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Dr. HJ Woodhouse
Nov 3-00 Box 511

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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Most apt was that quotation of the imperialist clergyman who opened the McKinley convention, when, in a burst of tactless fervor, he raised his voice to heaven, exclaiming: "Thy thoughts are not our thoughts, nor Thy ways our ways!"

Another example of shotgun piety was afforded last Sunday by Bishop Earl Cranston, in a sermon at Denver in which he said:

It is worth any cost in money, it is worth any cost in bloodshed, if we can make the millions of Chinese true and intelligent Christians.

That assertion might be reverently doubted, if the true and intelligent Christianity is typified by the man who made the assertion. A whole continent of such murderous minded Christians wouldn't be worth to real Christianity one drop of heathen blood.

In an address last spring before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, W. H. Baldwin, Jr., president of the Long Island Railroad company, undertook to show the advantages to railway employes of railway consolidation; and, led naturally by his theme to consider the question of public and private ownership of railways, he laid down this eminently sound proposition:

More and more each year the operation of railroads is becoming a governmental function.

One might suppose, therefore, that he would advocate public ownership. On the contrary he proceeded to the startlingly incongruous conclusion that therefore—

the best condition will be reached when the relations between the government

and the railroads are intelligently defined, with the management and operation left in the hands of private persons.

It would be interesting to know what Mr. Baldwin's conception of the proper disposition of governmental functions may be. There is an old and honored notion that governmental functions should be left not in the hands of private persons, but in the hands of government. But that notion may be passing away with other democratic ideas. Imperialism is nearsighted as well as far sighted, and it is possible that Mr. Baldwin is only anticipating with reference to railroads a general system of domestic government under which all governmental functions would be placed in private hands.

The post office scandal is not unique, says the Havana La Nacion, in its English column. "Money is wastefully expended," it explains, "in almost every department of government." But what justly concerns it more than the financial corruption which marks American administration in Cuba is the autocratic administration of the criminal law, an instance of which it mentions. In commenting upon this case La Nacion says:

Even before a tribunal of the inquisition, the accused was allowed to defend himself, whereas the right is denied before the Havana police court held by an American, who, we understand, is at the same time police judge, supervisor of police, and chief of the detective force. Is such a combination of functions American? If so, since when? We have said it before, and we repeat it now, there is neither principle, system nor method in what is done here. Laws are disregarded, reformed, modified, altered and confused ad infinitum. In fact, the only law is the arbitrary will of each chief of department. The sic volo sic jubeo is the universal rule.

La Nacion regards all that as hostile to American ideas and practices. It

must have learned its Americanism from the founders of the American government, and not from the present administration.

It is too early to form a judgment as to the responsibility for the war in China, from which there now appears to be no escape. We must await more definite and more trustworthy news. It will be well, however, to treasure in the memory the news reports so far received regarding the beginning of the battle at Taku, for comparison with the authentic reports when they come. For even authentic reports are sometimes censored. By some of the dispatches now at hand, we are informed that the foreign fleets gave the Chinese commanders of the forts at Taku an ultimatum demanding that within a specified time they withdraw the troops they had been mobilizing at that point, and that the Chinese opened fire before the period fixed by the ultimatum had expired. These dispatches therefore charge the Chinese with having begun hostilities. Other dispatches make no mention either of an ultimatum or of the opening of fire by the Chinese, but simply say that the Taku forts were attacked by the foreign fleets. It may be that both dispatches are partly right. That is, the fleets may have given the ultimatum, and then have begun the attack because its demand was not complied with. That is the more probable inference upon the facts now available. Complete reports, however, may put a different color upon the matter. They may show not only that the Chinese fired the first shot, but that they had committed warlike acts necessitating an ultimatum from the fleets. The whole matter is, nevertheless, under the shadow of enough reasonable suspicion, especially as the foreign powers are not without guilty

motives respecting China, to demand a suspension of judgment.

It would require the humor of a Mark Twain to do justice to the decision of that federal judge in New York who holds that as to foreigners Puerto Rico is an integral part of the United States, while as to the United States it is a foreign country. Nevertheless, this is the first decision directly upon the point. A Minnesota judge has delivered an able opinion, sustaining the opposite view as to our relations to Puerto Rico. He held that it is an integral part of the United States as to everybody and for all purposes. But as the point was not directly involved in the particular case before him his opinion is without judicial authority. Until the New York judge is overruled, then, Puerto Rico must be regarded as the pea in a political thimble—now in one place and now in another, so that now you see it and now you don't.

One of the New York judge's arguments in support of his decision that the United States has constitutional power to govern alien territory as Rome governed her colonies—in other words, to be an empire—he puts in these words: "It could not have been intended by those who framed our constitution that we should be born a cripple among the nations." But that is precisely what the framers of the constitution did intend. All constitutional governments are cripples. The very object of a constitution is to cripple arbitrary power. It was especially and emphatically the object of the reservations in our constitution. And so well has this always been understood that the United States government has been heretofore held by the courts to have been so completely crippled by the constitution as to be incompetent to do anything whatever unless expressly or by necessary implication empowered by the constitution. Not until this era of imperialism which the Hanna-McKinley coterie is inaugurating has it ever been hinted that the government of the United States has

the national powers that England, Germany or Russia possesses. Compared with those nations ours has always been what this judge, with his imperialistic instinct, would call "a cripple among the nations."

A newspaper contributor of the name of Ambrose Bierce phrases in the New York Journal a very common opinion regarding "government by injunction." It is an opinion which, more than anything else, makes the possibility of "government by injunction" something to be feared. Premising that he does not understand the clamor against it, he proceeds with this explanation of his lack of understanding:

The argument is that if the law forbids something to be done and sets a penalty for doing it, that is enough. By forbidding it himself a judge may make the doing it a crime with a different name and differently punishable. But consider: he cannot forbid what was not already forbidden; he cannot make a crime of what was not already a crime. How, then, can his injunction harm one who obeys the law? Of what importance is it to a good citizen what would happen to him if he were a bad citizen? If I am not intending to commit a crime I do not care how many times I am warned not to commit it, nor how many kinds of penalties attach to its commission.

That quotation is an excellent example of popular thoughtlessness. If Mr. Bierce were not intending to commit a crime, he might not, indeed, care how many times he was warned not to commit it, nor how many kinds of penalties might attach to its commission. But if he were falsely charged with a crime he would care very much about the kind of trial he was to have. If, being charged with a crime falsely, he were to be tried by a judge without a jury, upon affidavits drawn by a hostile lawyer, and sworn to out of court by witnesses whom he was not allowed to see or cross-examine, we suspect that he would begin to understand the clamor against "government by injunction."

The evil of "government by injunction" centers in the mode of

trial. It is an established Anglo-Saxon doctrine with reference to the preservation of human liberty that men charged with crime shall be tried by a jury; that they shall be confronted with their accusers face to face; that every witness against them shall be subject to cross-examination; and that the jury shall judge the law and the facts. These safeguards are not for the benefit of the guilty. They are established for the purpose of protecting the innocent from unmerited penalties. The guilty are protected by them because even they are supposed to be innocent until guilt has been proved. And it has been the theory of Anglo-Saxon law for centuries that without such safeguards liberty is endangered. Now "government by injunction" does away with all these bulwarks of liberty. It begins with a presumption, like that of Mr. Bierce, that the accused is guilty. It denies a trial by jury. It substitutes affidavits for living witnesses. And it leaves the question of crime, the question of guilt, and the extent of punishment to the discretion of a single judge. With such a system in full operation liberty would be doomed. Yet there are Ambrose Bierces by the hundred thousand who cannot understand the clamor against "government by injunction"! And they through their ignorance may contribute, having votes, to making the doom of liberty certain.

Apropos of this subject a remarkable article—most remarkable, considering its source—appeared editorially not long ago in the New York Nation. It was a discussion of Senator Bate's bill for the regulation of trials for contempt of the federal courts, and in the course of the article the writer took occasion to say that when a man commits a breach of the peace he should be dealt with by the sheriff or a policeman and not by a court of equity in injunction proceedings. For that reason the writer of the article in question condemned the injunction proceedings of the federal courts at the time of the Chicago riots.

Asserting that Gov. Altgeld "apparently sympathized with the rioters," he declared nevertheless that "that can hardly be regarded as a reason why the federal courts should have enjoined them from rioting and punished them for contempt when they disobeyed." So at last the Nation understands the iniquity of government by injunction, and understands it so well as to criticize, though tenderly, the proceedings against Debs. The objection to those proceedings was not that Debs or anyone else ought to have been shielded from punishment for instigating or participating in riots, if guilty; but that the injunction proceedings deprived him of his right to an orderly trial.

In the admirably conducted labor department of the Philadelphia North American, which is under the management of Henry George, Jr., Mr. George sums up the trust question in a nut shell when he says that—

while the remedy for artificial monopolies is to abolish privilege and establish competition, the remedy for natural monopolies is to preserve the exclusive principle, but to take it out of private hands and to operate it publicly. To put the matter in another way, the simple, sovereign plan to meet whatever of evil there is in what is commonly spoken of as "the concentration of wealth" is to deal with the power of privilege, either by abolishing such privilege, as in the case of artificial monopolies, or by taking privileges into government hands, as in the case of natural monopolies. This principle, followed to the end, it seems to me, would clear the way for freedom of individual exertion and give to each in the production of wealth what he produces and only what he produces.

If the democratic party at Kansas City dared to adopt that principle in unmistakable terms, it would completely command the situation on the trust issue.

A good test of prosperity is a "want" advertisement. It is the best test, since the prosperity we are having is so microscopic that tests are needed. An illustrative example comes to us from Kansas. A gentleman in that state who needed two salesmen—not men to help him

make things, observe; but men to help him find buyers—put this advertisement in the Kansas City Times:

WANTED—Two salesmen in Kansas; men of good address; experience not necessary; give references; permanent position and good wages for right men. Address ARTHUR L. ROSE, Manager, Newton, Kan., for particulars.

