

The Public

Fifth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1902.

Number 222.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last page.

It is one of the blessings of the Spanish-American war that nobody has got any glory out of it. There was glory in the civil war on both sides. It clung to the heroes and shed a dazzling radiance over into the next generation, engendering a war spirit in men who had been too young to fight or had not yet been born. These belated patriots were consequently hot for another war; that they, too, might have a chance to be crowned with a halo of military glory.

Typical of such ambitious spirits was the belligerent young Roosevelt, who preached the necessity of war as an antidote for the dessicating influences of inglorious peace. Their martial ardor broke bounds when President Cleveland nearly involved the country in a war with Great Britain; but to their intense disgust no blood flowed, and the fore-gleams of glory faded away in the dusk of a pusillanimous diplomacy. To them, therefore, the Spanish-American war was a godsend. Whether fought to revenge the Maine, or to free the Cubans, or to make a conquest of territory, or only for the wholesome effects of a little strenuous blood-letting, made no difference. It was war, and war meant glory. That was enough.

But none of the expected glory has come. There is no glory for this greatest of republics, because recent disclosures show that all that justified the war could have been accomplished and was in process of accomplishment by peaceful diplomacy; and also because the war has cul-

minated in a policy of imperial dominion like that of Great Britain. There is no glory for the participants, either in army or navy. There never is in foreign wars for those of lower grades, who do not secure promotions; but in this case there is none for those of higher grades. Roosevelt got place through it, but not glory. Sampson's glory was commuted in prize money—"loot" it would have been called if got under analogous circumstances by barbarian Filipinos. Even if there had been no prize money, his glory was overshadowed by Schley. Schley's, in turn, was obscured by the naval inquiry and President Roosevelt's confirmation of its verdict. And now what little was left of Dewey's, after the truth about his apparently brilliant advance into Manila bay transpired, and the President officially excoriated him for his dissent in the Schley case, Dewey himself has thrown away by becoming a special pleader, in the guise of an expert witness, for the imperialists. Future generations of Americans will certainly not be encouraged by the results of the Spanish-American war to precipitate another war for the sake of military glory.

Admiral Dewey's testimony before the Philippine committee of the Senate, is, if it is fairly reported, truly remarkable. Regarding his famous message that the Filipinos were more capable of self-government than the Cubans, which was always understood to mean that both were so capable, he now explains that he thinks "that neither the Filipinos nor the Cubans are capable of self-government," an interpretation of his message which is certainly not complimentary to the intelligence of his fellow countrymen. As to his urgent dispatch from Hong-Kong, in response to a message of inquiry from the American consul at Singa-

pore, "Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible," he says: "I attached so little importance to the message that I sailed without Aguinaldo, before he arrived." Does Admiral Dewey forget that on the 23d of April, 1898, the British governor at Hong-Kong notified the American fleet to depart from that port by the afternoon of the 25th, and that Aguinaldo did not leave Singapore for Hong-Kong until the 26th? Was it not, then, out of respect for British neutrality, rather than indifference to Aguinaldo, that Dewey sailed without him? Perhaps the question is answered by the fact that he afterwards sent for Aguinaldo by the first American boat that returned to Hong-Kong.

Admiral Dewey also testifies that it was two months after Aguinaldo landed before he knew of any Filipino aspirations for independence; that he did not know it until the 15th of July, when he saw Aguinaldo's first proclamation of independence for the first time and then paid no attention to it. Yet that proclamation was issued and widely circulated and reported before the 20th of May, 1898, pursuant to Dewey's own instructions to Aguinaldo, when he put him ashore, "to organize his people." What was it that occupied Admiral Dewey's mind so absorbingly that he did not know of this proclamation, nor of one of May 24, to the same effect, nor of the proclamation of June 18 establishing a dictatorial government as the necessary preliminary to the organization of an independent republic? Or did he know of them? But if he did, why was he so long ignorant of the Filipino aspirations for independence?

Admiral Dewey also repeats his denial of having treated Aguinaldo as an ally. But now, as before, there is

a verbal equivocation. In his first denial he said: "I never treated him as an ally except to make use of him and the natives to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards"—that is, he never treated him as an ally except to use him as an ally; and in his testimony now he says that he interfered with German operations in Subig bay and took possession because a German man of war was preventing Aguinaldo from passing. His prime motive, as he says, was that he "did not want any other power to interfere in the Philippines;" but the exciting cause just the same was a German menace to a vessel carrying the Filipino flag, and he protected it. His testimony that Aguinaldo was not his ally, therefore, remains as before, an inference and not a fact.

Really, pretty much all of Admiral Dewey's testimony is inferential, notably so that with reference to Aguinaldo's character. Without specifying any facts, and contrary to the tributes of other American officers, he testified that Aguinaldo is a small man intellectually and a dishonest one morally. Yet he refused to answer the crucial question on this point. For whatever Aguinaldo may be, nothing is clearer than that for more than a year he has had only to do what Buencamino has done to get good fame and money from the Americans and not improbably to be brought like Buencamino to this country to testify before Mr. Lodge's committee. Yet he has retained a dignified silence under aspersions and remains a prisoner without American office or its inviting spoils. This may not prove either greatness or honesty, but it is a situation which tends to discredit Admiral Dewey's bad opinion, and he so recognized it by his silence when it was made the basis of a searching question. Altogether Admiral Dewey has proved to be what the lawyers significantly call a "swift witness"—not necessarily a false witness, but swift.

One part of the admiral's testimony

is simply shocking—or would be if it were not so improbable. He says, in effect, that the battle of Manila was a sham fight, made to save the face of the Spanish governor; that the lives lost were wantonly sacrificed to the vanity of a commandant, who had already surrendered. This statement is so incredible that we quote it just as the Associated Press reported it in the papers of the 27th. Being asked, "What would have been the effect of permitting the Philippine force to enter Manila when our troops entered?" Admiral Dewey replied:

The Spaniards were fearful of the result of such a course, and, therefore, they surrendered to me in advance. That was all arranged and there was no need for the loss of a man in the capture of the city. It was to be done at a signal and no gun need have been fired by us, but for the desire of the governor general, who said his honor demanded that a few shots should be fired. So that I had to fire and kill a few people, but the Spaniards did not fire because of my warning that it would be disastrous to the city for them to do so. They had in the city 15,000 troops and 47 rifled guns.

This confession presents an interesting problem in the ethics of war for military moralists to solve.

The exploitation by the Philippine committee of Dewey's testimony comes suggestively just at a time when this committee, of which Senator Lodge is chairman, is reported as having denied the petition (p. 191) of Charles Francis Adams, Carl Schurz and other such men, for a searching investigation. Buencamino, the Filipino Benedict Arnold, has been paraded as a witness before it; but Lopez is not allowed to testify, and Aguinaldo is gagged while Dewey belittles his record as a patriot and denounces his character as a man. The truth is that Mr. Lodge's committee deliberately designs to deceive the American people regarding the disgraceful American history that is being made in the Philippines. So famous and responsible a correspondent as Henry Loomis Nelson has become sponsor for this accusation in

the columns of the Boston Herald. He writes:

The time has come when the country may as well recognize that it has never been the intention of Mr. Lodge's committee to seek the whole truth. The purpose of the investigation, as it lay in the mind of the chairman of the committee, was undoubtedly to secure some information which might appear to be useful in the framing of legislation.

Commenting severely upon that all too evident purpose of suppression, City and State, of Philadelphia, is more tender with President Roosevelt and Secretary Root than with Mr. Lodge. That is generous, but it isn't just. Roosevelt and Root are as innocent or as culpable, whichever it may be, as is Lodge; and if the insinuations of the following quotation from City and State are true as applied to Lodge alone, they are as certainly true in substance of Root and Roosevelt:

Our readers will remember that Senator Dietrich said last winter, when a correspondent urged that this investigation should be made open: "We will do nothing that Senator Lodge does not wish;" and "if it were to be thrown open something might come out that we do not wish." Surely, Senator Dietrich spoke with refreshing frankness. This was the plain truth. Senator Lodge's ability and experience make him the controlling force on this committee. This he well knew when he saw the dangerous weapon of a Philippine investigation about to be wielded by Senator Hoar's honest hand. He saw the danger and averted it by demanding that the work of investigation should be transferred to his committee. And well has he worked toward his end—to save the administration from a scandal, a burden of responsibility that would have swamped it before the haven of the next presidential election could have been reached. Mr. Lodge is very tired with the long and difficult task as he prepares for the summer's rest. He has fought his fight splendidly. He could not keep all the damning truth hidden, but some of the worst of it is still behind the curtain, and that which has been revealed, thanks to his skillful tactics, and to the ingenious explanations given by his associates, has been robbed of much of its true significance. He has fought on until the American summer, which with most Americans renders seriousness impossible, is upon us before any real investigation has begun. Meanwhile we understand the President's letter to

Bishop Lawrence, strenuous with desire for investigation, has been read as a kind of pastoral letter in the Episcopal churches of Massachusetts.

Those last words would indicate, after all, that City and State does not discriminate so unjustly in favor of Roosevelt as may be at first supposed. It seems, on the contrary, to recognize that while it is Mr. Lodge's laborious function to suppress the facts, it is Mr. Roosevelt's cooperative function to write assuring pastoral letters. And so the policy of suppression moves on without the jolt that President Roosevelt might give it if he also were not afraid that if the investigation were thrown open "something might come out that Lodge and Root and I, as well as Dietrich, do not wish."

Several men, including lawyers, were convicted in Chicago this week of bribing a jury in the interest of a traction company. The conviction gives very general satisfaction, but it is to be regretted that the men were tried not directly for jury-bribing, but for conspiracy.

The crime of conspiracy is nothing but a dragnet, into which men are swept without much regard for their guilt. With one or two evidently guilty men in the batch, a whole net full of men may be convicted upon very slight incriminating evidence. For all are tried together, no matter how diverse their defensive interests, and evidence against a grossly guilty one reaches the ears of the jury associated with the suggestion that it applies also to all the others. It is a dangerous proceeding, a prosecution for conspiracy, on account of the ease with which innocent men can be convicted by merely associating them with guilty men. It was originally adopted for that reason, and for that reason prosecuting officials are tending more and more to resort to it. Instead of trying men for a particular crime, they try them for conspiracy with others to commit the crime. In this Chicago case, for instance, instead of trying the men for bribing a jury, the prosecutor tried them for

conspiracy to bribe a jury. In consequence, a confused and on the whole an unjust verdict resulted. While one of the defendants was sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary, the others, who were equally guilty and some of them more culpable than he, if they were guilty at all, were sentenced to fines ranging from \$200 to \$2,000.

