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Mr. Roosevelt opened his campaign for the next presidency at Pittsburg on the Fourth of July. That this was the object of his appearance there as orator of the day is generally understood. It is freely indicated, even by his own party press. And the "oration" he delivered was so much like a stump speech as to justify the suspicion that he himself regarded it as his campaign key-note.

One part of Mr. Roosevelt's speech on this occasion is worthy of special commendation. He administered inferentially a merited rebuke to the ignorance of those critics of American ideals who sneer at the "glittering generalities" of the Declaration of Independence, denouncing them as false because what they declare to be self-evident truths were not true at the time. These critics are oblivious to the fact that the authors of the Declaration of Independence were not describing conditions to be pointed to with pride; they were setting up immutable standards to be followed with fidelity. And of this important fact in our nation's history Mr. Roosevelt reminded his Fourth of July audience.

He said:

You have just listened to the reading of the great document which signals our entry into the field of nations 126 years ago. That entry was but the promise which had to be made good by the performance of those men and their children and their children's children. Words are good if they are backed up by deeds, and only so. The Declaration continues to be read with pride by us year after year, and stands as a symbol of hope for the people of all the world because its promise was made good, because its words were

supplemented by deeds, because after the men who signed it and upheld it had done theirs, the men who came again after them, generation by generation, did their work in turn.

That is the true conception of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration is not a chart of the course we have left behind, but the pole star of our progress, which we can never leave behind unless we turn back upon our course.

It took a Roosevelt, though, to splice this sentiment and the Philippine policy together. For three years his copartisans have avoided that experiment. They dared not try to splice our declared principles of self-government to the practice of British crown colonyism. But Mr. Roosevelt was equal to it. The very strenuousness of the task seemed to excite his ambitions. It is clumsy splicing he has done, rather more offensive to the eye than none at all, but it is a splice and no mistake.

He first couples the existing independence of Cuba with the standard of the immortal Declaration, to illustrate our fidelity to its ideals. Listen:

We said Cuba should become a free republic, and we have kept our word. To have turned Cuba over to the hands of its own people immediately after the withdrawal of the Spanish flag would have meant ruin and chaos. We established a government in the islands; we established peace and order; we began to provide for the payment of the Cuban troops who had fought against the misrule of their oppressors; we instituted a public school system, modeled upon that which has been so potent a factor in our own national progress. We cleaned the cities in Cuba for the first time in their history. We changed them from being the most unhealthy to being among the healthiest cities of the civilized world. We introduced a system of orderly justice to succeed one of irresponsible and arbitrary despotism, so that any man, rich or poor, weak or strong, could appeal to courts and know that he would receive his rights.

And then, when in the fullness of time we felt they could walk alone, we turned over the government to them, and now the beautiful Queen of the Antilles has started on her course as a free republic among the nations of the earth.

Splendid! And now, of course Mr. Roosevelt goes on to explain conditions in the Philippines. How it would mean ruin to turn them over to the government of their own people now; how we must establish peace and order first; how we must establish school systems and clean the cities and introduce orderly justice (though without jury trial); and then—

when in the fullness of time we feel they can walk alone, we shall turn over the government to them, and the rich and beautiful archipelago of the southern seas will start on its course as a free republic among the nations of the earth.

But, no; Mr. Roosevelt did not say that, except about Cuba. He said nothing at all resembling that about the Philippines. He knew that his party does not intend that the Philippines shall ever slip out of our hands as Cuba did and start on their course as a free republic—not while there are franchises to grant and friars' lands to parcel out. He was extremely cautious, therefore, to say nothing which might be construed into an embarrassing pledge of independence.

Such a pledge had been made specifically as to Cuba. It was in the fateful Teller resolution, which so many of Mr. Roosevelt's political associates were inclined to repudiate. That pledge had forced us to set Cuba free. We "kept our word," one of the virtues even of brigands, and because we "kept our word" Mr. Roosevelt implies in his Pittsburg speech that in freeing Cuba—not merely in passing the Teller resolution but in obeying it—we were acting under

the inspiration of the Declaration of Independence. He implies, moreover, that our Philippine policy derives its inspiration from the same source and will culminate in the same way. But he was careful,—oh so careful!—not to say so. It would seem to be true that Mr. Roosevelt is a good deal of a poser.