It is very much to the credit of the Kansas City Times as an advertising medium that the advertisement brought over 30 replies. And most of the men who replied evidently had business knowledge and ability. But the prosperity for which McKinley became advance agent four years ago should "sing small" when a demand for two to fill a permanent position at good wages unearths 30 men who want the jobs.

In Scotland, too, they have been enjoying a season of "prosperity." It is very much like our own. One of our consuls, as quoted in the American Machinist, describes it so that the reader can hardly tell the difference. He says that skilled laborers in 1898 and 1899 had full employment, with increases of wages in most trades of from eight to ten per cent.; but that in Edinburg the cost of living has so far increased that "the earning power of even the best paid skilled labor has diminished."

Our democratic neighbors across the Canadian border are pestered much as we are on this side with patriotic fetish worship. From one of them—John Macmillan, of Victoria, B. C., a sterling public-spirited member of his community—we gladly give place to a letter on the subject, in which a proposition is made that is worthy of general consideration by all men and women who think of the world as their country. Mr. Macmillan writes:

Since the war in Africa began we have had a continuous outburst of flag worship. In boys' brigades, schools, churches, everywhere, men seem to be overwhelmed as with a mania, and those who do not join in are hounded as traitors and pro-Boers. For months the idea has possessed me that we can and ought to use this

flag worship for good. Cannot some one devise a flag that will be the emblem of Universal Peace? And will not men of our ideas be ready in every land to raise it on public occasions as an emblem of universal good will? This flag worship, when used for the spread of jingoism, seems to be infectious. Should its influence be all on one side? Give us a flag that is emblematical of peace. Let good men everywhere be asked to sign a pledge to hoist it, when other flags are raised, as a mute appeal in behalf of "peace on earth to men of good will."

The incidence of indirect taxation is often curious and not infrequently wicked in its effects. The profits made by Carnegie, Frick and their associates, amounting to \$46,000,000 in the last two years are examples. Though this astonishing sum of money was collected from the people of the United States, not a cent of it went into the national treasury. Carnegie and his accessories pocketed it all, McKinley's belief that the tariff is not a tax except upon the foreigner to the contrary notwithstanding. As most of this huge sum was extorted from the people by adding unduly to the price of structural iron and steel, it is not difficult roughly to follow its burden to the end. Most of that product went into office buildings in the larger cities. Their cost being enhanced just so much, the annual rents demanded and obtained by their owners are higher than they could otherwise be by an amount equal yearly to the interest on the increased cost.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

Once again the charity-giving world is stirred to its uttermost borders by piteous appeals for India, as another visitation of famine sweeps over that richly endowed but sorely tried land. From the Mysore to the Punjab, and from the western coast to the center of the peninsula, a territory of 300,000 square miles—equal in area to all the Atlantic coast states of the American Union which lie north of Georgia—the impoverished inhabitants are suffering from hunger. Sixty million people, equal in number to three-fourths of the population of the United States, are smitten with

the scourge; and 10,000,000, five times the population of Chicago, are consequently face to face with a terrible form of death. Thousands die every 24 hours. So overwhelming is the calamity that dead and dying in multitudes are found in fields and roadside ditches, food for vultures and jackals, while river and plain are polluted with the accumulations of decaying bodies.

This famine is conceded to be very much worse than that of three years ago, which aroused the pity of the peoples of the world. There are fears that it may be worse than that of 1877, when 6,000,000 actually starved. It bids fair to rival even the first great recorded Indian famine, that of 1770 in Bengal, in which the deaths counted up to 10,000,000.

To add to its horrors, the famine has opened the way to disease, and smallpox and cholera have become epidemic. One correspondent tells of 3,000 deaths from cholera in one place, and 2,500 in another, within the same period of four days. The hospital death rate in these places was 90 per cent. At still another place, where the thermometer registered 115 in the shade and he found the poorhouse death rate appalling, there was a corpse in every fourth cot and new patients crowding in were frequently placed face to face with the dead.

Measures for relief are themselves shockingly suggestive of the suffering the famine has wrought. We are told upon good authority that the British government in India is "organizing relief on a scale unapproached in the history of the world," and that a month ago the number of starving that were officially assisted in one day was 5,975,000. The demand for government assistance, says another investigator, is unparalleled. In one district 40 per cent. of the population is dependent upon the government for daily bread; in another the percentage is over 30; while in the impoverished territory generally at least 1,500,000 people have no sources of subsistence at all but government charity.

To supplement government charity, food has been furnished from different parts of the outer world. The

United States, with a characteristic leaning toward the sensational, has sent a steamer, chartered by the federal authorities, with a load of corn and other supplies. But relief in that form is useless. There is no lack of food in India. The people there are dying of hunger in a land of plenty. What is lacking is money with which to buy. The largest part of the relief afforded by the government is not in the form of food, but in money as wages for work.

At the government relief works, employment is furnished to 6,000,000 people—men, women and children. The work they do is breaking stones for highways, digging wells, transporting earth, etc. Peasants who have never before handled any implements heavier than the light tools of Hindu husbandry, here wrestle with the crowbar and the boring tool. When the men break the rocks, women and children hammer the fragments into smaller pieces. For this work the men get three cents a day, if they are able bodied, and the women get two and one-half cents, while the children get two. The low plane of living to which these people have been reduced may be inferred from the statement of an investigator that at these absurd wages "a full day's toil secures to every worker a sufficiency of food."

It is only to the starving ones who are so far gone as to be unable to work, that the government actually doles out food. Food for this purpose is supplied partly from the famine insurance fund, maintained by an annual tax upon the people, which is supplemented by private contributions. Lord and Lady Curzon have given \$3,000, and donations have been received also from England, the United States and other countries. A fund of \$1,000,000 has been raised by the lord mayor of London. Canada is collecting a fund. Subscriptions are being collected in Berlin and other continental cities. And in the United States a committee of 100, which has been organized with William E. Dodge as chairman and 73 Bible House, New York city, for headquarters, is circularizing the charitably disposed for a million dollars.

Mr. Dodge's committee makes it

clear that shipments of food to India would be folly. "Thank God," its circular reads, "relief may almost instantly pass, by cable, from this land of plenty to that India of starvation; accordingly, only gifts of money are solicited." Of course, the only relief that can pass by cable is through banking houses; and banking houses cannot get food at once to the starving Hindus unless the food is already there in sufficient quantity. The Hindus cannot eat money. The only use they can make of it is to buy food in their own markets. It is not a food famine, therefore, from which they suffer. They are dying by thousands within easy reach of an abundance of food. But they are unable to buy.

With these poor people dying of starvation it would be inhuman to refuse them help while coolly studying the causes of their awful condition. But it does not follow, as an eastern paper puts it, that "to study the causes leading to the present distress in India is useless now." Quite the contrary. This is of all others the best time for that study. To defer it until the present famine passes is to defer it until the next one comes, when, upon the same theory of procrastination, it would be useless again. Without discouraging in the slightest, then, the humane movement to relieve the famine sufferers, let us devote a few moments to a consideration of the causes of the famine.

The simplest as well as surest method of inquiry is to proceed from the known facts to those that are obscure—from obvious to ultimate causes.

We know, everybody knows, that this famine was immediately caused by the failure of the southwestern monsoon last summer. The seasons in the eastern and the western parts of India are reversed, the dry season of the one corresponding with the rainy season of the other. This difference is due to two regular monsoons, or winds. One comes down from the northeast in winter, laden with the moisture of the bay of Bengal; the other comes up from the southwest in summer with the moisture of the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea. But for these monsoons the

land they furnish with rains would be an arid waste. The eastern country is therefore dependent for its fertility upon the winter monsoon, and the western upon that of summer; and it is because the summer monsoon failed last year that western India now suffers from the famine we have described.

But superficial, indeed, must be the mind that would accept that explanation as final.

The monsoons have failed before. Nearly every decade since 1770, the year of the first great recorded famine, has been distinguished by a famine in one district or the other, caused by the failure of a monsoon to bring on the regular rains. The warnings have been abundant, and we know that the ingenuity of man is capable of profiting by such warnings.

All that the people need do to prevent famines is to anticipate possible failures of monsoons by making provision in good years for the shortage of bad ones. They should not trust absolutely to the monsoon, year by year, since industry and thrift would secure them against its failures. They should labor and save.

Had this been done in previous years, by the Hindu people, there would be no famine. With the money they had obtained from the sale of surplus crops in the past, they could buy food now, instead of becoming dependents upon a paternal government or the charity of the world as the only alternative to starvation.

As they did not make that provision, it is not an unreasonable inference that back of the failure of the monsoon as the cause of the famine lies the thriftlessness of the people. And this inference has been drawn by that class of comfortable folks who trace all poverty to the shortcomings of its victims.

It cannot be, however, that we have yet discovered the final cause of the Indian famine. If it is superficial to be satisfied with an explanation which attributes the famine to the failure of the monsoon, it is brutal to be satisfied with one which attributes it to the thriftlessness of a people who have for generations been systematically robbed to a degree that might

well make the very thought of thrift seem to them a mockery.

Security of property is the great incentive to industry and thrift. Take that away and the most industrious will fall into idleness. Take that away and the most thrifty will produce only enough to satisfy their needs of the season. Why should they produce more or save any if what they produce and save in excess of their wants for the season is to be wrested from them?

But security of property the people of India do not have. Whether they work with intelligence and energy or with neither, whether they save or waste, it is all the same; there is left for them but a bare living, and in either case a failure of the monsoon would bring on famine. It can make no difference to them, if a famine year finds them without food, whether this is because they have not raised and saved, or because what they have raised and saved has been confiscated. And so they become thriftless. Nor are they peculiar in that respect. Insecurity to earnings and savings breeds thriftlessness everywhere.