The real crime upon trial in that case, jury-bribing, is the worst in the whole category of crime. Whoever commits it should be severely punished. No guilty man should escape with a fine. But also no innocent man, or one whose innocence is reasonably possible, should be punished at all. If any person supposed to be guilty can be convicted properly of conspiring to bribe a jury, he can as well be convicted of bribing or of attempting to bribe. That is the crime, then, for which he should be tried. If there is a case against him, he can be convicted in a direct prosecution for the crime; if there is not a case against him, he ought not to be convicted by an indirect prosecution under a sweeping conspiracy indictment. It is worthy of note that in this case, as in all the preceding ones in Chicago in which jury bribing is the gist of the offense, that the bribes have been offered or given in the interest of a street car company, yet not by any regular representatives of those companies or out of the corporate treasury, but by irresponsible persons out of their own pockets.

The Commoner's flagellation of John P. Hopkins, the head of the Democratic committee of Illinois, necessitates a frank though necessarily brief explanation of Democratic affairs in this state. What the Commoner says of Mr. Hopkins is true, and more of the same kind might be said without injustice to that gentleman's political career and reputation. He is hardly the kind of man that Gov. Altgeld, for instance, would have selected under more favorable circumstances for managing-head of the Democratic party in Illinois. But the situation

in Chicago for the past three or four years—and the Democratic politics of Illinois centers in Chicago—has not been of a character to enable men like Altgeld to be too nice in their tastes about local Democratic leaders. They are driven to a choice between two evils. If they reject Hopkins they may go to Harrison, but if they can't stomach Harrison there is nothing to fall back upon but Hopkins.

Now, Hopkins is a man who, whatever his lack of loyalty to the national Democracy has been and may be again, can always be "placed." He leaves no one in doubt as to where he stands. Should he lead the Democratic party off after false gods, therefore, it will be because it wants to be led in that direction, and not because it is deceived. Moreover, there is in John P. Hopkins, despite his objectionable attitude toward some specific issues, a vital spark of democracy which under favorable circumstances might burst into flame. Such things have happened in less hopeful cases. Not so with Harrison. There is no vital spark of democracy in him, and he cannot be "placed." Nothing certain is ever known about him except that he is for Harrison, first, last, and all the intermediate time. His defeat by Hopkins as committeeman at large in the state convention was not a defeat for the Kansas City platform. Harrison made no stand for that, either directly or indirectly—either to have it recognized in the platform or as its representative candidate for committeeman. Throughout his career Harrison has simply connived for Harrison, regardless of political platforms or principles. He did so in 1898-99, when he would have led the party of his state into the reactionary ranks if Altgeld had not run for mayor of Chicago on the "Chicago platform," and with his vote of 50,000 given warning that Illinois could not be bartered to the plutocrats—that the goods could not be delivered.

Such a man as Harrison is much

more dangerous to his political associates than a man like Hopkins. Put the matter in its worst light for Hopkins and in its best for Harrison, and still the old saw holds good that a candid enemy is safer than a treacherous friend. That was the way in which the matter appeared to Gov. Altgeld, and that was the reason Altgeld encouraged and aided in organizing Hopkins's now well-nigh successful contest against Harrison. Although he realized the objections to Hopkins, he believed that they were of minor and temporary concern as compared with the importance of putting Harrison out of the saddle in local politics. There is no reason yet for supposing that Altgeld was mistaken.

A check, temporary at least, has now been put upon the postmaster general's policy (p. 84) of establishing a press censorship in the postal department. His arbitrary rulings on the admissibility of second-class matter have been enjoined by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Judge Bradley, of that court, granted an injunction before he died (p. 84) and that injunction has now been continued by Judge Barnard, pending the trial of the case in which it has been issued. Judge Barnard sensibly holds that the power claimed by the postmaster general would make him a censor of the press and open the door to other grave abuses.

The Isthmian canal controversy is now doubtless settled; and so far as non-experts can judge it has been settled right. The way has been left open for adopting the Nicaragua route, if insuperable obstacles should prevent the adoption of the Panama route; but the latter is preferred. This is in accordance with the recommendations of the commission of experts. They were unanimous with one exception, Mr. Haupt, and he finally joined in the report. Of course the commissioners may be mistaken; Mr. Haupt's attitude is significant of that possibility. But

Senator Spooner's point, that no one with authority is competent to overrule them, is unanswerable.

As Civil Service Commissioner Foulke now states that President Roosevelt's recent interpretation of the civil service rules was issued two months before the Rebecca J. Taylor case came up, it must be assumed that the interpretation was not made to fit that case. Yet there is confusion somewhere. Miss Taylor was formally asked by the secretary of war if she had written the political letter complained of, and if so what defense she had to offer. She replied that she had written it, but that under the civil service rules she was not required to make a defense until a charge had been preferred. Evidently she had not heard of the President's wide open interpretation of the rules. Neither had the secretary of war, apparently, for he took no further action until the interpretation in question had been published as well as "issued." This occurred apropos of nothing, so far as the public could surmise, and a few days later Miss Taylor was peremptorily dismissed without charges of any kind. Despite these suspicious circumstances, however, Mr. Foulke's word is sufficient assurance that Mr. Roosevelt did not issue the interpretation with a view to Miss Taylor's case. Nevertheless, its general effect is the same. It opens wide the door for party spoilsmen; for when the head of a department can discharge without assigning cause he can discharge for political reasons. It was actually done in Miss Taylor's case.

Great ado has been made recently by the Chicago Chronicle over what it is pleased to call "socialistic" tendencies in the Democratic party. It alludes to the municipalization of public monopolies, such as the street car systems. But the Chronicle proves itself to be more socialistic than the municipal ownership Democrats at whom it fires that epithet. In one of its anti-socialist editorials it says: "If we municipalize the trac-

tion companies, we ought to be consistent and municipalize everything." Now, that is precisely the way a socialist would look at the matter. Like the Chronicle he sees no difference between public ownership of public monopolies and public ownership of private business. But precisely at that point lies the dividing line between socialistic aspirations and true individualism. The latter distinguishes the difference between public monopolies and private businesses. The former do not. They bundle them all together, just as the Chronicle does. The only difference is that the Chronicle would have public monopolies privately owned because private businesses ought to be, whereas the socialist would have private business publicly owned because public monopolies ought to be. The true individualistic principle is that of the law books, illustrated by the leading railroad-condemnation case which we summarized at page 165, and recently approved by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, that a business which in its nature requires a concession or delegation of power from the public is a public and not a private business.

"The Negro is utterly incapable of comprehending our system of government," writes Bolton Smith, a Northern man resident in Tennessee, in a pamphlet advocating the repeal of the Fifteenth amendment. Mr. Smith thereupon demonstrates, unconsciously, however, that at least one white man is in the same predicament.

SETTLING THE TRAMP PROBLEM— A FOURTH OF JULY REVERIE.

The substance of a recent significant news item is given in the following editorial paragraph which appeared in the Chicago Record-Herald of June 26:

The Kansas farmers have overcome the physical inertia of the hobo. They did it with a gun. The deficiency of farm hands in Kansas is estimated at about 10,000 men. The harvest fields, with their golden seas of overripe grain, are calling for men. A freight train westward bound was wrecked

near the town of Pratt. On the train were 50 or 60 tramps bound for Colorado for their health. The farmers heard of it and offered them \$2 per day and plenty of good food and shelter. They declined the offer. Thereupon the farmers tried shotgun persuasion with the result that nearly all of the tramps are now toiling in the harvest fields of Pratt county, and they will be kept at it until the wheat is all garnered. The picturesque feature of the episode is furnished by the women of the farms, who are acting as guards, each armed with a shotgun. If the Pratt county idea spreads it may offer a solution of the whole tramp problem.

It is quite possible, even probable, that no such event ever actually occurred. The story may have been the product of some impecunious and irresponsible penny-a-liner's imagination. If, therefore, its importance depended upon its being a fact, it would have no significance unless verified. Nor would it have much then, for, as one swallow does not make a summer, neither would one incident like this Kansas episode be any indication of a general economic condition or a general state of the public mind.

But when a reputable and usually thoughtful metropolitan newspaper, a Republican paper at that, though somewhat independent on occasions, treats such a story as if it had in fact occurred and as if it were a good thing to have occurred and something to be seriously and favorably considered as an example, there is more ominous significance to the story, though a fiction, than there would be if it were true but its example were condemned by papers like the Record-Herald. In these circumstances it is another of the fast accumulating indications that we are swinging around in the development of our economic history to the "merrie" times in England when vagrancy became common for the first time.

Thorold Rogers has shown that prior to the reign of Henry VIII. there was a veritable golden age for English laborers, when the working classes were more comfortable and prosperous than they have ever been since. Masons in Oxford, for instance, got better wages, relatively to general social conditions, for a 48-hour week in the 15th century than masons in London got for a 56-hour

week toward the latter part of the 19th century. And this in spite of the drastic decrees of crown and parliament compelling laborers, under heavy pains and penalties, to work for low wages. But during the latter half of the reign of Henry VIII. there came a radical change in this flourishing condition of English labor.

Landlordism, till then unknown in anything like its modern character, took root in the confiscation and sale of the monastic lands, which constituted a third of the area of the kingdom. The king was a ready seller and he found eager buyers. To own land came to be instead of a feudal trust a serious and profitable industry. The wealthy merchant classes began to invest in land largely, and for half a century a violent land fever raged in town and country, out of which came the "rack rent."

The rent theretofore known was a tax, levied by the "superior" upon the "inferior," by the landlord upon the tenant, not as a quid pro quo for the use of land, but "in consideration," says Thorold Rogers, "of a real or pretended protection of the tenant." So the amount of the rent usually remained unchanged century after century. But when the merchant investors began to buy the confiscated monastery lands of Henry VIII., they carried over into the management of their landed estates the same business methods to which they were accustomed in commerce. To quote from a careful investigator, the Hon. Joseph Leggett, of San Francisco, in a brief but comprehensive and luminous paper in the San Francisco Star of January 25, 1896, "they figured out the cost of an acre of land and fixed its rent at interest on that amount, and as competition for land raised the price they raised the rent to correspond." The rack-renting example thus set by the purchasers of abbey lands was quickly followed by all the landlords of England, and the golden age of English labor came naturally enough to an end.

In a few years England swarmed with "vagrants" and "sturdy beggars"—"tramps" and "hoboes" we should call them now,—and the English saw for the first time, as Green's history tells us, "a distinct criminal class in the organized gangs of robbers which began to infest the roads,

and were always ready to gather round the standard of revolt. The gallows did its work in vain. . . . The social disorder, in fact, baffled the sagacity of English statesmen." Ground down by the unaccustomed low wages through the commercializing and rack-renting of land, the stronger and more independent spirits among workingmen had rebelled.

For the relief of the docile who suffered, private benevolence was at first depended upon, but it became necessary to supplement this with the poor rate, which was established in 1601. The treatment of this impoverished class was in essential character singularly like that to which American public sentiment is now growing accustomed. Church collections were ordained by the law, the curate of every parish being required every Sunday and holiday, after reading the gospel of the day, to make "a goodly and brief exhortation to his parishioners, moving and exciting them to remember the poor people and the duty of Christian charity in relieving of them, which be our brethren in Christ, born in the same parish and needing their help." There were numerous acts of parliament of that sort. At first only voluntary gifts were demanded of the rich; but soon compulsion followed. The rich but covetous man, who remained obdurate, was to be sent to gaol and an assessment levied on his goods. How suggestive of the exhortations to the rich so common now, to "Give!" "Give!" "Give!" upon the benevolent theory that God has made them trustees of their wealth that they may in some way—from libraries to soup kitchens—be his almoners for their poorer brethren.