That characteristic was further exhibited in what he said about trusts. All through this part of his speech he implied that Attorney General Knox, in whose city he was speaking and whom he extolled in fulsome terms, is vigorously prosecuting trusts. But what is the fact? The principal one of these combinations to be proceeded against, that of the meat packers, has been prosecuted to the extent of getting an injunction by consent of the trust. The case has been laid before no grand jury, and the packers are "stepping out from under" the injunction by organizing in the regular way in New Jersey. It is an excellent instance of what the irreverent call a "grand stand play." But with reference to the anthracite coal trust, which is admitted to be clearly within the Federal anti-trust law, Mr. Knox finds one excuse after another for inaction. Yet Mr. Roosevelt praises his official character and services with all the earnestness and not a little of the gush of an old-time swain writing sentimental verses to his ladylove's eyebrow. This is a case of words not backed up by deeds, and Mr. Roosevelt himself admits that such words are not good.

It is an astounding acknowledgment that the President makes in his proclamation of amnesty to the Filipinos who became "rebels" by the peculiar process of fighting for their own country against an alien invader. The very first clause of the preamble of this resolution reads:

Whereas, Many of the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago were in insurrection against the authority and sovereignty of the kingdom of Spain at divers times from August, 1896, until the cession of the archipelago by that kingdom to the United States

of America, and since such cession many of the persons so engaged in insurrection have until recently resisted the authority and sovereignty of the United States. . . .

So it is now officially conceded that the American soldiers in the Philippines have been engaged in putting down an insurrection which we bought of Spain. It is the same old rebellion against Spanish law and power, beginning in 1896, two years before Dewey sailed into Manila bay, and continuing at first against Spain, and then against the United States as Spain's assignee, down to the present time. Isn't that a dainty dish of American democracy and republicanism to lay before the kings of the earth?

The irrigation law, passed at the recent session of Congress, seems to be headed in the right direction. This law provides that the money received from the sale of public lands in the 16 arid states and territories, shall be set aside as a special fund, to be known as the arid land reclamation fund and to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in investigations, surveys and construction of reservoirs, canals, etc., for the irrigation of arid and semi-arid lands. The lands reclaimed, if public lands, are to be sold in tracts of not more than 160 acres, to actual settlers, with water rights, at a price sufficient to cover the cost of the works. If the lands reclaimed are already in private ownership, the water rights are to be sold at a price estimated to cover the cost of construction, but water for 160 acres is to be the maximum amount sold to one individual. Payments for land or water may be distributed over not more than ten years, and they are to be turned back into the reclamation fund, which thus becomes perpetual, except for the expenditures on surveys and on maintenance of the works while in national ownership.

This law further provides that when the payments required by this act are made for the major portion of the lands irrigated from the waters of

any of the works provided for, then the management and operation of such irrigation works shall pass in common to the owners of the lands irrigated thereby, to be maintained at their expense under such form of organization and under such regulations as may be acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior, provided that the title to and the management and operation of the reservoirs and the works necessary for their protection and operation shall remain in the government until otherwise provided by Congress.

The Secretary is directed, furthermore, to withdraw from the public domain the lands to be irrigated, and also those necessary for the construction of the works, such withdrawal to precede surveys; and in case it is decided that the projected works are not feasible, the lands are to be restored to the public domain. Power is granted to him, also, to purchase or condemn such property as may be necessary to carry out the act. Every effort was made in connection with the passage of the act to cause its benefits to accrue entirely to small home makers, and to eliminate all other profits; and it is gratifying to record that this feature was especially insisted upon by the President. No land will become available for settlement for several years, or until the time necessary for surveys and construction has elapsed. The rate of reclamation will then probably be about 200,000 to 300,000 acres per annum, slowly increasing with the growth of the fund, but having an indefinite limit of perhaps 20,000,000 acres.

It is an encouraging platform, that of the Minnesota Democracy, upon which they have nominated L. A. Rosing for governor and Frank D. Larrabee for attorney general—both of them democratic Democrats, and the latter a pronounced advocate of the Henry George system of taxation. On those subjects of local government which are now attracting attention all over the country this platform

makes the following unequivocal declaration:

We favor the municipal ownership of public service corporations, the principle of direct legislation, and home rule in local taxation.

We believe that the interests of labor can best be conserved by organization, and we demand for every man who labors an equal use of all natural opportunities to the end that no man shall take the proceeds of another man's labor without full compensation therefor.