Not with the thriftlessness of the Hindu people; then, may we stop our inquiry into the cause of the Indian famine. We must attribute it finally to the conditions that make their earnings and savings perennially insecure. We must charge it to the confiscatory practices which prevail there.

And what are these? Some would promptly respond, British misgovernment. Whether this is wholly just to Great Britain or not, it is certainly just in degree, as a brief review of the situation will show.

The British government in India is a voracious tax eater. The expenditures in 1897, as shown by the Statesman's Year Book for 1899, at page 139, were £95,834,763—in round numbers \$460,000,000—of which £26,234,255, or about \$127,000,000, was expended in Great Britain. And it imposes taxes in such manner as to make them excessively burdensome upon the producing classes. Upon the same authority, at page 140, it appears that in 1897-98 the amount of land tax was £25,932,300, that the

customs tax was £4,577,400, and that the salt tax was £8,626,000. Thus we have something like \$125,000,000 of tax or rent taken by Great Britain from the occupiers of land, together with an indirect tax of some \$20,000,000 confiscated from consumers of foreign goods, and \$40,000,000 from consumers of salt. Of the land tax we shall have more to say farther on. The other two taxes, but especially the latter, are unquestionably burdens upon the common people. What a heavy burden the salt tax must be may be imagined when it is remembered in connection with its magnitude that the wages of an able-bodied man are but a few cents a day.

Among the expenditures by Great Britain in India in 1897-98, according to the Statesman's Manual, were £8,991,000 (say \$40,000,000) for collecting the taxes; £27,027,000 (about \$127,000,000) for the army; £15,721,300 (\$75,000,000) in civil salaries, and £3,499,200 (\$15,000,000) for interest on the public debt, which amounts to £237,325,160 (\$1,000,000,000). Of this public debt £113,883,233 (about \$500,000,000) is held in England. Among the annual expenditure is a salary item of £25,080 (\$125,000) drawn by Lord Curzon, who donates \$3,000 to the famine fund.

"God help the people of India!" exclaimed a member of Lord Curzon's council, who is reported in the Manchester Guardian, of April 21 last, as he began to explain that \$75,000,000 is annually paid to European officials employed in India, who send all their savings home; and that the land is so heavily taxed in many provinces that the peasant cannot save in good years for the years of bad harvest.

In the British house of commons it was shown recently that in Madras in the past 11 years the number of evictions for the nonpayment of rent amounted to 152,000, and that in the preceding 11 years it was 840,000. During the debate in which that statement was made, a member on the government side of the house, one who has spent a large part of his life in India, characterized the real cause of Indian impoverishment as heavy taxation. The Springfield Republican of April 25 quotes him as saying

that the salt tax is a most oppressive burden to the poor man, and as adding that all the resources of India are mortgaged to England; all the great businesses are in the hands of Englishmen, who draw large salaries and send their savings to England, and that the natives are forced to live mere slaves to village usurers. The trouble with India, he argued, is substantially the old trouble with Ireland—financially and industrially it has been made a mere tribute bearer.

How great the drain of tribute is may be seen by a glance at the statistics of exports and imports, which may be found in the Statesman's Manual. For the five years ending March 31, 1898, the value of exports exceeded the value of imports—merchandise, gold and silver all considered—by more than \$650,000,000, an average of \$130,000,000 a year.

The parliamentary debate referred to above was opened by a member thoroughly familiar with Indian affairs, Sir William Wedderburn, who moved "that in view of the grievous sufferings which are again afflicting the people of India, and the extreme impoverishment of the population, a searching inquiry should be instituted in order to ascertain the causes which impair the cultivator's power to resist the attacks of famine and plague; and to suggest the best preventive measures against future famines." Sir William said in support of this motion that the Indian peasant is not encouraged to provide against droughts; and the house of commons proved the justice of that remark by rejecting his motion.

We have said that we should give further attention to the land tax which Great Britain collects in India. As already stated, this tax amounted in 1897-98 to £25,932,300 (about \$125,000,000). It is levied on an arbitrary assessment of holdings, which is for the most part fixed periodically at intervals of from 12 to 30 years. The rate of tax in permanently settled tracts is conservatively reported to be about two-thirds of a rupee (say 30 cents) per acre of cultivated land, and as representing about one-twenty-fourth of the gross value of the produce. In temporarily settled tracts the rate is reported as somewhat less per acre and as repre-

senting about one-tenth to one-twelfth of the gross value of the produce. The tax is strictly not a land tax, but a produce tax; for it is imposed not upon land whether cultivated or not, but only upon cultivated land. And doubtless it operates in most cases of small holdings as an extortionate rack rent.

But the worst of the land tax is not revealed by statistics of public revenues. Back of the tax gatherer is the rack renting landlord. Nominally the government in India is the owner of the soil, but when the British began to govern there they found a system of tax farming in vogue, which, to the British mind, had the appearance of a system of large proprietorships of land. The native sovereigns were accustomed to contract with tax farmers called zemindars. A zemindar would pay a fixed amount for a particular district into the royal treasury, and then collect the taxes of the occupiers of the soil for his own benefit. Upon taking possession the British recognized these zemindars in some places as proprietors, while in others they ignored them and established a kind of peasant proprietary, under which the peasant holds directly of the government so long as he pays his land tax. Both these systems have resulted in grinding landlordism. The government tax, where it does not take all the economic rent or more, turns the workers over to the mercy of the proprietor, who squeezes out the rest.

Buckle wrote of this in his history of civilization. In the first volume, at page 54, he said:

In India, the legal rent, that is the lowest rate recognized by the law and usage of the country, is one-half of the produce; and even this cruel regulation is not strictly enforced, since in many cases rents are raised so high that the cultivator not only receives less than half the produce, but receives so little as to have scarcely the means of providing seed to sow the ground for the next harvest.

And the Statesman's Manual for 1899, at page 141, where it states that the tax in permanently settled tracts is one-twenty-fourth of the gross value of the product, explains that this is one-fifth of the rental. So even upon this conservative British au-

thority, though the tax takes but one-twenty-fourth of the rental, the cultivator loses five-twenty-fourths—one-twenty-fourth to the government and four twenty-fourths to a landlord. What is said by this same authority about taxes in the temporarily settled districts shows that at least five-twenty-fourths of the gross product is taken from the actual cultivators for the use of land, most of which has little or no economic value.

So it appears that between the British government, the zemindars and the petty proprietors, from one-fourth to one-half or even more of the earnings of the Hindu farm workers is confiscated as land exactions in addition to the confiscations through a variety of taxes with the onerous salt tax at the head of the list. When the primitive methods and laborious processes of production among these people are considered, it is apparent that only a hand to mouth existence is possible where so much of the laborer's product is extorted from him.

"The poverty of India," said Dr. Clark in the British house of commons last spring, "is caused by a system of rack renting the peasants." Dr. Clark was right. The peasants are forced to pay so much for the land they use that the partition wall between famine and their accepted standard of living, above which all attempts to rise are hopeless, is thin indeed.

Here, then, is the reason for that thriftlessness of the Indian people, which explains why the failure of a monsoon invariably causes a famine. The terrible famine now scourging western India is chargeable to the established system of confiscating the earnings of the people for the benefit of government tax eaters and private landlords.

Let it not be supposed, however, that Great Britain originated this condition. She is to blame for failing to better it. But she did not make it. Hindu peasants had their earnings confiscated in order to buy for native princes such glittering barbarian toys as ivory thrones and peacocks made of costly gems, long before Great Britain confiscated them to maintain a horde of foreign

office holders, to support a great army system, and to feed foreign bond holders. In his world-famous book, "Progress and Poverty," Henry George writes that—

In India, from time immemorial, the working classes have been ground down by exactions and oppressions into a condition of helpless and hopeless degradation. For ages and ages the cultivator of the soil has esteemed himself happy if, of his produce, the extortion of the strong hand left him enough to support life and furnish seed; capital could nowhere be safely accumulated or to any considerable extent be used to assist production; all wealth that could be wrung from the people was in the possession of princes who were little better than robber chiefs quartered on the country, or in that of their farmers or favorites, and was wasted in useless or worse than useless luxury while religion, sunken into an elaborate and terrible superstition, tyrannized over the mind as physical force did over the bodies of men. Under these conditions the only arts that could advance were those that ministered to the ostentation and luxury of the great. The elephants of the rajah blazed with gold of exquisite workmanship, and the umbrellas that symbolized his regal power glittered with gems; but the plow of the ryot was only a sharpened stick. The ladies of the rajah's harem wrapped themselves in muslins so fine as to take the name of woven wind, but the tools of the artisan were of the poorest and rudest description and commerce could only be carried on as it were by stealth.

No, the charge against Great Britain is not that her government in India has introduced the conditions that cause famines. It is that she has perpetuated those conditions by methods only less crude and palpable, and has made them worse. As George goes on to say—

The millions of India have bowed their necks beneath the yokes of many conquerors, but worst of all is the steady grinding weight of English domination—a weight which is literally crushing millions out of existence, and, as shown by English writers, is inevitably tending to a most frightful and widespread catastrophe. Other conquerors have lived in the land, and, though bad and tyrannous in their rule, have understood and been understood by the people; but India now is like a great estate owned by an absentee and alien landlord. A most expensive military and civil establishment is kept up, managed and officered by Englishmen who regard India as but a place of temporary exile; and an enormous sum estimated as at least

£20,000,000 annually (raised from a population where laborers are in many places glad in good times to work for 1½ to 4 pence a day), is drained away to England in the shape of remittances, pensions, home charges of the government, etc.—a tribute for which there is no return. The immense sums lavished on railroads have, as shown by the returns, been economically unproductive; the great irrigation works are for the most part costly failures. In large parts of India the English, in their desire to create a class of landed proprietors, turned over the soil in absolute possession to hereditary tax gatherers, who rack rent the cultivators most mercilessly. In other parts, where the rent is still taken by the state in the shape of a land tax, assessments are so high, and taxes are collected so relentlessly, as to drive the ryots, who get but the most scanty living in good seasons, into the claws of money lenders, who are, if possible, even more rapacious than the zemindars. Upon salt, an article of prime necessity everywhere, and of especial necessity where food is almost exclusively vegetable, a tax of nearly 1,200 per cent. is imposed, so that its various industrial uses are prohibited, and large bodies of the people cannot get enough to keep either themselves or their cattle in health.