But the English "vagrant" laws of that time were even more strikingly suggestive of public opinion in our own day regarding tramps, as indicated by such things as the editorial quoted above from the Chicago Record-Herald. One of these laws provided that "any able-bodied vagrant might be taken to the nearest town and there tied to the end of a cart naked and whipped "till his body be bloody by such whipping." If he persisted in his vagrancy after that he was to have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut off; and if he still persisted he was to be tried

and executed as a felon. One archaic writer tells: "How Henrie the Eight, executing his laws verie severlie against such idle persons . . . did hang up three score and twelve thousand of them in his time." They were not at all queasy in dealing with the tramp problem in those days.

After Henry's time similar laws were enacted and barbarously enforced. Pursuant to one of them a vagrant might be marked with a letter V and adjudged to be the slave for two years of the person buying him. If he ran away he was to be branded on the forehead or ball of the cheek with the letter S, and adjudged his master's slave for life, and if he ran away a second time he was to be executed as a felon.

Now, in what respect does that last English vagrant law differ from the Kansas method already noted? It is more primitively brutal in some details, but in principle there is no difference at all between the two, except that in England enslavement of vagrants was in accordance with regularly enacted law, whereas in Kansas the enslavement of the tramps was utterly lawless and so downright anarchy?

Yet a leading Republican paper of one of the largest cities proposes this anarchistic Kansas episode—whether seriously or flippantly makes no difference in so far as it is a reflection of "reputable" public sentiment—as an example for the solution of the tramp problem!

The "tramp" problem of the present has an origin precisely like that of the "vagrant" problem of the time of Henry VIII.

We, too have had our golden age of labor. As Leggett, from whom we have already quoted, observes:

During the first century of the existence of this government American land of the best quality was open to American labor at an annual rent of a little over six cents an acre (the government price of \$1.25 an acre divided by 20). So long as that condition of things lasted American labor was prosperous. But as soon as the supply of government land became exhausted the same phenomena that followed the sale of the church lands in England began to appear in this country. The scrambles for government land at Oklahoma, at the Sisseton Reservation, at the Cherokee Strip,

and at the Kickapoo Reservation have merely served to make patent to the general public a fact that has been fully known to thoughtful observers of passing events—that is, that the supply of government land fit for occupation and use had given out. No one who will give the matter consideration can fail to observe how close is the parallel between the social and industrial conditions that developed in England about the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. and the social and industrial conditions that have developed in this country during the last 12 or 15 years, since the supply of public land has become practically exhausted.

There is the explanation of our "tramp" problem. It is part of the old social problem which was forced upon England by the commercialization of the abbey lands and the consequent rack-renting of all lands, and has been forced upon us by the commercialization of our public domain and the consequent rack-renting of every rood of land in the country from the coziest corner in Wall street to the broad acres of the Kansas prairies. Labor must therefore beg employment, except at odd intervals in odd places where there is a special and temporary demand; and in consequence we have, as in Henry's time in England, an impoverished docile class for whose relief we are learning to demand alms of the rich, and an impoverished rebellious class whom we denounce as tramps and whose natural rights we are ceasing to respect.

That the tramp is a parasite is conceded. He does not work. He lives by beggary. But he lives very poorly. When he begs even successfully his prize is seldom better than a bone. It doesn't cost much to keep him.

Not so with the millionaire parasite. He doesn't work either. But he lives well. And although he doesn't live by beggary, he lives by something worse—by appropriation. It costs a great deal more to keep the appropriating millionaire "hobo" than to keep the begging tramp "hobo."

Why concern ourselves so much, then, with the problem of the latter while neglecting so persistently the problem of the former? Let us concern ourselves more with the problem of the millionaire "hobo" who gets by appropriation so much that he

doesn't earn and therefore must be extorting it from those of us who do earn, and we shall not need to concern ourselves with the outcast begging "hobo" at all.

Both are products of the same conditions. The institution whereby the one class is enabled to appropriate, is the very institution which has driven the other class to beggary. Solve the idle millionaire problem and the idle tramp problem will solve itself.

NEWS

The first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, which met on the 2d of December (vol. iv., p. 552), adjourned on the 1st of July. This session will be memorable for legislation of an extraordinary character. The Senate ratified the Hay-Pauncefote treaty (vol. iv., pp. 583, 602), which paved the way to the control of an Isthmian canal by the United States; and both Houses passed an Isthmian canal bill preferring the Panama route but providing for the adoption of the Nicaragua route if satisfactory rights to the other cannot be secured, the project to be under the direction of the President. A temporary tariff bill was enacted for revenue purposes in the Philippine islands, and in the last hours of the session a bill was enacted for the establishment of civil government there. One of the notable measures is the act abolishing the war revenues, which went into effect on the 1st of July. The oleomargarine law is another. It imposes a small internal revenue tax on all oleomargarine and a heavy one on oleomargarine colored so as to resemble yellow butter. The policy of forbidding Chinese immigration was continued by a new exclusion act; and legislative adjustments were made for establishing diplomatic relations with the Republic of Cuba. One of the most important bills to pass was that for the expenditure of moneys, received for public lands in certain states and territories, in the construction of irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands; and another was the bill establishing the census bureau permanently. Some of the bills of importance that failed to pass were also of extraordinary character. Among them was the ship subsidy bill, which only passed the Senate; bills for the admission of Arizona, Oklahoma and

New Mexico as states, which only passed the House, but have been made a special order in the Senate for the early days of the next session; and the bill for reducing the tariff on imports from Cuba, which passed the House but was pigeon-holed in the Senate. Another bill to pass the House, but which met a temporary check in the Senate, was the Fowler banking measure, to be taken up next winter; while the anti-anarchy bills, of which there was an avalanche early in the session, were all lost in a dispute between the two houses. The proposed amendment to the constitution providing for the election of senators directly by the people passed the House but received no attention in the Senate; and a Senate measure for the creation of a department of commerce with its chief in the President's cabinet, was stalled in committee in the House.

The enactment of the Isthmian canal bill, noted above, had not been accomplished at our last report upon this subject (p. 187), although it was then understood that the conference committee of the two Houses had agreed to accept the Senate measure. This proves to have been true, and on the 26th of June the House adopted the conference report by a vote of 255 to 8. It was of course adopted by the Senate, and on the 29th the President signed the bill. As explained last week, this measure authorizes the President to acquire for the United States all the rights of the "New Panama Canal Co." of France, including the Panama Railroad Co., or at least 68,863 of its shares, for not more than \$40,000,000; also to acquire from the Republic of Colombia perpetual control of a strip of land 6 miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama for such sum as may be agreed upon; and, also, thereupon, to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama for vessels of the largest tonnage and greatest draft now in use. If the President should be unable to acquire the rights mentioned above within a reasonable time, then he is to adopt the Nicaragua route.

Another of the important bills the passage of which is mentioned above in connection with the work of the congressional session just terminated, was a subject of heated debate up to the close. It is the Lodge bill for the government of the Philippine islands. At the time of our last report (p. 187)

this bill had come down to the House, and that body was proposing to amend by striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting a bill of its own. On the 27th the question came to a vote and the amendment was adopted—141 to 97. It was a strict party vote except that Mr. McCall, a Republican of Massachusetts, voted with the Democrats. Mr. McCall had offered an amendment indicating that the United States does not intend to retain permanent sovereignty over the islands; but, although this was solidly supported by the Democrats and by one Republican besides himself, Mr. Littlefield, of Maine, it was voted down. The Senate refusing to concur in the substitute adopted by the House, a conference committee of the two Houses was appointed and on the 30th its report came before the lower house, where it was adopted, again by a strict party vote, with the exception of Mr. McCall, who once more voted with the Democrats, the vote being 149 to 92. The Senate adopted the conference report on the 1st of July and the President immediately signed the bill. As thus enacted, the bill allows appeals from the island courts to the Supreme Court of the United States in cases involving \$25,000 or more. The President is required to call an election for a popular assembly within two years after the completion of a census, to be taken in his discretion, provided general peace and good order shall have prevailed meanwhile. Public lands are to be open to homesteaders as in the United States, and the amount of land to be held by a corporation is not to exceed 2,500 acres, while restrictions are imposed upon corporate interests in mining and agricultural lands. The intent and effect of these regulatory provisions of the law are, as explained upon the floor of the House by Mr. Cooper, of Wisconsin, as chairman of the committee on insular affairs, to make it "absolutely impossible to exploit the islands." Provisions are inserted for bonding in order to buy out the friars. On the subject of coinage both Houses receded, the Senate abandoning its silver coinage clause and the House its gold standard clause, provision being made, instead, for minor silver coinage.

Prior to adjournment on the 1st, Senator Carmack endeavored to secure the adoption of a resolution authorizing the Philippine committee

to sit during the recess and to visit the Philippine islands in prosecution of its inquiries. This resolution was in furtherance of the purposes of the Adams memorial (p. 191); but no action was taken.

The question of buying the friars' lands, with which the Philippine government act also deals, is in its present stages in the hands of Gov. Taft and a papal commission in Rome. The commission was appointed by the pope on the 13th, and consists of Cardinals Rampolla, Vanutelli, Vives y Tuto, Gotti and Steinhuber. They met on the 17th to consider Gov. Taft's proposals, which are in substance as follows:

1. United States to purchase the lands belonging to the friars, the price to be fixed by arbitration.
2. Arbiters to decide the indemnity United States is to pay for the occupation of ecclesiastical buildings.
3. Above propositions absolutely conditional on the withdrawal of the friars.
4. If accepted United States is to give a deed or by law grant a patent for ecclesiastical buildings on public lands.
5. To settle by compromise or arbitration the several trusts for schools, hospitals, etc., claimed on the one hand by the civil, and on the other by the church, authorities.

The commission delivered its reply to Gov. Taft on the 21st, but the document has not yet been made public, and negotiations are still in progress.

The most important European news of the week is the renewal of the famous compact between Austria, Germany and Italy, known as the "Dreibund" or triple alliance. This alliance was originally between Austria and Germany, Italy being sympathetic but not a party. It was made in 1879, by way of defense on the part of Austria against the threatening attitude of Russia toward the Balkan region and on the part of Germany against the unconcealed enmity of France, and is regarded as the cause of what is believed to be a dual alliance between France and Russia. Strained relations between France and Italy caused Italy to join the "Dreibund" actively when it was renewed in 1882. It was renewed again in 1891 and again in 1896, and would have expired in 1903 but for the renewal of last week, which was signed at Berlin on the 28th in secret conference between the imperial chancellor, Count von Buelow in behalf of Germany;

the Austrian ambassador, L. von Szagenyrich, in behalf of Austria-Hungary, and the Italian ambassador, Count Lanza Di Busca, in behalf of Italy.

