inevitably bring militarism, a gigantic daily growing expenditure, increased power to aristocrats and privileged classes, and war."

If this eminent Englishman can look with so much alarm at the tendency of imperialism in England, how much greater should be the alarm of an American at the suggestion that we depart from a system of implicit obedience to law.

General Leonard Wood was before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs last Wednesday, and he told it we should have to keep an army of 90,000 men in Cuba for a long time to preserve order there. He knows more of the conditions prevailing in Cuba than any other American living. If Cuba requires 90,000 the Philippines and Porto Rico will require 200,000 more. That means jobbery of all sorts for politicians, so that Washington will be converted into a political hot-house with Senators and Representatives scheming for the swag, and they could use that swag to keep up their political organization amongst us in our homes that these organizations should continue to send them back to Congress.

The thing is automatic and would end in a holocaust of fraud and corruption.

HOW LONG?

The senatorial contests throughout the country may be epitomized as follows: A deadlock in Utah; a deadlock in Wisconsin; a deadlock in Delaware; a deadlock in Washington; a deadlock in

Montana; a deadlock in California; a deadlock in Nebraska; a deadlock in Nevada; a deadlock in West Virginia; a deadlock in Pennsylvania. At least that was the situation yesterday morning.

An attempt was made at bribery in the California Legislature and the scandal is being investigated. An attempt at bribery was made in the Montana Legislature and it is charged that a member of the Legislature of Nevada has been given \$20 and promised an office to vote for Senator Stewart. In Pennsylvania it is charged that Senator Quay will try to buy his election, and to scotch the attempt, Mr. Wanamaker has offered a liberal reward to any member who will catch the Quay forces at it. In West Virginia, there is a contest between a Republican Senate and a Democratic House as to which can unseat the greater number of members, and each is threatening the other.

WHY THE DEMAGOGUE?

It is not strange that the professional politician should be a demagogue. In order to be elected he must have votes and in order to get doubtful votes he must work for them. The most available material, we might say the only available material, is to be found in the lowest stratum of society. There are three classes of voters. There are intelligent, independent voters who vote for measures rather than men. There are voters who always go with their party and vote for the nominee no matter what the issues are and who are the nominees of the party. The third class is made up of ignorant men, who do not read, who do not study public questions, who do not think for themselves, but are influenced by the passion of the hour.

The first class are not easily influenced by candidates, for they form their own conclusions by studying the issues of the day for themselves and the politicians can't fool them. The second class do not need to be canvassed and coaxed, for they always vote at the party's call. It is the voters of the third class, therefore, to whom the candidate must cater, for they, as we have said, are swayed by passion and the candidate who can tickle their fancy is the candidate who will get their votes. They are not caught with argument. They are caught with promises. The politician would win them cannot lift them up to a higher plane. He must get down to their level and fan the flame of their grievances, whether real or imaginary. He must encourage them in the idea that their material welfare is dependent upon legislation. That the success of the party which he represents is necessary to their success and that the triumph of the other party means financial disaster to them. In fine, they are captured by clap-trap and the candidate who can talk the most alluring sort of clap-trap will get their support. That means demagoguery and hence it is that the professional office-seeker is so often a demagogue.

But what is the remedy for this? Plainly the education of the masses. Let the people learn to read and to study and they will form their own conclusions and laugh at the clap-trap of the politician. "The best political economy," says Emerson, "is the care and culture of men." Our government was founded upon that idea. Our forefathers designed that it should indeed be a government of the people and by the people, but above all, FOR the people. It was not their purpose to build up a strong government, but a strong people. To this end every man was made a sovereign and put upon his manhood and his independence to work out his destiny by his own brain and intellect. To be sure the government should supply the means of education, but it should not coddle the young and encourage them to look to the government for their support. "Our government," says a modern educator, "is the great training-school for the people." And the good work goes on. Every year there are more and more of thoughtful, independent voters. Every year there are fewer ignorant, thoughtless voters who are swayed by their passions. The material upon which the professional politician works with his clap-trap argument is growing smaller, comparatively speaking, all the time. Voters are lifting themselves up. The educated class is growing and as it grows our institutions become more firmly established. The days of the demagogue are numbered.

LET THE PEOPLE SING.

In the newspapers of Floyd and Grayson counties we frequently see references to singing schools and singing matches. It is a custom among the people of those counties to organize classes in singing in each neighborhood, and the singing master is the most popular man in the county. Hon. Jossey G. Lester, who represented the Fifth District in Congress several years ago, was a singing master, and to that fact as much as to any other he owed his nomination and election. The singing schools are attended by the leading young men and young women in the neighborhood, and there is great rivalry between the classes in this neighborhood and that. Every now and then, we note in the exchanges above mentioned, that a challenge passes from one class to another, and then there is a match and judges decide as to which class makes the best music.

It is an excellent custom. Music is a great educator and always exercises a refining influence. It expands the chest, makes lungs stronger, clears the throat and makes the heart-beat stronger and warmer. Let the people sing. God gave them a voice and the power to make music not simply for their entertainment, but as a means of grace.

ANOTHER GOOD POINT.

The Richmond Dispatch, in speaking of the delinquent tax law, said: "The law has caused the fact to be disclosed that many collecting officers have been in the habit of returning as 'delinquent' taxpayers who were a good deal of the amount charged against them as the Bank of England is for the notes it has issued. A reform in that direction is undoubtedly demanded, and, if effected, it should be put to the credit of the present law."

And so one of the opponents of the present law has confessed to another point in its favor. It is more and more apparent that the "land grabbers' act" came none too soon. It was in response to a demand of the times and it has served its purpose well.

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MR. CROAKER'S PROTEST.

As a practical politician, as a political expert, the views of Mr. Richard Croaker on political conditions are not to be cast aside and pook-poked. As a business man, Mr. Croaker does not desire that silver shall be disturbed by another silver agitation. He says: "If this silver question comes again before the people and is made a factor in the national platform, the moneyed men of the East will look for investments outside of this country, and the banks able to borrow money in the East. The result will be that the poor will be the greatest sufferers."

That is true, but that is not Mr. Croaker's real objection to the introduction of the silver issue into the campaign of 1900. We say that Richard Croaker is a practical politician and he goes into politics to win. He and his kind are for popular issues, for issues that will bring success to the party. If free silver were popular, if it were an issue upon which, in Mr. Croaker's opinion, the Democratic party could elect a President next year, Mr. Croaker would be for free silver, in spite of himself, for he believes that the great duty of a political party is to win. What's the good of principles, argues the practical politician, if the party is forever on the outside and has no opportunity of putting those principles into practice? What's the use of talking free silver, whether good or bad, argues Mr. Croaker, unless you can elect a President next year. Mr. Croaker would be for free silver, in spite of himself, for he believes that the great duty of a political party is to win. 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