Written 20 years ago, those passages explain the underlying causes of the terrible famine in India to-day. It is not due to scarcity of food in India. Food is abundant there. It is not because silver has been demonetized. Silver had not been demonetized when other great famines were produced by the same causes that must have produced this one. It is not the failure of the monsoon. That is only the immediate cause, the mere accident which has precipitated the famine but did not create its conditions. Thriftlessness, which has prevented the accumulation of capital by the peasants and the extension of their industry, is indeed a cause. But it is only a little farther removed than the monsoon failure; it is really itself an effect of a deeper cause. The true cause of this famine, as of all that have preceded it, is confiscation of the earnings of the people by means of labor taxation and landlordism.

While these causes exist, famines will appear and reappear. Robbed perennially of the property they annually produce, the Hindu peasants are held down to the same degraded plane to which generations of such

confiscation have sunk them; and living on the verge of starvation from season to season, they become victims to famine whenever the monsoon fails to water their crops. There is no help for this condition short of removing this cause. And while that remains, though no one should be deterred from helping the famine victims with such charity doles as he can spare, yet let none imagine that he thereby buys redemption from his responsibility for the awful social crime against man and God the world over to which this Indian famine so shockingly testifies.

NEWS

Reports from China at the time of our last week's issue told of the seizure of the Tientsin-Pekin railroad by 1,500 allied foreign troops who were repairing it with the view of advancing upon Peking, where the foreign population was believed to be in hourly danger of extermination by Chinese mobs. These troops appear now to have numbered 2,500, British and Russians being largely in the majority. There were 100 Americans in the number. The force was under the command of Admiral Seymour, of the British navy, who had permission from the Chinese viceroy at Tientsin to advance to Peking. His expedition appears, however, to have been a failure, Admiral Seymour being now reported to have been obliged to return. Communication with Peking is, therefore, still cut off. But Admiral Seymour's retreat, however humiliating, loses much of its interest in consequence of reports of a battle between the allied fleets and the Chinese forts at Taku.

Taku is a fortified place on the Gulf of Pechili at the mouth of the Peiho river. Official information of the battle there is not yet available, and the unofficial dispatches are variable in their accounts. It appears, however, with reasonable certainty, that the foreign naval commanders in the Gulf of Pechili, after conferring on the 16th on board the Russian flagship, sent a joint ultimatum to the commanders of the Chinese forts at Taku, demanding that they withdraw their troops before a specified hour on June 17. This was done because the Chinese were planting torpedoes in the river and assembling large bodies of

troops at the forts. After receiving the ultimatum, but before the hour specified, the Chinese commanders opened fire upon the allied fleets and the fleets replied. So say some reports. Others indicate that the fleets opened the bombardment. At the end of a battle lasting several hours, the foreigners captured the Chinese forts and pushed some of their lighter draft vessels up the Peiho river. The foreign warships participating in this battle were British, French, German, Russian and Japanese. Some reports credit the Americans also with being engaged, but the better inference is to the contrary. Twenty foreigners are reported to have been killed and 57 wounded in the engagement, while a British gunboat and a German warship were badly damaged, two British merchant vessels were sunk, and a Russian gunboat was blown up. On the other side two of the Chinese forts were destroyed, and the rest were captured by foreign landing parties in bayonet charges. The Chinese loss in killed is said to have been heavy. Later but still untrustworthy reports are to the effect that the loss of the foreigners was greater than as stated above.

Following the news of the battle at Taku come reports of European preparations for a Chinese war. It is said that 4,000 German troops have been ordered to China; that 10,000 French troops are on their way, and that 4,000 additional Russian troops have been dispatched from Port Arthur across the gulf to Taku. In announcing this to the European powers, Russia explains her purpose to be the protection of Russian and other European residents, and gives assurances that she has no special interest in the matter and will strictly adhere to all agreements. Great Britain is credited with 5,000 troops ordered out from India, and Austria-Hungary is preparing to forward 1,000; while the United States has ordered the forwarding of a regiment, the Ninth infantry, from the Philippines.

Meanwhile the press is full of sensational rumors of the condition of affairs at Peking, none of which are as yet confirmed. According to one of these rumors, 100,000 Chinese troops are guarding Peking, and guns are trained upon the American, British and Japanese legations. Another one announces the burning of all the legations and the killing of the German minister. A later one reports

the killing of the French minister also; and a later one still the destruction of all the foreigners in Peking along with their native employes. From other points are rumors of massacres by Chinese mobs and of the going over by Chinese soldiers in bodies to the "boxers." One of these unverified rumors, transmitted from London on the 18th, was to the effect that 7,000 Russians with 12 machine guns and 12 field guns were marching upon Peking. It was followed by one from Shanghai on the 19th which stated that this Russian relieving force, having arrived that morning outside of Peking, had begun an attack upon the city on two sides. But no further news has been received about this matter. A private letter from Miss Edna Terry, an American missionary in China, who was falsely reported killed a week or two ago, throws additional light upon the Chinese uprising. She describes a condition of famine in China, the severity of which may be inferred from her statement that "chaff, peanut husks, sweet potato vines and all such substances were about gone," and "some had been living on the bark of mulberry trees."

The American authorities at Washington, while they have ordered a regiment up from the Philippines to Taku, indicate their intention of refraining from any further military participation in the Chinese troubles than may be necessary to protect Americans there. The immediate pretext for forwarding these troops is the precarious situation of the American minister at Peking, from whom nothing has been heard for several days.

The opening of this new war, in which the United States is almost certain to become deeply involved as a "world power," coincides in point of time with the gathering of the republican national convention of 1900. Pursuant to the call of Chairman M. A. Hanna, issued on the 20th of last December (See No. 90, page 11), by direction of the national committee, the convention assembled June 19 at Philadelphia. About 10,000 people were in attendance at noon, when Mr. Hanna, as chairman of the committee, called the convention to order. After a prayer by the Rev. J. Gray Bolton, followed by a speech by Mr. Hanna, the latter announced that Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, would be temporary chairman. A vote was then

perfunctorily taken, and Senator Wolcott came to the chair. His speech was followed by the appointment of committees on rules, credentials, resolutions and permanent organization; and the first session of the convention closed with a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Edward M. Levy, who 44 years before, on the same day of the month and in the same city, had made the opening prayer of the first national convention of the republican party—the one that nominated Fremont for president. The second session convened on the 20th. The committee on credentials then reported. Its report was followed by that of the committee on permanent organization, which nominated Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, for permanent chairman, and Charles W. Johnson, of Minnesota, for permanent secretary. After these permanent officers had been elected and seated, the committee on rules reported, and at that point Senator Quay offered an amendment which, if adopted, would reduce the representation of the south in future republican conventions about 50 per cent., while raising that of the northern states 25 to 50 per cent. A substitute was offered by Lynch, of Mississippi, and the matter went over to the 21st. The next business of the convention was the adoption of the platform. When that had been done, an adjournment was taken to the 21st.

The platform, drawn by Postmaster General Smith before the convention and submitted to Mr. McKinley, who approved it, may be fairly summarized in these terms:

After referring to the unsurpassed prosperity of the present time as due to the return of the republican party to power, and congratulating the people upon the results of the war with Spain, the platform indorses the McKinley administration, and, renewing allegiance to the principles of the gold standard, approves the financial legislation of the Fifty-sixth congress. On the subject of trusts it condemns commercial conspiracies while recognizing the propriety of the cooperation of capital to meet new business conditions. The policy of protection associated with reciprocity is reaffirmed; and, for the benefit of labor, the restriction of the immigration of cheap foreign labor, the extension of educational opportunities to working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, and some system of labor insurance are advocated. A timidly expressed plank in support of subsidies for American shipping is

followed by recommendations for liberal pensions and the maintenance of the efficiency of the civil service, together with an objection to the attempts in the south to nullify the fifteenth amendment and a declaration approving the rural free delivery postal service and the irrigation of arid lands. Early statehood is promised New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma; and the construction, ownership, control and protection of an isthmian canal by the government are urged. A new cabinet office is proposed, to have charge of commercial affairs, including the consular system. Hawaiian annexation, the Samoan arrangement, and the part taken by the government in the Hague peace conference are approved; while the president is commended for offering friendly services in settlement of the British war in South Africa, and hopes of an honorable peace are expressed. The platform closes with a presentation of the question of expansion. In this respect it rests the obligations of the government upon the necessity of destroying Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine islands. And promising to secure to the Filipinos by law "the largest measure of self government consistent with their welfare and our duties," the platform guarantees the performance to the letter of the pledge of independence and self government made by the United States to Cuba.

It had long been a foregone conclusion that President McKinley would be the unanimous nominee of the republican convention for president, and the only nominating contest was over the vice presidency. For this place Gov. Roosevelt was supported by Senator Thomas C. Platt, the manager of republican politics in New York, and by Senator Quay, the manager in Pennsylvania. He was opposed by Senator Hanna, Mr. McKinley's manager, and was not himself a candidate. Though he refused to declare that he would decline if nominated, he insisted that he could serve both his party and the country better by becoming a candidate for reelection as governor of New York. Besides Roosevelt, the leading possibilities in advance of the convention were Congressman Dolliver, Secretary Long, Lieut. Gov. Woodruff, of New York, and Secretary Bliss. But before the making of nominations, which were delayed until the 21st, Mr. Hanna had acquiesced in Roosevelt's nomination; and the close of the convention saw McKinley and Roosevelt nominated by acclamation.