Although the "Dreibund" has always been a secret compact and its recent renewal was made in secret, the English correspondent, M. de Blowitz, claimed several years ago to have come into a knowledge of its terms. His disclosures are summarized as follows:

1. Should either of the three countries be attacked by Russia, each is to assist the other with its entire military force and only to conclude terms of peace upon such terms as all agree to accept.

2. Should either be attacked by any other power the others pledge themselves not to support the aggressor, but to maintain an attitude of neutrality. Should Russia assist the aggressor, however, war operations will then be carried on in common and terms of peace be conjointly arranged.

3. The agreement being secret, it shall not be shown to a fourth power without the consent of the three contracting parties, but in the event of Russia's becoming menacing the czar is to be informed that an attack upon any of the powers named will be construed as an attack upon all the parties in the alliance.

No other serious European news is reported, except the bulletins about the British king's condition, which is very greatly improved; his disease not having been, apparently, at all so serious as announced (p. 183) at first.

From the West Indies, however, there are reports of further revolutionary outbreaks in Haiti. The elections under the provisional government (p. 121) began on the 28th. Gen. Firmin was one candidate for the presidency, and Gen. Nord another. Gen. Nord is minister of war under the provisional government. One of Gen. Firmin's partisans, Admiral Killick, whose vessel lay in the harbor of Cape Haytien, disembarked troops on the 28th who participated in the afternoon in street fighting in that city between Firmin and the government, supporting Firmin. The fighting continued through the 29th, when the city was bombarded by the admiral; but in the evening Firmin's partisans withdrew with the admiral's troops to the admiral's vessel. At Port au Prince the election

was proceeding calmly on the 28th, and the citizens were voting freely, but all this had changed on the 30th. At latest advices voting had been abandoned and the rival political parties were lined up for battle.

American politics is not so lurid. The Republican convention of Minnesota met on the 1st and nominated Gov. Van Sant. In its platform it approves the course of President Roosevelt and recommended him for reelection. On the tariff question it affirms its adherence to the policy of protection, but demands such modifications of tariff schedules from time to time as will lighten the burdens of the consumer. In Michigan the Republican convention met on the 26th and renominated Gov. Bliss. Its platform pledges support to President Roosevelt, but does not recommend him for reelection; and in its tariff plank it not only reaffirms its faith in the protective tariff, but opposes "all efforts to destroy it or emasculate it or weaken its beneficent operations." The Republicans of Arkansas are split in two. One faction, which has nominated Henry M. Myers for governor, follows the lead of Gen. Powell Clayton, ambassador to Mexico; the other denounces "the arbitrary dictation of boss rule known as Claytonism" and nominates Charles D. Greaves for governor. Both conventions were held at Little Rock on the 26th. The Prohibition party of Illinois met in state convention at Peoria on the 1st of July and nominated John H. Wilson for state treasurer. John P. Hopkins was elected chairman of the Democratic state committee of Illinois on the 26th against the opposition of Mayor Harrison, of Chicago. His vote was 25 to 7.

An educational question of universal interest has arisen in connection with the University of Chicago, which is distinguished for the democratic character of its students and its policy of coeducation without distinction of sex. Fears are now entertained, especially by the alumnae, most of whom favor coeducation, of what they call a diplomatic movement to segregate the women students. It seems that President Harper has laid before the trustees a proposition to build a woman's quarter for the junior colleges—classes of the first and second year—apart from the regular college buildings, he assuring the board of the necessary funds. The

board having observed, however, that the plans proposed contemplated class rooms in the new buildings, referred the matter for advice to the "Congregation," a comprehensive representative body of the university, which in turn referred it to the "Junior College," composed of the professors and permanent instructors in the junior colleges. In this body the majority of a committee reported recommending "that in the development of Junior College instruction provision be made as rapidly as possible for separate sections for men and women," while the minority recommended "that the system of coinstruction be continued as heretofore." The majority report was lost, 14 to 19; but President Harper afterward reversed this vote by declaring after a scrutiny that 6 of the affirmative votes had been cast by non-permanent instructors. So the majority report went before the "Congregation" as the expression of the views of the "Junior College." But the "Congregation" disapproved by a vote of 24 to 7. This is the status of the controversy at present. A mail vote of the alumnae has brought out an overwhelming majority against segregation.

Neither President Harper nor any of the supporters of the change are communicative as to the purpose of the proposed innovation; but it is believed that the intention is to make a man's college of the institution, with an annex for women, like Harvard. The supposed motive is disclosed by President Benj. Ide Wheeler, of the University of California, who, though not especially concerned about the Chicago institution, is a supporter of the general movement for segregation. In an interview in the San Francisco Examiner of the 2d, President Wheeler said:

I have noticed that in every college or educational institution visited by me on my tour there are two girls for every boy. This is the astonishing ratio. In a measure this disgusts the average young man who has hopes of entering college, and as a consequence we must experience this shortage among the male students. In 1894, in Los Angeles, there were an equal number of boys and girls attending the high schools of that city. Take it now. There are just about half as many boys as girls, and I would attribute this fact directly to coeducation. Let us give the young men a chance. Not directly in reply to this, but bearing upon it by way of reply, is the

remark of Theresa Hirschl, secretary of the "University of Chicago Alumnae association," in the Chicago Tribune of the 29th, where she writes:

It may be an argument in favor of the proposed measure at the University of Chicago that Dr. Harper admires, as he is reported to do, the Ogontz girl more than he does the coeducated girl. It seems not improbable. But there is Ogontz for her. And he may also admire the Yale man, who has greater wealth and social position, more than he does the sturdy representative of middle-class democracy who is typical of Chicago. But there is Yale for him.

If legal news from Ohio was abundant last week (p. 186) it is overflowing this week. The supreme court of the state has made decisions which will revolutionize the municipal system of Ohio. They destroy the validity of every important municipal charter.

The constitution of Ohio prohibits the passing of any "special act conferring corporate powers." But it has long been customary for the legislature to evade this prohibition, when legislating for the government of cities, by classifying and grading them so that only one city in the state would come within any given grade, and then legislating for cities of that class. In this way the federal system, under which city employes are responsible to the mayor and he to the people, was adopted in 1891 for Cleveland. The plan has worked satisfactorily. But when Mayor Johnson's crusade against tax dodging corporations began, a suit was instituted, evidently to weaken his influence in local government, to uproot the federal system as special legislation. The attorney general, Mr. Sheets, authorized this suit, but refused to authorize one with reference to Cincinnati, whose charter is open to the same general objection. While the suit against Cleveland was pending, Mayor Jones, of Toledo, attacked the Toledo "ripper" bill (p. 72), which specially legislated the local police board of Toledo out of office and put a state board in its place, by describing that city according to its special grade and class. Both the Cleveland and the Toledo cases were decided by the supreme court on the 26th. In the Cleveland charter there were defects peculiar

to that charter alone; but the Toledo case brought up the whole question and made the revolutionary character of the decisions unquestionable.

In its opinion the court says: The eleven principal cities of the state are isolated, so that an act conferring corporate power upon one of them by classified description, confers it upon no other. They have been isolated under the guise of classification. . . . We have been required, from time to time, to examine many of the acts to confer corporate powers upon the isolated cities composing the eleven classes referred to, and others containing special classifications, and still others have been examined in the present inquiry. In view of the trivial differences in population, and of the nature of the powers conferred, it appears from such examination that the present classification cannot be regarded as based upon differences in population, or upon any other real or supposed differences in local requirements. Its real basis is found in the differing views or interests of those who promote legislation for the different municipalities of the state. An intention to do that which would be violative of the organic law should not be imputed upon mere suspicion. But the body of legislation relating to this subject shows the legislative intent to substitute isolation for classification, so that all the municipalities of the state which are large enough to attract attention shall be denied the protection intended to be afforded by this section of the constitution. The provisions of the section could not be more clear or imperative, and relief from the present confusion of municipal acts and the burdens which they impose would not be afforded by its amendment. Since we cannot admit that legislative power is in its nature illimitable, we must conclude that this provision of the paramount law annuls the acts relating to Cleveland and Toledo, if they confer corporate power.

In consequence of these decisions, the effect of which upon Cleveland is delayed until October 2 by a stay granted by the court in the ouster suit in which the Cleveland decision is rendered, it is believed that Gov. Nash will be obliged to call a special session of the legislature before the 2d of October.

In anticipation of that contingency, Mayor Johnson has called the Cuyahoga county senators and representatives together to draft a municipal code, upon the home rule principle, for all the cities of Ohio.

Mayor Johnson's signed declaration of his views regarding the confusion resulting from the decision, written for the Cleveland Press, is as follows:

Editor of the Press: In answer to your request for a statement on the federal plan decision:

I regret the publication in morning papers yesterday, of what were claimed to be interviews with me in New York. I talked to a correspondent who claimed to represent a press association, but he so garbled what I said that it was beyond recognition.

The ouster proceeding had its origin with two cheap Republican politicians, backed by interests opposed to the things the city administration stood for. It would have ended there, but for the action of Attorney General Sheets, with the advice and consent, as I am informed, of the state administration. Without the approval of Attorney General Sheets, no case could have been brought in the supreme court, and after this suit was begun he refused to comply with the request of Cincinnati attorneys to test the Cincinnati law. It was an attempt to play politics, but the result will show that it was poor politics. The entire responsibility rests with Attorney General Sheets and his advisers.

The important question is, however: What shall be done? I believe that the supreme court should be praised rather than blamed for its courageous decision. It was the timidity of their predecessors that made possible so much special legislation.

The federal plan of government in Cleveland is confessedly the best of any city in the United States, and we should not lose its advantages by reason of the mere form of its enactment. It can be and ought to be made the law. The legislature should be convened at once and the advantages of our form of government should be extended to the other municipalities of the state, rather than foist on Cleveland an antiquated board system or a government largely directed from the state capitol.

In an effort to enact a municipal code that will give us home rule and a federal plan of government all good citizens should cooperate. As to when this shall be done, it depends upon the will of the same state administration that has brought on the difficulty, and I hope they will display as much courage in building up as they have in tearing down.

Timid politicians may fear a meeting of the legislature before the fall elections, but the people have a right to know, before they vote, how a Republican administration and a Republican legislature will meet this emergency.

Along with its decisions in the Cleveland and Toledo cases the Ohio

supreme court also handed down a decision holding that the lieutenant governorship is vacant. The Republicans have made no nominations for this office, assuming that it was filled to the end of the term by the governor's appointment. But the court holds the governor's appointment invalid. The court also construes one of the acts of the present legislature, the "Royer act," as depriving it of appellate jurisdiction in about 95 per cent. of the cases over which its appellate jurisdiction has heretofore extended.

NEWS NOTES.