The last legal obstacle to a vote on the home rule amendment to the Colorado constitution—the amendment known as the Bucklin bill (pp. 85, 116)—has now been removed. An injunction prohibiting the publication of the election notices had been asked of the supreme court of the state and that tribunal has refused to interfere. The amendment will now come before the people for their approval, and its adversaries have no recourse left but to defeat it at the polls if they can. The great monopoly interests of the state are gathering together to oppose it with all their might, and every subsidized paper is trying to chase it to death. The point of attack is that the amendment, to quote a leading daily of Colorado, “is founded upon the single-tax doctrine of Henry George and its ultimate aim is the abolition of private property in land.” The advocates of the measure are handicapped for lack of funds to make the proper campaign of education, while its adversaries are plentifully provided by the corporate interests of the state with funds for propagating ignorance of it. The amendment comes to a vote in November, and if those who believe in its principles allow it to go down to defeat for want of the necessary support to secure an intelligent vote, they will have sacrificed some of the most admirable and devoted work and one of the best opportunities for forging ahead in the whole history of tax reform in the United States.

One of the bright publications which have had difficulty with the

second-class bureau of the post office department, is called “The Straight Edge” and is published at No. 1 Seventh avenue, New York. Resuming publication after its controversy over the right to be accounted the kind of publication that is entitled to what the post office department calls “a subsidy,” namely newspaper rates of postage, it has decided, as its editor explains, “not to play horse” any more over this subsidy question, but to pay one cent a copy, full postage, on every issue. In doing this it calls attention, by certifying in black letters around the stamp, that it “pays 30 times the usual rate of postage in order to be free to advertise its views upon social and industrial problems and to print what it pleases about the products of the Straight Edge Co-operative industries. This is what every publication ought to be required to do—pay full postage; but full postage should be enormously less than now, as it could be if hundreds of thousands of tons of newspapers and magazines were not subsidized by second-class rates, said by the department to be insufficient to pay cost of delivery. Not only is it unfair to give these subsidies, but opportunities for discrimination are opened by it; and it would seem that the discriminations are favorable to publications that furnish gossip and intellectual dissipation, while some of those with new or unpopular ideas are practically barred out. The weighing scales, and not the ideas of a publication, should determine the postage. There should be no subsidy. Subsidy and censorship are never far apart.

One of the favorite arguments in behalf of trusts, that they lower prices to the consumer, an argument invented for and ridden to death by the Standard Oil trust, is rudely shaken up by Farm, Stock and Home, of Minneapolis, in an editorial comment upon an official report from an American consul in Russia. This report reads, says the F., S. and H.,—that the cost of getting crude petroleum is much greater in Russia

than in the United States. Wells cost more, methods of pumping are cruder and more expensive, and owing to the quality of the crude material or methods of refining a smaller percentage of illuminating oil results in that country than in this. Yet in spite of all these relative disadvantages the wholesale price of refined oil in tank cars at Baku, the head center of the industry in Russia, during the past eight years has averaged 1.375 cents a gallon, a little less than 1 2-5 cents. The lowest yearly average was in 1894, .72 cents, less than three-fourths cent a gallon, and the highest was in 1900, 3.09 cents, a price that the operators thought fabulous, it was such a money-maker. Increased production of crude petroleum brought the average down to 1.1 cents in 1901, which is too low for profit, but has produced no bankruptcies. It is needless to say that competition obtains in the petroleum industry in Russia, and are not the prices there indicative of what might be enjoyed by consumers in this country if competition instead of monopoly obtained here?

A wealthy woman of Boston is reported by the Woman's Journal as making a unique argument against the extension of suffrage to women. She could not see that it would improve the economic condition of workingwomen, since it had not improved that of workingmen. What she said at this point was true. But she was not content with showing that the ballot would not improve the economic condition of workingwomen; she must needs go further and argue that it would make their condition worse. This she did analogically by endeavoring to show that workingmen would be better off without the ballot. Her argument was deliciously significant. Said she:

I think many of the troubles between employer and men might be swept away if the men could not vote. If he felt that they did not stand on just the same footing as himself, that they had not quite so many privileges as he, the employer might have a chivalric feeling toward them.

Quite naively that woman put the whole anti-suffrage argument into a paragraph. Anti-suffragism, when stripped of its mask, is nothing but anti-democracy. Its ideal is not

equality of rights for all, but privileges for a "chivalrous" few.