Democratic politics were comparatively quiescent upon the eve of the republican convention and during its sessions. But as the Ohio convention on the 13th, and the conventions of Missouri, Kentucky, Vermont, Georgia and California on the 15th instructed for Bryan, the two-thirds vote necessary to nominate him for president is now assured.

Down in Cuba the first popular elections since the Spanish regime took place on the 16th under American direction. These elections had been postponed from May, when they were originally to have been held. Their object was the choice of mayor, municipal councils, treasurers, municipal judges and correctional judges, for the 200 municipalities, or thereabouts, into which Cuba is districted. Some of these municipalities are cities and some are townships, but the scheme of government is the same for all. The suffrage was limited, by American military order, to males 21 years of age—Spanish subjects excluded—who can read and write, or who own \$250 worth of property, or who served in the Cuban army. In preparation for the election political parties formed. They differed somewhat in character and purpose in different localities, but upon the whole they might be classified as the republican party and the national party. The republican party stands for a federation of the provinces, and is in some economic matters disposed to be radical. It offers a complete programme of government. While supporting independence for the island, it does not push that question to the front. The national party stands for making of Cuba a compact nation, and emphasizes the demand for early independence. Gen. Gomez is identified with this party. When the elections came off perfect order prevailed throughout the island. In Havana the nationalists elected their entire ticket. Gen. Alejandro Rodriguez, their candidate for mayor received 13,073 votes, against 6,034 for his adversary. Cubans point to these elections as a demonstration of their ability to regulate their own affairs in orderly fashion, and of the sentiment of a majority among them in favor of absolute independence.

From the Philippines there is but little news. American scouting is evidently going on, and Americans are killing and being killed. The latest reports give the casualties for the

week ending the 17th as 60 Filipinos killed and 200 captured, and three Americans killed. Great expectations are based upon the promulgation to be made on the 21st, of President McKinley's proclamation of amnesty, wherein he offers a free pardon to all Filipinos (ladrones excepted) who will take the oath of allegiance to the United States and acknowledge the sovereignty of its government. The proclamation has not yet been made public as we write.

American casualties in the Philippines since July 1, 1898, inclusive of all current official reports given out in detail at Washington to May 30, 1900, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900, (see page 91)	1,847
Killed reported since May 16, 1900,	15
Deaths from wounds, disease and accidents reported since May 16, 1900,	69
Total deaths since July 1, 1898.....	1,931
Wounded	2,168
Total casualties since July, 1898..	4,099
Total casualties reported last week	4,079
Total deaths reported last week..	1,927

Though news from the American war in the Philippines is meager, that is not altogether so of the war in South Africa. On the 20th a force of Boers was reported as gathering in front of Gen. Rundle, in the region of Ficksburg, which is in the Orange Free State near the Basutoland border and almost due east from Brandfort. Gen. Rundle commands the right wing of Lord Roberts's army of invasion. This move on the part of the Boers was preceded, according to reports, by an attack upon Rundle's outposts. But there are no further details.

A battle was supposed, at the time of our last report, to have been in progress on the 11th, about 15 miles east of Pretoria, on the Middleburg road. The next news from that point came from Lord Roberts, under date of the 13th. He said that during the preceding night the Boers, who were under command of Botha, had evacuated their position and retired farther east. The fighting had lasted all through the 12th. It was a battle altogether of 30 hours, at the end of which time the Boers effected a retreat with all their equipment. In this battle the Boers successfully met Lord Roberts's flank attacks; but to do so

were obliged to weaken their center, and it was a direct attack by Roberts upon this weak point that forced them to retreat.

From the British point of view the most satisfactory information is Lord Roberts's announcement that he has relieved 3,200 British prisoners, and that communication between himself and Gen. Buller has been at last effected. The latter result appears to have followed a battle fought on the 13th by Gen. Buller at Almond's nek, about 12 miles from Volksrust, which is in the Transvaal just over the Natal line and on the railway from Ladysmith to Johannesburg. The Boer line of battle, eight miles in length, was posted across Buller's line of march. After some hours of fighting, the last hour and a half of which was heavy, the Boers, finding themselves in danger of being surrounded, retreated. Gen. Buller does not report the capture of any of their equipment, though they had used artillery against him.

In consequence of the British annexation of the Orange Free State, President Steyn has issued a proclamation declaring that the government of the Free State still exists as an independent sovereignty, and that it does not acknowledge the authority of Great Britain.

Political conditions in Cape Colony have been vitally affected by the Boer war. Cape Colony belongs to the class of British colonies that are allowed "responsible government." That is, though the queen appoints the governor and reserves a veto power over legislation, the legislature, through a responsible ministry like that of Canada or England herself, really governs. The governor of Cape Colony is Sir Alfred Milner, and the prime minister has been W. P. Schreiner, the leader of the Afrikaner party, to which the Dutch and their sympathizers are as a rule attached. Mr. Schreiner's compromising policy with reference to the war has been such that many of his own party became dissatisfied with his government. His only chance of remaining in office, therefore, would have been through the support of the opposition, or Cecil Rhodes's party. This support he was unwilling to accept, and so he and his colleagues in the ministry resigned. Milner urged him to reconsider his action, but Mr.

Schreiner declined to do so. This obliged Milner to act, and he asked Sir John Gordon Sprigg to form a new ministry, with the following result:

Prime minister and treasurer, Sir John Gordon Sprigg; attorney general, J. Rose-Innes; colonial secretary, Thomas Lynedock Graham; minister without portfolio, J. Frost; secretary for agriculture, Sir Peter Hendrix Faure; commissioner of public works, J. H. Smartt.

All of these appointees, except the attorney general, are described as political "hacks" of Cecil Rhodes. A deputation of the Afrikaner party left Cape Town on the 20th for England to plead for the continued independence of the fighting republics. The Rhodes party is arranging to send out a rival deputation.

From the other British war in South Africa, that in Ashanti, of the origin and progress of which we gave an account last week at page 152, nothing further has been heard except that another battle with the British relief expedition has been fought. No details are given. The Second battalion of the West India negro regiment is under orders from London to go to Ashanti, and the volunteer infantry of Jamaica, also composed of negroes, has been invited by Great Britain to go along. The latter corps had volunteered to fight the Boers, but their services were rejected because it was deemed inexpedient to pit negroes against a white enemy. The invitation to go to Ashanti, which is offered by way of making amends, is reported to have been received by the Jamaica regiment with great enthusiasm. British Guiana also is sending volunteers to Ashanti.

NEWS NOTES.

—Fire destroyed the greater portion of the business district of Bloomington, Ill., on the 19th. The loss has been estimated to be in excess of \$2,500,000.

—Brig. Gen. Joseph Wheeler has been assigned to the command of the department of the lakes, with headquarters at Chicago. Gen. Wheeler goes on the retired list in September.

—A Congregational minister, Rev. A. Murman, who was pastor of a Montreal church, was compelled on the 17th to resign his charge because he refused to pray for Queen Victoria and the success of the English army.

—Wheat for July delivery continues to advance, in consequence of adverse

crop reports from the northwest, and on the 21st was freely bought at 81 cents, which is an increase of more than 14 cents over the price of two weeks ago.

—Francis of Orleans, prince of Joinville, died in Paris on the 17th from an attack of pneumonia, aged 82 years. He was the son of the late Louis Philippe, king of France, and was attached to Gen. McClellan's staff during the American civil war.

—Arrangements have been perfected for the organization of democratic clubs in all of the leading universities and colleges, to participate in the fall campaign. Clubs are already in existence in several colleges, notably in Yale and Ann Arbor.

—The widow of W. E. Gladstone, the illustrious English statesman, died at Hawarden on the 14th, aged 88 years. The funeral ceremony, which was simple but impressive, was held in Westminster Abbey, where Mrs. Gladstone was interred beside her husband.

—English workingmen have subscribed \$20,000 for the purpose of founding a labor college in the United States, along the lines of the Ruskin hall experiment at Oxford, which was founded by Americans. The principal subjects to be taught will be constitutional history, social science and political economy.

—The fiftieth convention of the North American Turner bund closed its sessions in Philadelphia on the 20th after adopting resolutions in which the imperialistic policy of the administration was denounced and territorial expansion by methods of war declared to be "opposed to civilization and an act of brute force."

—The Irish national convention opened its sessions in Dublin on the 19th. More than 3,000 delegates, representing every important political organization in Ireland, were in attendance, and the utmost harmony prevailed. The platform of the United Irish league was ratified. John Redmond presided.

—The international automobile race from Paris to Lyons, a distance of 344 miles, was won by Charron's French machine, which maintained an average speed of 62 miles per hour. Winton's machine, the American entry, although fast, proved to be of too light construction, and withdrew from the race after a series of breakdowns.

—The supreme court of Michigan has sustained the constitutionality of an act of the last legislature creating a state tax commission and giving it authority to review local assessments, to increase individual assessments if deemed inadequate, and to add omitted assessments. The decision directs the Grand Rapids assessors to turn their assessment rolls over to the new tax commission for revision.

MISCELLANY

INVOCATION.

For The Public.

Beware of those who bring
With the Sword the Psalms they sing,—
Ware the mighty hosts to whom Liberty
and God are one;

These are men who dream that He
Leads them through the crimson sea,
As He led the Saints of old, where the
Red Sea waters run.

And these Burghers, strong to hold
Faith in that great Arm of old,—
By the kopje and the veldt, be thou with
them in their thought;

God of Battles, if thou be,
Lead them through the crimson sea,
For they fight for God and country, as
the sons of Israel fought.