—A New York millionaire, John M. Burke, has placed \$4,000,000 in the hands of four trustees for "the relief of worthy men" unable to support themselves by reason of sickness or other misfortune.

—At a meeting on the 26th of 20 delegates of the silk operators of Paterson, N. J., called to consider the question of a general strike in support of the dyers' helpers, whose strike was attended with violence (p. 186), it was decided, 12 to 8, not to order the general strike.

—The vote on the amendment to the constitution of Oregon providing for the initiative and referendum in that state (p. 153) is now reported as follows:

For the amendment.....	62,024
Against the amendment.....	5,667
Total vote on amendment.....	67,691
Total vote on candidates.....	92,000

—A government statement regarding the condition of India in respect to the plague (vol. iii, p. 163) from its first outbreak in Bombay in September, 1896, to March, 1902, shows a total of reported deaths from the disease during that period of 536,600 in the Bombay presidency and 315,400 in other parts of India, or a total of 852,000 for the whole of British India and the native states. Making allowance for untraced and unreported deaths, it is calculated that a million died during the period mentioned.

—The United States Steel corporation, the steel trust organized in the winter of 1901 (p. 746), makes the following statement of its business from January to June, both inclusive:

Net earnings	\$64,407,153
Less sinking fund for bonds of subsidiary companies and depreciation of reserve funds.....	6,796,456
Profit	\$57,610,697
Interest	9,120,000
	\$48,490,697

Dividends at the rate of 7 per cent. on preferred and 4 per cent. on common stock..... 28,072,074
 Undivided profits for the six months\$20,418,623
 It is announced from Pittsburg that the trust has increased wages, begin-

ning with July, by ten per cent., amounting to an increase of \$4,000,000 a year.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE JUDICIAL UPHEAVAL IN OHIO.

Buffalo Enquirer (Ind.), June 30.—Unless Gov. Nash calls a special session of the Ohio legislature in the meantime, Cleveland will have to be governed after October 2 upon the old village plan of board rule. This would continue Tom L. Johnson in complete control.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), June 30.—The Republican party of Ohio will have to stand the brunt of public indignation, which has been aroused. The laws were passed by Republicans, and the movement to declare them unconstitutional originated in a Republican plan to get back at Tom L. Johnson.

Cleveland (O.) Plain Dealer, June 27.—If it is necessary for the legislature to reconvene for the purpose of smoothing out the tangles in Cleveland and elsewhere in the state, the fact should be earnestly forced upon the minds of its members that public sentiment will not uphold petty acts of partisanship in the serious tasks of adjustment set before them.

Cleveland (O.) Recorder, June 30.—It is all very natural for the Republicans to attempt to escape the responsibility of having brought the federal plan of government for Cleveland to its destruction. As a matter of fact Attorney General Sheets did not originate the suit, but he did seize the opportunity to bring things to a head, and he was very glad that it gave him an opportunity to hit Tom L. Johnson.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), June 26.—Thursday was the supreme court's busy day. Governor mandamus to fill the vacancy in the office of lieutenant governor; Mayor Johnson's cabinet ripped out of existence; the ripper police board for Toledo appointed by the governor ripped out of existence and the board elected by the people ripped back; and the Royer ripper to rip the supreme court out of a large share of its business sustained. This is excitement enough for one day. What will be the result of the commotion?

DEMOCRATIC HARMONY.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), June 26.—If harmony between the two factions of the party is dependent on the conditions laid down by Mr. Cleveland, then there will be no union of the forces.

Kansas City World (Ind.), June 24.—It is wonderful how Republicans have of late come to admire Cleveland Democrats. . . . First, because of help at the polls in two presidential elections, and secondly, because their political creeds are so much alike.

Malone (N. Y.) Forum, June 25.—The difference between a man who claims to be a Democrat, yet urges making the platform as nearly like the Republicans as possible, and a bold, outspoken Republican, is so infinitesimal that a magnifying glass will have to be used to determine it.

New Haven Union (Dem.), June 29.—Among the reorganizers, Grover Cleveland is easily the central figure and the best fitted for the attempt to lead the Democratic hosts into the Republican camp, where his devotion to the money power is fully recognized.

Nebraska Independent (Peo.), June 26.—Talk as they may about other issues, it is the financial plank of the Kansas City platform that makes the millions of Democratic voters pronounced in its favor. It is that plank which the plutocrats hate, because it is aimed at them and they know it. The old tweedledee-tweedledum tariff issue

will arouse no enthusiasm now, yet these "reorganizers" think they can win with it—and that is where they make the greatest mistake of their lives.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), June 27 (weekly ed.).—Mr. Cleveland's failure, in his Tilden club speech, to make any reference to the issue of imperialism is causing wide comment. To administration Republicans and the imperialized organs of the old Democratic party it appears to give much satisfaction. To those young Democratic leaders at Washington who have taken up the opposition to colonialism with an earnestness and brilliancy most promising for future success, it is matter for sharp criticism.

Albany (N. Y.) Argus (Dem.), June 25.—Mr. Bryan's chief complaint against the ex-President seems to be that "he spent no time looking over middle ground, upon which to gather together discordant elements." Is Mr. Bryan ready to meet with other Democrats upon middle ground? A meeting place will be found; nay, is being found. There will be standing room for all Democrats, upon live and pressing issues of to-day, regardless of where anybody may have stood yesterday. The people will not be cheated of their opportunity to drive the trust-owned, corruption-stained Republican oligarchy from power, through Democratic differences upon issues not now timely.

Farmer's Voice and National Rural (agr'l) of Chicago, June 28.—It is a significant fact that it is just ten years ago that Mr. Cleveland was urging tariff reform just as at the meeting last week. It will be recalled that, although he was elected on that issue, clearly and unmistakably, his first act after election was to ignore the tariff and call a special session of Congress for the purpose of repealing the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Waiving all discussion as to the merits of that particular act, it need not surprise Mr. Cleveland and his friends if the Democrats are sceptical of his good intentions and naturally wonder if the tariff scheme is to be again used as a stalking horse to open the way to some other achievement not at all in harmony with the ideas of the rank and file of Democracy.

ELECTION PROBABILITIES.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 2.—"My opinion is," said Senator Hanna on Monday, speaking of the failure of congress to vote reciprocity with Cuba, "that we shall hear from the people in unmistakable terms." The senator is not given to crying, "wolf, wolf," to making wild predictions or to "talking for buncombe." He has shown himself on several occasions a shrewd judge of public sentiment and a correct political prophet.

DEWEY'S CAREER.

Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), June 30.—Mr. Dewey might have found it easy with his modern fleet to shoot the old Spanish tubs into the ground; but even for him it may be a little more difficult to run up against the rigid laws of logic. The only easy thing in his case is his making himself ridiculous.

Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), June 28.—It must be said that Dewey has not particularly grown in the estimation of the American people since he sank Montojo's inglorious fleet. He was exploited to the last degree of sensational hero-making and there was a Dewey craze which raged unabated until the essential quality of his achievement and its possibilities began to be understood. Since then he has shrunk not a little in the public eye and critical scrutiny has not failed to detect some of the meretricious qualities of his fame. His equivocalness concerning his relations with Aguinaldo have been painful. His own words have been practically discredited by himself. And he has shown a marvelously obtuse moral sense in accounting for some

of the things which took place while he was in command of the situation at Manila. He does not even now explain why he concealed a vital fact relating to the surrender of that city by the Spaniards.

ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE.

American Federationist (lab.) June.—The miners in this conflict have conducted themselves with calmness and deliberation. They have been guided by conservative opinion and judgment. The strike was not declared until all conciliatory and peaceful means were exhausted. Two months elapsed between the formulation of the demands and the inauguration of the strike. Every fair-minded citizen, every liberty-loving man, every union workman, unites not only in wishing the miners the greatest possible success in this contest, but will supplement these wishes by every assistance, financially and morally, to the full limit of his ability.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), July 1.—In connection with every strike a great deal is said, and properly, regarding "the right to work," the freedom of contract and the right of employers to manage their business, within the limits of the law, in their own way. On the other hand, few deny that the right not to work, to quit work peaceably and remain idle, is implied in the right to work. The fact that a strike might entail inconvenience and even hardship on the public, might raise to a prohibitive point the price of necessities of life, does not affect the principle in the least.

BRITISH PEACE SENTIMENT.

Manchester Guardian (Lib.): "On all sides you find our war press hymning in terms of equal fervor the courage, the humanity, the chivalry, the national spirit, and the military genius of the Boers. Looking back on the past, some of us feel that we must have been too moderate when we merely endeavored to suggest during the early days of the war that the Boers were not ogres but human beings. If we are to take the word of the imperialist press as it speaks now, we must revise that modest estimate and conclude that the South African republic and the Orange Free State were two commonwealths composed exclusively of saints and heroes, officered by angels of light.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 36 of that publication.

Washington, June 23-29, 1902.

Senate.

On the 23d the Senate agreed to the conference report on the naval appropriation bill (p. 7724-25); passed the bill (S. bill No. 4949), for increasing the pay of post office clerks (p. 7735); and agreed to the conference report on the army appropriation bill (p. 7748). The only business done on the 24th was of minor or private character; and on the 25th, after a date in the next session for discussing statehood bills (p. 7841) had been agreed upon, Mr. Gallinger spoke (p. 7852) on the effect of the tariff law in producing prosperity. The deficiency appropriation bill was passed on the 26th (p. 7838), and the conference report on the Isthmian canal bill recommending that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate was agreed to (p. 7839). On the 27th (p. 8002) concurrence in the House amendment to the Philippine bill (S. bill No. 2295) was refused. There was some informal discussion on several matters on the 28th, but no formal business of general interest was done except the adoption (p. 8003) of the conference report on the deficiency appropriation bill.

House.

The Philippine bill was the subject of debate on the 23d, both at the regular session and at a session in the evening. On the 24th, also, the same bill occupied the attention of the House at two sessions, as it did again on the 25th. This business was interrupted on the 26th (p. 7947) for the consideration of the conference report on the Isthmian canal bill recommending that the House

recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment and agree to the same (p. 7944), which was adopted (p. 7952) by a vote of 269 to 8. Consideration of the Philippine measure being then continued the Senate bill as amended by the House was adopted (p. 7976) by a vote of 140 to 97. No business of formal public interest was done on the 27th, nor on the 28th. The House sat on Sunday, the 29th, to listen to eulogies on the late Representatives Amos J. Cummings and Peter J. Otey.

Record Notes.—Speeches by Senator Gallinger (p. 8063) on the present tariff laws; Representatives Patterson (p. 7707), Snodgrass (p. 7712), Currier (p. 7718), Thayer (p. 7782), Grosvenor (p. 7783), Norton (p. 7767), Ketchum (p. 7773), Neville (p. 7776), Zenor (p. 7776), Landis (p. 7818), Jones (p. 7823), Olmstead (p. 7822), Williams (p. 7831), Slayden (p. 7837), Maddox (p. 7916), Shaforth (p. 7920), Burnett (p. 7923), Grosvenor (p. 7925), Lacey (p. 7986), Schirm (p. 7990), Douglas (p. 7996), Olmstead (p. 8072), Mahon (p. 8081), Bartlett (p. 8088), McDermott (p. 8151), Smith (p. 8167), and De Ormond (p. 8165), on the Philippine bill; Mercer (p. 7716), Needham (p. 7721), and Tongue (p. 7981), on irrigation; Shattuc (p. 7760), on immigration; Sulzer (p. 7838) on postal employees; Wootin (p. 7893) on trusts; Van Diver (p. 7999) on submarine boats; Ball (p. 7998) on Republican policies; and Corliss (p. 7762) on a variety of subjects.

Letter of Sixto Lopez on Buencamino (p. 7823).

Memorial of Charles Francis Adams and others on the Philippine question (p. 7825).

MISCELLANY

"HAVE PATIENCE, LORD."

Lord God, whom we besought so late,
Thou wouldst not suffer us forget
Thy Name and our weak human state—
Have patience, Lord, a little yet.

To-day no pomp of empire fills
The wintry hand; amazed and awed
We watch Thy slowly grinding mills
Mete out to us our just reward.

To-day, by foemen sore beset,
Dismayed we draw our destined lot,
We prayed to Thee, "Lest we forget,"
And, even as we prayed, forgot.

With foolish, rash, vain-glorious words
And sorry self sufficiency
We boasted, girding on our swords,
As those who lay their armor by.

Wherefore the curse upon us lies
Of warriors all unready found,
Of braggarts blinded to despise
Their foe before their trumpet sound.

Humbly we call upon Thy name,
Ere sounds once more the grim assault,
We do confess, O Lord, with shame
Our fault, our very grievous fault.

Give back our fathers' stern disdain
Of idle brag and empty boast,
So shall we stand erect again
And face unmoved the hostile host.
—Westminster Gazette.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

NO ARRESTS OF MINORS.

Following up the request of Mayor Johnson and Judge Callaghan that the police no longer arrest boys under 12 years of age, Chief of Police Corner issued an order to Deputy Superintendent Rowe yesterday, instructing the members of his department that hereafter all cases of misconduct of boys under 16 years of age must be reported

to the juvenile court and that no arrests are to be made in the case of boys under 12 years of age. In some cases when the boys between 12 and 16 refuse to identify themselves satisfactorily, the boys may be detained at the boys' annex at central police station until information is filed in the juvenile court.

The address of parents and guardians must be given with all complaints to the clerk. In making complaints the officers must be able to give both the parents' names and address or that of the guardians. Where such information is not obtainable officers may have the boys detained as stated above. Copies of the new order will be placed at each precinct.—Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 15.

A GUEST AT THE WORKHOUSE.

Not as a prisoner, but as a guest, Edward Schmidt will sojourn at the workhouse for the next 30 days. Schmidt is a man who has nearly reached his eightieth year. He was found on the streets by a patrolman, and as he had no means of support was placed under arrest and sentenced to the workhouse for 30 days by Police Judge Kennedy.

When Mayor Johnson heard of the case he consulted with Director Cooley and then gave orders to Workhouse Superintendent Butler to keep Schmidt under no restraint whatever, and to allow him all the freedom of the institution. Schmidt will not be locked in a cell at night and will be given a comfortable bed in a pleasant room.

In order to provide against the possible contingency of the old man walking away from the institution, Mr. Johnson signed a pardon which he placed in the hands of Superintendent Butler. In case Schmidt decides to leave the workhouse before his 30 days are finished the pardon will be effective and no effort will be made to recapture him.—Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 15.

HOW TO PREVENT STRIKES.

For The Public.

Rev. Elijah Wayfarer, of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Economics, was ushered into the library of President Meetachs, of the Zigzag Consolidated. Everywhere about him were evidences of the refinement which only an unlimited credit at the decorators' can produce. As a delicate compliment to the railroad to which he owed his fortune, the president had instructed that the famous symbol of the Zigzag, the skull and crossbones,

should be worked into the design wherever possible.

The folding doors opened and Mr. Meetachs aglow with the amiability and expansiveness which a good dinner induces, advanced to meet his caller.

"Delighted to meet you, Bro. Wayfarer, what can I do for you?"

"The fact is, Mr. Meetachs, that I have been appointed a committee of one by our society, to meet you and discuss the threatened strike and also to learn your ideas as to how such disturbances may be averted."

"You could not have come on a more welcome errand. There is no subject to which I have given more continuous thought, and I am glad of a chance to discuss it with one who can understand me. The public assumes too readily that men in my position do not view these questions from a broad standpoint. As a matter of fact, I have been thinking on the question for ten years past. It is generally assumed that strikes arise, because the workmen are not paid enough wages. Really the reverse is the case. Men strike because they are overpaid."

"You surprise me, Mr. President, this will indeed be a new point of view for my society. Will you please explain?"

"I shall make my point, in which I take no little pride, for I think it is my own discovery, as plain as possible. A strike is a cessation of work, for the purpose of compelling employers to accede to the demands of employes. In order to give such a movement a chance of success, the men must have a fund, which can only be accumulated out of their surplus earnings. You see my point—no surplus earnings, no strike. Indeed, if it were not for the injudicious aid extended by outsiders, no strike could last very long. You see the men now earn on the average, the extravagant sum of \$350 annually, if they have steady work, a sum which inevitably would produce strike conditions very rapidly, if its face value were not discounted by the rents, which we permit our men to pay and the prices which our stores, vulgarly and unjustly called — "pluck-me" stores, charge for the necessities of life, blasting powder, etc. Nevertheless, in spite of our best directed efforts, the men's union manages to accumulate a fund every now and then, and the business of the nation is interfered with. Still, it cannot last long. Your society can accomplish its purposes best by advising the charitably disposed to refrain from injudicious help in a struggle which can have but one termination."

JOHN J. MURPHY.

THE CHILD PATRIOTS OF LUZON.

For The Public.

"In Rama was there a voice heard; lamentation and weeping and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted because they are not."

History will record the names of three human monsters who have ordered the murder of children. Pharaoh in the dark age of the dawn of history; Herod 1900 years ago, when all the world was in a state of barbarism; but it was left for the nineteenth century of Christian civilization, and to America, claiming to have reached the highest place yet attained by civilized man, to produce a demon in human shape, more monstrous than either of his predecessors. No man worthy to be called an American will ever speak the name of Gen. Jacob H. Smith without blushing with shame for his country.

But why was that brutal order made, "to kill and burn and turn the country into a howling wilderness and murder every boy over ten years old?"

The defense is that "they could bear arms as effectively as the men." So the order is given to kill them whether found armed or not. "Others have been found in the thickest of the fight, and they may take up arms if permitted to live."

What we read between the lines of such a defense as that, ought to soften the hardest heart. Why are boys of the tender age of ten ever found in "the thickest of the fight?" A Republican who was in the Philippines last year said recently: "The good Lord only knows how many Filipinos we put under ground in northern Luzon (Funston's district), for we took no prisoners; we simply killed everything in sight; even women and children were not spared." This statement answers the question.

The little boys of the Philippines can declare with literal truth that which Kellogg puts in the mouth of Sparticus, "I saw the breast that had nourished me trampled beneath the hoof of the war-horse and my father's body flung upon the burning embers of our dwelling." When they beheld the mangled, mutilated body of the loving father who had fallen manfully facing the destroyer of their home, willingly laying his on the altar of his country; when they, with tear-dimmed eyes looked for the last time on the sad up-turned face of the dusky Christian mother as she lisped the dying prayer to God for

her child, does any one wonder that those boys who had "never heard a harsher tone than a flute-note," were instantly transformed into Spartan heroes and that they grasped the mauser which had dropped from the dying father's hand, or wielded the bolo like stalwart men?

God bless those child-patriots! Their memories are enshrined in the hearts of their countrymen, and their names deserve an honored place in the world's temple of fame. When Time shall have impartially told the story of this Godless war of conquest, these boy-patriots who fell for liberty, will be honored more by every generous-hearted American, than will a President whose policy has made monsters of men, and has turned a happy country into a howling wilderness.

They fell; struck down by a tyrant's hand.

They have earned a martyr's grave,
On the blood-drenched soil of the native land

They fought and died to save.

Where do those patriot children sleep?

Their bleaching bones shall tell.

By river, lake, and mountain steep

They are lying where they fell.*

On Balangiga's hills and plains,

On Samar's lonely shore,

They sleep; and ten thousands ruined homes

Shall welcome them no more.

Ye fell! but it was not in vain,

For 'neath your tropic skies—

From out your scattered, hallowed dust,

A nation yet shall rise.

Sleep on brave lads, thy cause was just,

And God does not forget.

Your father's blood, your mother's prayers

Shall free your country yet.

J. A. GILKEY,

Montesano, Wash., June 9, 1902.

*A returned soldier said in my hearing:

"We buried no niggers, the vultures devoured them where they fell."

A PLEA FOR THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY.

For The Public.

To the Editor: In the matter of the coal miners' strike, which has just begun, it is to be feared that the cause of the captains of industry will not be fairly stated to the public by the daily press.

As long as we have to depend on getting votes in getting office the temptation to flatter the people who have votes and not much of anything else, is strong. So when the trouble is on between those who have the votes and those who have the money, the latter lose their reputation, and get themselves disliked in the congested districts, where the people work for a living.

Uncle Mark has been making strenuous efforts to get an arbitration started in this case and says that the operators refuse to make any concessions, so that the strike will go on, the captains of industry will suffer from the unjust condemnation of the public, and Uncle Mark will lose some more reputation.

All because the public does not understand the situation.

It takes money to make a captain of industry. A very little money will do if some other things go along with it. It also takes brains. Just the common ordinary kind of brains won't do for the captain of industry. He must have the kind that runs mostly to acquisitiveness, and feels that the earth was made for those who know how to grab it.

But money and brains alone wouldn't make a captain of industry in a thousand years. It takes something else in combination to perfect the thing.

It takes a whole lot of people that agree with the captain of industry, that the earth was made for those who know how to grab it. Then the combination is complete, and it takes but a little while to bring around the conditions where we have a strike, and a committee of mediation on strikes that can't do anything because the operators will make no concessions.

To be reasonable about the matter, why should they make concessions? They have grabbed the coal mines—pretty much all of them—and the people agree that the coal mines were made for the brainy ones that know how to grab things. There is nothing to quarrel about so far.

They have grabbed the highways that the people must use in going to and fro, and the terminal locations that are necessary for the distribution of the coal, but the people agree that these things were made for those who know enough to get here early and grab them. In that view of the matter there is no ground for complaint. If there is any fault it is in the mutual agreement that the earth, including the coal mines, was made for the grabbers.

A superficial view of things shows quite a margin between 78 cents a day for coal miners and \$8 a ton for the coal, but between these extremes there are the captains of industry and the mutual agreement

of all parties, that the grabbing of things is righteousness, and that the ownership of the earth, whereby we can get something for nothing, is Christianity.