God in Heaven, who reigneth there,
Is that High Throne deaf to prayer?
Hath the Scepter lost its power when the
persecuted plead?

Are the laws of Sinal dead,
And the great High Judges fled—
Is God's covenant with His people lying
like a broken reed?

Doubt it not—He reigneth yet;
He it was whose Right Hand set
Every stone of Freedom's temple, and He
bade us keep it fair;

What its mighty walls surround,
Every foot, is holy ground;
They whose feet profane that temple, let
their craven Souls beware!

They who wage a war unjust,
May their bayonets break as dust,
May their cannon harmless rain shells
against the great hill-walls;
May their armies' onslaught melt
Like the dew upon the veldt,
May the oppressor's hosts be palsied
where the bolt of freedom falls!

Doubt it not—Prayer's answer comes,
Not, perhaps, with victors' drums,
Not, perhaps, as patriots willed it—yet
the answer comes, no less;
Liberty is never slain,
But her ghost shall rise again,
Rise to torture those who slew her, and
to conquer who oppress!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

COMMERCIAL HONESTY OF THE CHINESE.

It is well known that there is very little mercantile law in China, and it is therefore the more remarkable that Chinese merchants are distinguished for the strict integrity and fidelity with which they fulfill their contracts. The word of a Chinese merchant is as good as his bond. Ex-Attorney General Rosendale, one of our most eminent Albany lawyers, who recently made a tour in the orient, tells us that it was the common testimony of Americans and Europeans transacting business there that it was so rare as to be almost an unknown thing for a Chinese merchant to attempt to defraud in either the quality

or the price of his goods, or in the payment of his debts. This is one of the most admirable traits in the Chinese character, showing a native honesty not to be found in some other of the eastern races, and probably accounting for the fact that there is very little Chinese mercantile law because there is very little need of legislation to enforce mercantile obligations.—Albany (N. Y.) Argus.

A FAITHFUL FRIEND.

Jerome Wendfelt and family, of Jasper county, one day during this week moved to a farm in Pulaski county. After all arrangements to start had been completed they placed in the charge of their oldest daughter for safe keeping a baby boy aged seven months. The daughter, in company with her younger brothers and sister, drove ahead of the remainder of the family.

Upon the arrival of the Wendfelt family at their new home the baby was missing. Farmer friends started back in search for the child.

As the sun was setting a Newfoundland dog came trotting up the wagon road carrying a basket in his mouth. He stopped before the grief-stricken mother, laid it down before her and lifted the cradle quilt with his paw, revealing the baby.

The oldest daughter had given the baby to one of her brothers to take to its mother. He laid the child down under a lilac bush and covered it with a quilt.

Ned, a Newfoundland dog that belonged to the family, discovered the sleeping child and brought it back to safety. Then he lay down and died of exhaustion.—Telegram to Chicago Chronicle, dated Winamac, Ind., June 12.

THERE ARE ALSO UNCULTIVATED PEOPLE IN AMERICA.

Suppose a stranger landing in New York for the first time were to proceed to the slums of that city, and were to reside exclusively amongst the lowest sections of the population. Suppose, after a stay of six months, he were to return to Europe and write a description of the American people, characterizing as average types those people with whom he had associated in the slums. It would be no greater libel upon the citizens of the United States than the repulsive anecdotes and reports which have been current in the different magazines and newspapers about the character, habits and conditions of life of the South African Dutch.

The Boers, like everybody else, are

subject to the law of variation of type. There are tall Boers and short Boers, though the latter are rare; educated Boers and some who are still unlettered, though I myself never met one who has not been able to read or write. The general charge of their being a dirty race is quite untrue. There are Boers who carry cleanliness to the point of absolute discomfort. I remember one place where we could not enter the house without finding the passages filled with the contents of a room that was being cleaned out. The floors were always being wiped or oiled, and the mistress of the house was such a martyr to cleanliness that she reduced her guests to a state of positive discomfort.

With regard to the Boers and education, I might say at once that the Dutch in South Africa are not cultured in the sense that is understood in Europe. They do not know much about Ruskin or Carlyle or Emerson, or any of the great English-speaking masters of prose and thought. But the better classes are all educated sufficiently well to read and write with ease, and to carry on the business connected with their farming pursuits. They have to think out the problems of life themselves, and one of the things that most forcibly strike anyone who does not look at things superficially is the wonderful reasoning power possessed by such men as President Kruger, Mr. A. D. Wolmarans, and other leaders of the Boer party. They rely upon their experience, and as they have had to think out every situation for themselves, they are full of resources in times of emergency.—Hon. Montagu White, in Harper's Weekly.

MR. BRYAN ON THE TRUST QUESTION.

William Jennings Bryan has an article in the current North American Review, which, in view of the universal belief that he is to be the democratic nominee for the presidency, will be read with interest alike by friend and opponent, as he deals with the issues as he believes his party will present them in the forthcoming campaign. In the course of his article Mr. Bryan unequivocally shows that he will not subordinate the currency question to any other. He states the issues to be, in the order of their importance: Bimetallism, anti-trusts and anti-imperialism. As to the first and last he covers familiar ground. Concerning the second he makes the following suggestion:

Instead of shutting a monopoly out of one state and leaving it 44 states to do

business in, we should shut it up in the state of its origin and take the other 44 away from it. This can be done by an act of congress making it necessary for a corporation organized in any state to take out a license from the federal government before doing business outside of that state, the license not to interfere, however, with regulations imposed by other states.

Aside from any question as to the constitutionality of this proposition, though that is not unimportant, we think Mr. Bryan here advocates a system intended to develop a centralized government of the most dangerous sort. That there should be placed no impediment in the way of trade between the states by federal legislation, all citizens must insist, if we are to escape an "imperialism" right at home worse than any other. Already the people complain of encroachment by the federal judiciary. Mr. Bryan's plan would at once place under the jurisdiction of the federal courts all interstate business of corporations. And none would be better suited by this state of affairs than the corporations themselves. What more natural steps than these: First, a license from the government, which would bestow certain rights; then an appeal to the courts of the government to protect those rights, and, if need be, an appeal to the federal arms? It is not only a remedy for the trust Mr. Bryan proposes, but if he will follow out to its logical sequence his plan, he will discover that it will serve to perpetuate the trust. There is no remedy for the trust but to destroy its source. Its source and strength lie in special privilege; take away from it special privilege and the evils of the trust will disappear.—Farmers' Voice of June 9.

ON BEING STYLED "PRO-BOER."

Friend, call me what you will; no jot care I;
I that shall stand for England till I die.
England! The England that rejoiced to see
Hellas unbound, Italy one and free;
The England that had tears for Poland's
doom,
And in her heart for all the world made
room;
The England from whose side I have not
swerved;
The immortal England whom I, too, have
served,
Accounting her all living lands above,
In justice and in mercy and in love.
—William Watson, in London Speaker of
June 2.

"THE IMMORTAL ENGLAND."

Extract from an editorial in the London Speaker of June 2.

There are many who are thinking at this moment of nothing but the conquests of our arms, the courage of our troops, the roads, the mines which are

to be added to the empire. Others, and amongst them a great poet who has never shrank to the littleness of his generation, are recalling wars in which our soldiers had not to march to victory over the bodies of old men and children, the dead witnesses of unequal battlefields to our enemies' despairing passion for their perishing independence. The England to which they belong is the England of Fox, of Canning, of Byron and of Gladstone; the England which mourned for Poland, fought for Greece, befriended Italy, shielded Belgium, restored their Ionian patrimony to the Greeks and stood before the world as the hope of oppressed peoples. If demagogues who care nothing for England's history, and financiers who can scarcely speak her tongue, have duped a great nation into a hideous crime, it is no wonder they make haste to disown Mr. William Watson and other brave Englishmen. In trampling on the Boers they are trampling under foot the England of history, and on the day the Orange Free State ceased to be free, England announced that she had ceased to be liberal. After a century illumined by the victories of nationality we are busy on such a crime against nationality as the century cannot parallel, and in thus sinning against our traditions we have exchanged the respect of Europe for its curses.

THE "BOXERS."

China is honeycombed as no other country in the world with secret societies, embracing all classes, having an existence dating from the second century of the Christian era—an existence not of tradition, but vouched for by record. They are diverse in the elements of which they are composed in their rules and practices, although most of them, especially the Triad, which is the most important of them all, have such extraordinary analogy with western freemasonry as to imply a community of origin. The symbols and tenets are the same, the ceremonies of initiation are similar, the test questions bear a close resemblance thereto, and, in fact, the only foreigner who ever obtained admission to the Triad—namely, an Englishman of the name of Mason—achieved this feat on the strength of his belonging to the higher grades of the Scottish rite of Freemasonry. Originally a form of oriental mysticism, founded on moral and cosmogonical theories, these societies became political factors towards the seventeenth century, and until a year or so ago had in view as their principal object the overthrow of the Man-

chu or Tartar dynasty, and as watchword "China for the Chinese."

The Taiping rebellion of 40 and 50 years ago was fostered and promoted by the Triad, and came near overthrowing the Peking government, which it could doubtless have accomplished had it enjoyed the cooperation of the other secret societies.

To-day the meaning of the watchword of the various secret societies—namely, "China for the Chinese"—is changed. For the aim is no longer anti-dynastic, nor do they seek the expulsion of those 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 Manchus who for the last 200 years have imposed themselves as the ruling class over 400,000,000 Chinese, compelling them to adopt the Manchu style of hairdress—namely, a pig tail, in token of subjection.