Here and there we have a befogged intellect that holds that the way to get wealth is to earn it, and that we should be ashamed to get wealth for which we render no equivalent, but most of the people agree with the captains of industry and go around looking for soft snaps.

Why should we, who believe in the religion of soft snaps, blame the people who have found what we are looking for?

The coal operators have certainly a firm grip on one of the soft snaps, but they have it under the rules of the game that the people hold as fair. The rules invariably work so as to give the miners the hovel and the crust, and the operators the palace and the porterhouse steaks.

It would seem that, when the crust becomes too hard and scant, the proper thing to do would be to move to amend the rules of the game.

Perhaps the soft snaps may be abolished.

It is not likely any such motion will be made at this time, but this plea on behalf of the captains of the coal industry is respectfully submitted.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

THE NATIONAL POLICY THAT WOULD ENNOBLE.

Extract from a paper on "Our Foreign Policy," read before the Philosophical Society, of Denver, April 10, 1902, by Louis R. Ehrlich.

Above the din and clash and jostle of our times we must keep our eyes fixed on the realities which are eternal. As Emerson says: "Great men are they who see that spiritual is stronger than any material force." We will indorse Ruskin's sentiment: "A nation's real strength and happiness do not depend on properties and territories, nor on machinery for their defense; but on getting such territory as they have, well filled with none but respectable persons." Let us recognize with Sumner that "our country, right or wrong," is "a sentiment dethroning God and enthroning the devil." Let us say with Garrison: "My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind," and with the eastern sage: "Let no man glory in this, that he loves his country; let him rather glory in this, that he

loves his kind." We must accept the noble thought expressed by the great political philosopher of all times: "There is one thing, and one thing only, which defies all mutation—that which existed before the world, and which survive the fabric of the world itself: I mean justice—that justice which, emanating from the divinity, has a place in the breast of every one of us, given for our guide with regard to ourselves and with regard to others, and which will stand after this globe is turned to ashes." Let history teach us, as bearing on our own fame in the eyes of posterity, that those nations only are cherished and glorified in the memory of mankind which have ministered to the higher spiritual possessions of the race; and may we realize that the living of to-day, who best represent the intellect, the conscience, and the truest ambitions, would rather have been a citizen of little Athens in the days of Pericles, than of Macedon under all-conquering Alexander, or of mighty Rome when she had the world at her feet. And, finally, as the world-test and time-test of the true relation of values, let us remember that above all the pomp of power and the adulation of force, above all kings and conquerors, above all the strenuous apostles of individual or national selfishness, the races of man, with unerring instinct, have, age after age, extolled and worshiped even as gods those prophets who humbly taught the law of love, the law of service, and the lesson "On earth peace, good will toward men." . . .

In taking up the question of the Philippines, I confess that I find it difficult to express myself in moderation. How can it be otherwise when we grasp the full and terrible import of the fact that a war begun to give freedom to one race should have led to the wanton sacrifice of fully 5,000 American lives, of 50,000 Filipino lives, and between \$300,000,000 and \$400,000,000, in a war to deny freedom to another race—a race of whose existence most of us were hardly aware, who had never done us any injury, who met us in the spirit of alliance and friendship, and whose only crime is that passion for independence which is our own proudest possession and boast. From that day nearly four years ago, when, with the full knowledge of our representatives in the east—our consul and our naval commanders—the Filipino insurgents issued their first proclamation, read-

ing: "Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for. . . . There where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers; they are our redeemers;" from that day to this, our treatment of these unfortunate people has been one unbroken tissue of deceit, of bad faith, of savage cruelty, and of hypocritical cant. Shall I dwell on the consenting and deceiving silence of Admiral Dewey? Or on the early Machiavellian subterfuges of Gen. Anderson? Or on the extraordinary spectacle of Gen. Otis revising and sugar-coating the famous or infamous "benevolent assimilation" proclamation of his commander-in-chief, because, as he had the effrontery to say: "It was my opinion that I would be justified in so amending the paper that the beneficent (?) object of the United States government would be brought clearly within the comprehension of the people"? Even at this late hour we are winking at the circulation of a petition by the so-called Philippine federal party, of which the three native members of the Philippine commission are the leaders, in which the false and deceptive hope is held out that we may temporarily make the islands a territory of the United States, with intent, in course of time, to incorporate them as a state in the union.

Two years ago President Roosevelt published a work, containing the following sentence: "It may be the highest duty to oppose a war before it is brought on, but once the country is at war, the man who fails to support it with all possible heartiness, comes perilously near being a traitor." According to this extraordinary dictum the Filipino who refuses to support the war against the United States would come "perilously near being a traitor" to his country. In other words, it was the duty of every Filipino patriot to fight us. That is undoubtedly what Mr. Roosevelt would have done if he had been a Filipino. And yet, after having ruthlessly slaughtered these patriot Filipinos for three successive years, and although the slaughter continues, our president proclaims in his message: "We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government, after the fashion of the really free nations." A strange method this of making a peo-

ple fit for self-government—the killing of the very men whose loyalty and devotion to their country's cause must fitly stamp them as its noblest and most necessary leaders. Is it not the best, and, in fact, the only way, in which to fit a people "for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations," to give them the exercise of free speech, of free press, and of free thought-interchange? Yet the Philippine treason law, enacted a few months ago, punishes by severe fine and extended imprisonment, and without jury trial, any Filipino who continues membership in any society having for its object "the promulgation of any political opinion or policy," or any one who advocates "orally or by writing, or printing, or like methods, the independence of the Philippine islands or their separation from the United States, whether by peaceable or forcible means." Is there an American outside of the senate of the United States, "with soul so dead" that he can read such a proclamation without a sense of stinging shame and horror?

Our administration leaders are hopelessly floundering about in bogs and quicksands. This, because there is no solid ground of truth and honesty beneath their feet. Gov. Gen. Taft, frankly admitting that our presence in the Philippines is a mistake, and in himself bearing sad witness to the swiftly corrupting influence of irresponsible power, when employed in a wicked cause, says: "They (the Filipinos) have worn out the right to any treatment but that which is severe and within the laws of war." Congressman Cannon, a majority leader, lately declared in the house, amid loud applause: "Right or wrong, the United States owns the Philippine islands, and the Anglo-Saxon people, abroad or here, never have parted with an acre of soil when they have once owned it." Little wonder, when we are spending over one and one-half millions a week to extinguish liberty in the Philippines, that Mr. Cannon and his party should have refused an appropriation of \$50,000 with which, for an extended time, to keep the light burning in France's beautiful gift to the American nation, the statue of "liberty enlightening the world," because, in Mr. Cannon's own language, "commerce is not benefited by it." Senator Spooner, who, with his acute legal intellect, is enacting the same role that Lord Mansfield played in defense of the policy of George III., makes the

startling self-contradictory statement: "I did not believe, nor do I now, in the permanent dominion of the United States in the Philippine archipelago. At the same time, I never expect the flag of the United States to depart from that archipelago." Senator Lodge, the evil genius of this time, as Lord North was the evil genius in our revolutionary struggle, who said three years ago: "I want to enter into a policy that shall enable us to give peace and self-government to the natives of those islands," now, like a political Micawber, advocates a from-day-to-day policy, and declares: "We are not prepared to say now whether we will make them a state or give them independence under a protectorate, or absolute independence, or make them a self-governing colony like Canada, or Australia, or whether we will keep them as a dependency. The time has not yet come for that. An attempt to settle the unknown future now would be dangerous to us and cruel to them. That is the question of another generation." Surely a noble representative this, of liberty-loving Massachusetts! Frederick Harrison, speaking of the men engaged in war, expresses the melancholy truth which applies to the defenders of our Philippine policy: "If their cause be bad, they become demons. And so they lie to themselves, they let men lie to them, they lie to one another, that their cause is good, knowing in their hearts that it is evil."

The Republican, and some of the Democratic leaders demand that the Filipinos lay down their arms before justice shall be done them. As Lord Mansfield said with reference to the treatment of our revolutionary fathers: "When you have established your authority, it will then be a time to show your lenity." Ought we not rather to apply the words of Chatham, so dear to the American heart: "I rejoice that the Filipinos have resisted eight millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves," would not deserve their independence. May we not further, with perfect fitness, quote from the noble earl by saying of the Filipinos: "They have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned?"

We cannot be too mindful lest we forget that we were once a weak and despised body, struggling against the tyranny of a rich nation across the

seas; that the blustering generals and carping statesmen of that time steadily misrepresented our character, our capacity, and our purposes; and that human nature has very little changed from what it was a century and a quarter ago. In those days that anti-imperialist Englishman, whose memory, even in England, is now cherished as the noblest, ablest and most philosophic statesman of his time, said, in words most applicable to our own present situation: "No conqueror that I ever heard of has professed to make a cruel, harsh and insolent use of his conquest. No! The man of the most declared pride scarcely dares to trust his own heart with this dreadful secret of ambition. But it will appear in its time; and no man who professes to reduce another to the insolent mercy of a foreign arm ever had any sort of good will towards him. The profession of kindness, with that sword in his hand, and that demand of surrender, is one of the most provoking acts of his hostility."

We can have immediate peace in the Philippines, and "peace with honor," if in simple honesty we say to the Philippine people: "These islands belong to you. The republic of the United States, mighty in its power, because the defender of human rights, guarantees you their possession. Create your own government! Embody your own national aspirations! If in temporary passion, swayed by the impulse of the war-spirit, we have done you wrong, we are ready to make amends. We are great enough to acknowledge our transgressions. The lands of the friars we shall purchase and bestow upon the Filipino nation as a christian gift. For the twenty millions with which we extinguished all title of Spain, we ask suitable coaling stations. Our loyal disinterested friendship shall be yours. For your sake and our own we must insist on guarantees of life and property. You may safely count upon our good will. Until ready to walk alone you may lean upon our strength. And in the words of him whom you revere as the patron saint of liberty, and whom we venerate as the father of our country: 'May the Divine blessing be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of your government must depend.'"

Freedom's abuses are tyrant's excuses.—Texas Farmer.

CHILDE HAROLD'S RECENT PILGRIMAGE.

(With Apologies to Lord Byron.)
For The Public.

I see before me the Tagal savage lie,
His hands are closely tied, his yellow brow
Does try, but all in vain, to conquer agony,
And his bound head is roughly forced more
low;
While into his pried mouth large drops do
flow
From a foul faucet—drops, not one by one,
But in a mighty rush, and now
The horrid scene swims round him—he is
gone
Ere ceased the inhuman act of those who
thought they'd won.

He suffered and he heeded, yet his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far
away;
He recked not of his life—his captor's prize,
But where the embers of his rude hut lay.
There were his young barbarians (?) at
play,
There was their Tagal mother—he, their
sire,
Tortured—the white man's modern policy.

All this went with his life, and shall he thus
expire
And unavenged? Or will the Malay glut his
ire?