To-day the secret societies have for their object the expulsion of the foreigner from the land. It is a mistake to believe that John Chinaman is a stranger to patriotism. Indeed, so passionately devoted is he to his native country that he makes arrangements for the return of his bones to the Flowery kingdom in the event of his dying in foreign lands. This fiber of patriotism has been utilized by that extraordinarily clever woman, the dowager empress, to rally the entire nation into the presentation of a virtually united front to the foreigner, to convert the secret societies from anti-dynastic into anti-foreign movements, and to achieve that which the Triad sought in vain to bring about at the time of the Taiping rebellion—namely, cooperation of all the secret societies, one with another, against the common foe, which this time is not the Manchu, but the white foreigner.

It cannot be denied that for more than a half century past China has been subjected to a degree of indignity, insult, extortion and bullying on the part of foreign powers which no Christian power would have tolerated. Treaties have been imposed upon her by force, her finest harbors seized, and vast stretches of her littoral successively placed under foreign rule. She has been compelled to consent to agreements providing for the transfer of her immense river trade to foreign flags, and for the gridironing of the entire land by means of foreign built and foreign controlled railroads, while for every concession made by her a dozen new ones have been presented by the foreign powers.

At length, exasperated beyond endurance and driven to the wall, the empress issued in December last a secret edict, addressed to the viceroys of the

various provinces. "The various foreign powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be the first to seize upon our innermost territories," she declared. "They fail to understand that there are certain things which this empire can never consent to do, and that if hard pressed we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause." Four weeks later another edict was dispatched to the same officials by the dowager empress. In this second edict the viceroys were warned to exercise a prudent discrimination towards the disturbers of public peace. "The reckless fellows, who band together and create riot on the pretext of securing the inauguration of reforms," were to be punished, while those "loyal subjects who learn gymnastic drill for the protection of their families and their country," that is to say, the members of the "Righteous Harmony Fists association," were to be favored. This was the first heard of the so-called Boxers, openly a society for the cultivation of gymnastics, secretly an anti-foreign political movement, something like those "Turnverein," or gymnastic societies which played so important a political role in Germany at the beginning of the present century, becoming one of the most important factors in the liberation of the Fatherland from the presence of the French invader. From that time forth the so-called Boxers were more or less openly encouraged by the empress. They became a means of union among all the various secret societies, and, if to-day these societies in all parts of the immense Chinese empire are simultaneously taking to arms to drive out the foreigner, it is due to the cleverness of the old empress, who is thus, at the close of the nineteenth century, emulating the role played near 100 years ago by Queen Louise of Prussia, when she roused her countrymen to rid Germany from the thralldom of Napoleon,—*"Ex-Attache,"* in Chicago Tribune of June 17.

WHAT IS HELL?

Extract from a sermon preached in St. James Episcopal Church, Greenville, Miss., June 10, by the Rev. Quincy Ewing. For The Public.

The individual utterances of Jesus to be truly understood must be interpreted in the light of all else He said, and all He did; and not only in the light of what He said and did, but of what He was: in the light, that is, of the kind of God He revealed and Himself adored and obeyed, and the kind of life He lived in relation to His fellowmen. This rule of interpreta-

tion has never resulted in anything save the uplifting of the seeker after God into closer communion with the God of his search.

I open the New Testament; I read therein: "It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into Gehenna, into the unquenchable fire!" Did Jesus speak those words? Yes. Well, then, I apply my rule of interpretation. Uttered by Jesus Christ, I say they cannot fairly mean to me what they would mean uttered by a Mohammed, a Torquemada, a Calvin. I recall that they were spoken by One of whom it is written that many times He healed human pain, never that He wantonly inflicted it; by One who loved little children, and was loved by them; by One whose severest condemnation of the penitent sinner was: "Go, and sin no more;" by One who taught the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan, and contrasted the self-righteous Pharisee with the sin-conscious Publican; by One who rested no doctrine on Adam's fall, and was silent about the Total Depravity of Adam's descendants; by One who hurled never a harsh epithet against the sincere worshippers of any creed; by One who claimed to have other sheep than those of His immediate fold, who heard his voice; by One whose wrath was roused only by meanness, cruelty, hypocrisy—the very molten lava of whose white-hot indignation was poured out upon them who thanked God that they were not as other men; by One who inspired the disciple that lay on His bosom to write: "God is Love;" and, "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" by One who pronounced in the Sermon of sermons a benediction upon all the meek, all the merciful, all that mourn, all the pure in heart, and the poor in spirit; all the peacemakers, all the persecuted for righteousness' sake; by One whose vision of the Father's House was not of a single, but of many mansions; by One who beheld as a ruined heap the most gorgeous temple built with hands, and laid the deep foundations of His Divine Kingdom in the loyal loving hearts of His disciples; by One who, after His brief—nay, his eternal—years of sublimest vision and highest deeds, was put to death as a rebel and a blasphemer—as a traitor to earth and Heaven—by the pious meanness, or the mean piosity, of a band of orthodox Devil-worshippers—by people who thought that the being they called God was pleased to behold the

sufferings of all unorthodox men and women—even though the heart that suffered was the heart of a Christ, or one that throbbed in sympathy with His!

Remembering, I say, who it was that spake of the Gehenna of fire unquenchable, how He lived and how He died, I cannot reconcile my consciousness of Him with a literal interpretation of these words. I must believe that His thought was of a hell where sin at once pronounces every sentence of condemnation, and is the Devil that executes it. And His thought of hell, I trow, was not of any locality confined within boundaries of the world invisible, of the world beyond death. Its place was every place where righteousness is hated and iniquity loved; every place where lies flourish and grow fat, and Truth is dunce-capped in some corner of obscurity, or crucified upon some memorable mountain top beneath the stars of heaven; every place where injustice sits and leers, or kneels and prays, upon the throne of things human, and Justice is a bemocked outcast in cap-and-bells; every place where the eternal rights, the worth, the dignity, the majesty of a human soul are weighed, and found wanting, in the balances of sensual greed; every place where Church, or State, or individual, desiring to possess those things that minister to earthly luxury, or brighten earthly glory, or extend earthly empire, tramples upon the image of God in man, in order to acquire them, and dares to prate that Divine Destiny is responsible for the unholy work; every place where any man professes, or does not profess, to love God, whom he hath not seen, and murders, or robs, or hates, or debases, or degrades, the brother whom he hath seen!

Hell!—the kind of hell that saddened to its depths the great heart of Jesus Christ—that hell is to-day in South Africa, where the still red sand hills are dyed a deeper red with the noblest human blood; where the bodies of men become rotting carcasses to be fed upon by the desecrating vultures—in South Africa, where tears seam the faces, and black is draped about the forms of thousands of broken-hearted widow mothers and fatherless children—in order that the gold-grab of so-called Christian England may be consummated. And this hell has the hearty approval of that orthodox churchman, the prime minister of England, who kneels regularly at that table which has for host the spirit of Jesus Christ!

Hell!—one of the darts of it, to-day,

shaped and sharpened under the American flag, is in the heart of that Filipino mother, wife of the hunted martyr-chief, divorced by American bayonets from husband and infant son—the baby boy dead in the keeping of American troops—dead, it may well be, for lack of the mother-heart, the mother-love!

Hell!—it is mixed with the breath of the time-serving politician, big or little, who stands and cries to the brute greed of his fellowmen: Kill, kill, kill! wield with Anglo-Saxon muscle the tyrant-sword snatched from the palsied hand of Spain; force the imperial yoke of benevolent assimilation upon the bruised and prostrate necks of a freedom-loving people, in order that the flag may represent a "world-power," in order that the echo of jingling gold may tickle our ears across 7,000 miles of sea. Yea, if only killing can accomplish it, then killing must be the order of the day; our flag must bespeak a "world-power;" our rum and our cotton must be attracted to Filipino ports, though the ship that bears them need to plow through an ocean of warm human blood!

"The devil taketh Him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth Him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; and saith unto Him: All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Hell!—its flames burned brightly, last night, to light the den where the cat-eyed gambler plied his robber's trade; and, last night, it kept pace with the drunkard's staggering form, passing from the saloon to the home to torture wife and children. It has come to church, this morning, and gnaws in the corrupt heart of the man who would away with the wedding vow that might not be lightly, repeatedly broken. It has come to church here, or gone to church somewhere, to-day, in the seared brain of the financier who has no appetite for hymn of praise, or prayer of penitence, so absorbed is he in memory of the swindle consummated yesterday, or in anticipation of the roguery planned for to-morrow!

Hell!—it waits not for the passage through the valley of the Shadow, for the gift of supernatural sight, to stand revealed; it is a fact, here and now, that no sight fails to see, and scarce a heart to feel and know. Happy are we, if there be any such—happy beyond words to say—in whose hearts there is no smell of its brimstone, no scorch of its flame!

And will it last for long, this hell of the thought of Jesus? It will last just as long in this world, or another world, or a thousand, or a million other worlds, as those conditions last, as those sins last, that saddened the Christ-heart, and made it necessary for a Christ to die to reveal the Kingdom of Heaven. As long as one human soul hates another human soul; as long as one human soul is capable of willing the loss, the hurt, the pain, the degradation, the damnation, of another human soul, so long hell will last.

It will last as long as any being created in the image of God sets up an autocracy of self-will to deny, or defy, the universal sway of God's Moral Law. The man who denies or defies the supremacy of the Moral God, does so only by defiling the sacredness of his own eternal selfhood. Defiled selfhood is the primal seat and source of all hell that has been, that is, that shall be!

KIMBERLEY AND JOHANNESBURG CONTRASTED.

"Some Vital Facts About Kimberley and Johannesburg, for Workingmen and Friends of the Native," by S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner. Published as leaflet No. 35, by the South Africa conciliation committee, Talbot house, Arundel street, Strand, London.

Kimberley and Beaconsfield may be taken as one town lying around the great diamond mines of Griqualand West in the Cape Colony.

Before the amalgamation of the mines under the De Beers company, they constituted a populous, free and independent community. The streets pulsed with life, the road connecting them was crowded with vehicles, horsemen and people on foot, surging along it all day and almost all night. Around the great du Toits Pan, at Beaconsfield, stood the houses of the most prosperous in a prosperous community. Independent newspapers existed, public meetings of a free people were held, and everything was criticised fearlessly. Natives and whites were free, and the whole of the throbbing townships were happy and prosperous.

That was before the amalgamation.

The picture is very different to-day.

Beaconsfield, which was the principal center, is a desolate mass of ruins. Its population has so diminished that where once ran busy streets, crowded with people and lined with shops, now lies only the silent veld, with here and there small heaps of partially overgrown brick mounds which look like the graves of the life

that once throbbed along the silent place. The houses round the great Pan have gone, except for a few shanties. You will see a few trucks of "blue" being hauled along to miniature "floors," or a little "debris washing" on the long gray heaps—this representing De Beers' sop to Cerberus, its "kindness" in allowing the mines there to be worked a little that the white people who live in Beaconsfield may be kept quiet—the crumb which the rich company tosses to the town which its operations have desolated, depopulated and impoverished. There is now no freedom of public life, and not much of private life, in Beaconsfield. Its great mines are scarcely worked, because the De Beers company does not need their output now. It pays sufficiently to work the two principal mines (the Kimberley and the De Beers' mine) which lie in Kimberley itself. Beaconsfield, having its mines practically shut down, has become a desolate ruin.

Let us look at Kimberley.

What life exists there now is centered around its two great holes.

Before the amalgamation, it was very much what I have described Beaconsfield to be. What is it now? Its population, like that of Beaconsfield, has dwindled down, and its freedom has departed. Kimberley does not, in its center, present the ruined appearance of Beaconsfield, out its outskirts and suburbs are a scarcely less terrible sign of the blighting and desolating power of monopoly. Beaconsfield has, so to say, been wiped out, but Kimberley is reduced and enslaved. Public life is dead, the natives who work in the mines are shut up in prisons, euphemistically called "compounds," and the whites are held in the hollow of the hand of "the company." De Beers dominates everything, from the town council and the club to the hospital, and permeates and terrorizes even the privacy of families. It has built a village called Kenilworth, in which its white employes mainly live. Its miners and others are no longer free and independent men; they are inevitably subservient to the company. They are tied, it is true, with a golden chain studded with glittering pebbles, but it is a chain. On great occasions, such as when Mr. Rhodes visits the town (it was the same when Mr. Barnato was alive), they go to the station—for instance, when a "reception" is needed to impress the public—and pull the "boss" and his satellites about in a carriage. Happy creatures!

The commercial life is no less dominated by "the company;" the pressure is often indirect, but it is there all the time, and every tradesman and merchant and professional man knows it. There is no freedom for white people in Kimberley, unless they "stand in" with the company, and but little social pleasure even.

And what of the "compounds?" These are prisons built around the orifices of the mines, in which the natives are incarcerated. When the natives enter these compounds they surrender their liberty, and are largely at the mercy of the company. In these "compounds" the company has shops at which the natives have to supply themselves. The natives are paid wages by the company, and then they have to spend such portion of those wages as they need to in the shops of the company; for, as they remain in the compounds several months together, they must, during that time, make their purchases in the shops of the company. Thus the spending power of the natives (about 8,000 to 10,000) is withdrawn from circulation among the general community outside and practically confined to the company. Is it surprising that the general population has dwindled?

During these months of incarceration the natives are separated from their women folk and families. The consequence is one of the most striking and shocking features of the compound system. A number of the lowest, drink-besotted, colored prostitutes, estimated at about 500, have collected at Beaconsfield, where, so to speak, they constitute a colony, occupying a revolting, sad quarter of that once beauty-thronged and happy township. When the natives come out for a short spell these unhappy women receive them. It is no doubt convenient, from the standpoint of the company, to have them there; it probably prevents the natives from going away, for most of them come long distances. This moral cancer is one of the direct and inevitable outcomes and concomitants of the compound system. If it were rigorously put down, I have no doubt it would react "injuriously" on the supply of native labor.

You will hear that the compound system is good, because it keeps the native sober. True, it doesn't pay the company to let them get drunk while at work. But, outside the compounds, Kimberley and Beaconsfield are the most drunken places I have ever seen. De Beers is supported by the liquor

vote, which perhaps is not surprising when one bears in mind that the proprietor of the two largest hotels in Kimberley with their highly remunerative "bars," is brother-in-law of the late Mr. Barney Barnato. It should be remembered, too, that it was the liquor vote which enabled Mr. Rhodes last session to defeat in the upper house of the Cape parliament a bill for the taxation of land values, which had passed through the lower. As "the company" practically owns not only the townships of Kimberley and Beaconsfield, but also an enormous tract of country in the neighborhood, and large tracts elsewhere, it would have been hard hit by such a tax. But Rhodes, diamonds and brandy threw out the most progressive measure ever submitted to a South African legislature.

That is how Kimberley and Beaconsfield stand to-day.

The cause is the concentration of the whole mining interests into the hands of one company, coupled with the introduction of the compound system. In the political world, this has enabled the company to secure a practical non-taxation of mines, and to obtain mining machinery free of duty. In Kimberley, it has led to the absolute domination of half a dozen men over the whole community, white and black.

Now, Johannesburg is to-day the freest (I say it advisedly) and one of the best governed big towns in South Africa. Compared with Kimberley at a corresponding state of its existence under British rule, it is much superior. It is pulsating with life; it is prosperous and free, because the capitalist does not yet dominate it. The fear of Johannesburg is that the big mining companies will get hold of it and reduce it to a second Kimberley; which is why the bulk of the uitlander population has all along been on the side of the Transvaal as against the capitalist (which is their view of this war).

If the capitalist gets control, what will he do and what will happen in consequence?

He will introduce the compound system, which means the withdrawal from the general community of the spending power of 80,000 natives at something over £3 per month each (say £250,000 a month; that is £3,000,000 a year). Then having withdrawn that, and having incarcerated the natives in the compounds, he will reduce their wages, as he has boldly said. Thus he will pay less out, and at the same time, by having his own shops

in the compounds, he will establish the "truck system" and get back from the natives into his own pockets again as much as he can of the wages he paid out. He will also cut down white wages, and thus reduce the spending power of a very large section of the wage-earners of the country. Then the white population will rapidly dwindle; the business of the town will tend to center in the hands of the agents or friends of the mine owners (for the companies will "stand in" together, and eventually practically amalgamate); an independent press will be impossible; public opinion will be suppressed; and freedom will have departed.

That is the situation!

Beware the speculator-capitalist! He is the menace to Briton and Boer alike!

THE MESSAGE OF BISHOP CRANSTON.

"It is worth any cost in money, it is worth any cost in bloodshed, if we can make the millions of Chinese true and intelligent Christians."—From a sermon by Bishop Earl Cranston, at Denver, Col., June 17, 1900.

For The Public.

At altar of his Christ, new kissed,
Listened a glowing Methodist;
Seared with its coals, his lips record
A blistering message from his Lord.

"Peter, swing forth thy sword, and slay
My willful sheep that wayward stray;
With cannon's mouth and battle's speech
My gospels to the heathen preach.

"Let kindle their benighted sky
Ten thousand roof-trees blazing high;
The savor mounting to My throne
In smoldering smoke shall sweet be blown.

"My holy table garnish first
With human flesh; and for its thirst,
Mingle the wine with streaming blood,
And orphans' tears and sorrow's flood.

"Kill! for the coming of My day—
Its faith must languish shall you stay;
Kill! for the hopes for which I died;
Thrust! as they thrust who pierced my side!

"To those who shall survive recount
My milder message on the Mount,
For broken hearts will best retain
Your sowings of its holy grain."

Thus spake the prophet. At his word
Their loins the gathering nations gird,
With carnage, curse, and scream of hell,
To cleanse God's earth with fires of hell.

June 19, 1900.

C. M. S.

BOOK NOTICES.

In "An Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical Polity" (New York: Crothers & Korth), William Jones Seabury, D. D., a professor in the General Theological seminary of New York, explains and applies to existing facts the elementary principles of Episcopal church government. Though constructed from lectures

to Episcopal theological students, Dr. Seabury's book is intended for general reading; and to that purpose its orderly arrangement and common sense style admirably adapt it. To readers interested in ecclesiastical questions, whether they belong to the Episcopal communion or not, this volume will be useful; and unless they are already very familiar with the subject, it will be instructive.

"In 'The New Political Economy' (an address delivered before the Young Men's Civic Club of Pittsburgh), J. B. Sharpe explains the rational principles of political economy, using that term in accordance with its derivation—"house-law," which signifies, ordinarily, the wise regulation and prudent management of the affairs of the house for the good of the whole family." The term "has come to be applied," he says, "to the larger family, that greater household, the state;" and to distinguish the two applications he speaks of the former as "domestic economy" and of the latter as "political economy," finding in the latter term a certain fitness, because "this round old earth, with its vaulted ceiling and its tapestry of green," is "our Father's house, in which we, his children, have had assigned to us the duty of setting it in order." The "fertile valleys and the verdant, sun-lit plains, what are they," he asks, "but the choice apartments? And the great reservoirs of coal and iron and other useful natural deposits, are they not but storehouses which a beneficent Parent has filled in lavish abundance for the common benefit of his children?"

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2. **That Favorable Balance of Trade** (from THE PUBLIC of October 22, 1898).
3. **Nero-Thea**, by E. J. Salisbury (from THE PUBLIC of November 12, 1898).
4. **Department Stores** (from THE PUBLIC of November 12, 1898).
5. **The Remedy for the Evil of the Trust**, by the Rev. Robert C. Bryant (from THE PUBLIC of June 24, 1899).
6. **Monopoly and Competition** (from THE PUBLIC of August 19, 1899).
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