G. T. EVANS.

A story heard in the house of commons is of some one's meeting Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the temperance leader and radical, and asking him: "Well, Lawson, and what do you feel about the war?" Whereupon Sir Wilfrid replied: "I try to feel about it as our Captain Christ would wish us to feel." "Ah," rejoined the other, in a disgusted tone, "I might have guessed that you'd be a proboer."—Chicago Chronicle.

"Do you indorse the sentiment that war is hell?" asked the reporter.

"I do, in a measure," replied the veteran from Samar, "but I think that the sentiment conversely expressed would be a base hyperbole."

G. T. E.

BOOK NOTICES.

In "Poverty: A Study of Town Life" (Macmillan), Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree has given us a book at first-hand; that is, one made from life, and not out of other books. It is not so interesting in style as first-hand books of the type of Young's "Travels in France" or Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia;" but what it loses in style it gains in painstaking, scientific treatment. The author selected York, England, which has a population of about 75,000. There is every evidence that he made a thorough, personal investigation. His conclusion is that in that city about 28 per cent. of the people live in poverty; and from his statistics it appears that nearly half of the working class, even if you include the wages of fathers, mothers and children, have to live below the standard of "merely physical efficiency." In plain English this means that they have not enough to eat. There is never an extra halfpenny to buy a newspaper, or doll, or marbles, or sweets, or a postage stamp, or a bit of ribbon. "Should a child fall ill, it must be attended by the parish doctor; should it die, it must be buried

by the parish. Finally, the wage-earner must never be absent from his work a single day. If any of these conditions are broken, the extra expenditure involved is met, and can only be met, by limiting the diet."

Consider that these conditions are found in one of the richest and most enlightened countries the world has ever seen, and that there is nothing peculiar in the location and circumstances of the city which was chosen for investigation. Gen. Booth, it will be remembered, found a higher percentage of poverty in London.

Is anything being done in the way of amelioration? Charity organization is becoming more effective in picking up the remnants that fall below the lowest margin of living. Here and there individuals are being more and more touched to help the special case of suffering that lies in sight. But what can "charity" do for the forty-odd per cent.? The question is, are the law-makers of the nation doing aught that will help these toilers to change their hard life? Is imperialism helping them? Has the Boer war, with its increase of taxation and public debt, helped them? Are the thoughts and energies of those in power directed to-

The Australasian Tax System.

Believers in home rule in taxation, have had their attention called to the campaign now in progress in Colorado, for an amendment to the state constitution. This amendment provides that any county so electing may levy a tax on land values for local purposes. An appeal for funds to assist the workers in Colorado was recently mailed to all known friends of the movement in the state of Illinois; but the responses have not been as numerous as we had hoped they would be. Many, no doubt, have intended to contribute, but have allowed the matter to escape their attention. The committee cannot believe that the neglect is intentional on the part of those who understand the import of the Bucklin amendment.

Advocates of taxation reform in this state should make a generous contribution to this worthy cause. It is not often that so good an opportunity is presented for work along practical lines. We trust, therefore, that no personal reminder will be necessary on our part to the friends of this important movement. It is a privilege to be allowed a place in this opening fight on monopoly. Much depends upon the fate of the first battle. Victory in Colorado this fall means an easier fight wherever the next stand is made. The result should be decisive.

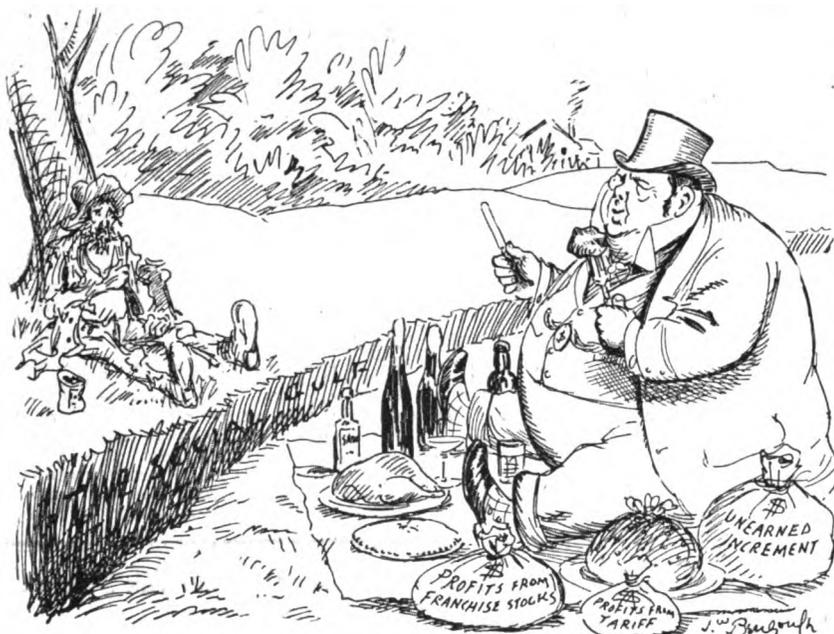
A vigorous campaign is being made in Colorado, but the workers are few in number; and, although they are making personal sacrifices for the cause, they are crippled for lack of money. Already they have circulated 100,000 copies of Senator Bucklin's report, but this is less than half of the number of voters in the state. They are looking to us for aid, and they have a right to expect it, for it is our cause as much as theirs. If the amendment is defeated for lack of finances to make a thorough campaign, the failure will be due, partly, to those who neglected to aid to the extent of their ability.

If you intend to make a contribution, please advise the committee at once. Do not wait for a personal solicitation, as that requires time and money on our part which cannot well be given. Subscriptions in any amount may be made, payable either in a lump sum or in monthly installments. If the latter way be chosen, it is desired that remittances should reach us not later than the 10th of each month, on which day our collections are forwarded to the secretary of the national committee. There are no expenses in connection with the Illinois committee, and the entire amount collected will be used for the purpose intended by the contributors.

Checks or money orders should be made payable to the treasurer and mailed to the secretary.

Illinois Committee for the Promotion of the Australasian Tax System.

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN,
Chairman & Treasurer.
U. A. H. GREENE, Secretary,
No. 128 Jackson Blvd., Chicago.



“THE UNWORKING CLASSES.”

Tramp—Gee, Pard! How did you git that lay-out? I begged for this bone—did you beg for youm?

Monopolist—Beg, nothin'. I don't beg—I APPROPRIATE!

ward them? Upon what are the minds of the upper 50 per cent. now bent? Upon these hopeless, submerged people, or upon the silly, gaudy details of a puppet show?

Whether conditions in the average American city are as bad as those the author found in the English city, I do not know. A friend of mine who traveled in England with an eye to social problems says that on the whole the English workingman is better off than the same class of laborers in America; but others give a different report. Whether or not the percentage is as high, there is far more poverty in our own cities than most of those who are living in comfort would believe to exist. Last Christmas a wealthy lady, who had been liberal in her gifts to charitable associations, took a notion to go and see for herself. She told me that it made her sick for a week. This was in New Orleans, a city where I believe there is less suffering from poverty than in any other of equal size. Nor is the poverty confined to the cities. In the little town where I happen to be at present, within a quarter of a mile from the room where I am writing, there are groups of hovels, in any one of which an extra quarter would seem like wealth. Yet in richness of soil, in beauty and variety of growth, this glorious region can hardly be matched in the whole world—“God's own country,” as the excellent mayor says. But here, even as in England, the abundance of the richness of “God's own country” is the landlord's. The people in the shanties cannot draw forth an ear of this richness but half of it must go to the master of the soil, who is and ever must be the master of the landless man.

J. H. DILLARD.

Francis M. Milne (San Luis Obispo, Cal.) adds “Verses of Childhood” to her other volumes of poems—“For To-day” and “Heliotope.” Mrs. Milne's verse, always simple and rhythmical, is especially pleasing in these homely rhymes about real children.

PERIODICALS.

—The leading editorial, demanding free hides, which appears in the Union Boot and Shoe Worker for June, is one of several suggestive articles in that issue. “Municipal Poverty” is another.

—In “Intuitionism and Teleology,” in the International Journal of Ethics (Philadelphia) for July, Frank Thilly, of the University of Missouri, attempts to reconcile the intuitionist and the utilitarian theories of morals.

—The Arena for July (New York) opens with a symposium in opposition to imperialism, by President Miller and Prof. Will. of Ruskin College, Bolton Hall and Ernest Crosby. It contains also a Whitmanesque poem, “The Word That Came to Me by the Sea,” by George D. Herron, and a review of the present political outlook, by Eltweed Pomeroy, besides a specially interesting group of editorials by Mr. Flower.

—Magazine readers interested in the colonial question should not overlook “Fighting Life in the Philippines,” in the July McClure's (New York). It is by an acting surgeon in the army, who has seen a long and varied service in the Philippine islands; and his striking explanation of the outrages of the American soldiers there, while made in their defense, is one of the bitterest arraignment, though evidently not so intended by the writer, to which the colonial policy has yet been subjected.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN.

With the political campaign now opening, in which important questions of government, both political and economic, are at stake, we follow our usual custom of offering The Public at a reduced rate for the campaign, with the view of extending its influence and promoting its circulation. We will therefore receive

CAMPAIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS

from bona fide NEW SUBSCRIBERS from now on, to and including the issue of November 8, next, for

FIFTY CENTS.

This price is considerably below the regular terms, but we have found that a large proportion of campaign subscribers, becoming acquainted with and friends of the paper in that way, become regular subscribers, which makes it worth our while to encourage campaign subscriptions.

Address THE PUBLIC, Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

The Public

Is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It reads the daily papers and tells its readers what they say. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

TERMS.

Annual Subscription	\$2.00
Semi-Annual Subscription	1.00
Quarterly Subscription50
Trial Subscription (4 weeks)10
Single Copies05

Free of postage in United States, Canada and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

1641 UNITY BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILL.

All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

Payment of subscription is acknowledged up to and including the first issue of the month printed on the wrapper. The figures following the month, refer to the year in which the subscription expires.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

POST OFFICE ADDRESS:
THE PUBLIC, BOX 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

ATTORNEYS.

Chicago.

CHARLES H. ROBERTS,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
ESTATES, CLAIMS, PATENTS,
613 Roanoke Building, Chicago.

Houston.

EWING & RING,
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS,
HOUSTON, TEXAS.
Presley K. Ewing. Henry F. Ring.

New York.

FRED. CYRUS LEIBUSCHER,
COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
BENNETT BLDG.
90 Nassau St., Borough of Manhattan,
Tel. Call, 1258 Cortlandt. Rooms 1011-1012.
NEW YORK.

Liberal Religious Literature free on application. Mrs. C. F. Wetmore, 4432 Sidney Ave., Chicago.

BINDERS FOR THE PUBLIC:

Emerson Binding Covers in which THE PUBLIC may be filed away week by week, making at the end of the year a reasonably well-bound volume, may be ordered through this office. Price, 80 cents, postpaid.