The recent revolutionary municipality decision of the supreme court of Ohio (p. 201) has produced a picturesque political situation in that state. For many years Republican legislatures have been making special municipal charters and regulations under a constitution which expressly forbids it, going even to the extent of distinguishing for legislative purposes between cities differing in no respect whatever except that at the previous census one of them had a larger population than the other by 18 or 20 inhabitants. In this way Cincinnati, normally a Democratic city, has been put under the government of state boards which has resulted in its being ruled by a Republican boss, Boss Cox, who dispenses the local patronage of the state. Cleveland, on the other hand, having always been a Republican city, was allowed to have an excellent system of home rule government, known as the federal plan, under which the heads of departments are directly responsible to the mayor and the mayor is directly responsible to the people. Yet the only municipal difference between these two cities is that Cincinnati once had the larger population. Cleveland has been the larger for some time, having outstripped Cincinnati in population, but the difference in forms of government were perpetuated. When Cleveland elected Tom L. Johnson as mayor, and Johnson began to work for the people instead of the monopoly corporations, the local Republican machine bethought itself that a state board government like that of Cincinnati was what Cleveland needed. So Mr. Hanna's attorney general saw his way clear to bringing an ouster suit. The plan was to "knock out" the Johnson administration by knocking out the federal plan, and then to put Cleveland under the control of Boss Hanna as Cincinnati was already under that of Boss Cox. Meanwhile, the Republican legislature, at the be-

hest of a Toledo ring of Republicans who could not "use" Mayor Jones, had abolished the Toledo police board and authorized the governor to appoint a state police board for Toledo—all under a constitution which forbids special legislation for municipalities. The object, of course, was to sidetrack Mayor Jones, and the voters who had elected him by a vast majority, by establishing a Toledo boss, to correspond with Boss Hanna of Cleveland and Boss Cox of Cincinnati. But the non-resistant Jones, saying he would ne'er resist, resisted. He sturdily refused to surrender to the state board, and that expectant body brought suit to compel him to. This suit came before the supreme court along with the Cleveland suit, and in disposing of the two the court took up the whole subject of special legislation for municipalities, rendering decisions upon principles which cut the roots of all the municipal legislation of the state for half a century. These decisions sustained Mayor Jones in Toledo on the ground that the new police legislation was special legislation; and on the same ground it declared the whole Cleveland charter invalid. Had the Cincinnati or Columbus charter been before the court it would have fared in the same way, and proceedings attacking these charters have since been set in motion. Mr. Hanna's fool friends in Cleveland and Toledo had jumped for the Cleveland and Toledo preserve jars and pulled down with a crash all the preserve jars on the pantry shelf.

Mr. Hanna's party in Ohio is consequently in great tribulation. Gov. Nash must call a special session of the legislature, in the midst of the state campaign, to enact a general municipal code. There is no escape from it, for the stay of proceedings ordered by the court when its decisions were rendered, expires early in October. But this is not the worst of the matter. The attempt to enact a general code promises to plunge all the local Republican rings of Ohio, with their

varying interests, into a Kilkenny-cat fight, from which the grand old party is likely to suffer. Nor is even that the worst. A code might be whipped through the legislature which would suit Boss Hanna of Cleveland and Boss Cox of Cincinnati—a code, that is, which would put all the cities of the state under the rule of state boards appointed by the Republican governor, and which would also protect the monopoly corporations from equitable taxation and other impertinent meddlings. The governor has gone so far in this direction as to engage two of the most notorious corporation lawyers of the state, one of them Mr. Hanna's personal legal adviser, to outline a code. That their work will be as nearly ideal as possible, from the point of view of corporation and boss government, goes without saying. But then comes the rub. If such a municipal code were passed by a Republican legislature, the party could hardly weather the political gale that would set in in Ohio, and in all probability Mayor Johnson would be promoted by the people of the state and called upon as governor to administer the very state board system which had been cooked up for the Republican ring. That would be bad, but there would be worse to come. Johnson's sincerity is becoming a recognized factor, and the Republican ring knows that he would use his power at once to repeal the plutocratic municipal code and put in its place a more radical home rule system than any for which he could possibly hope to get popular endorsement now. The situation is both picturesque and encouraging.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION.

In the May number of the American Journal of Sociology Louis Wallis presented an advance outline of his forthcoming work, "The Capitalization of Social Development."

His conclusion is in harmony with the practical proposal of Henry George; though he arrives at this judgment by inductive or "scientific" methods, instead of the a priori

method adopted by George. In fact, George uses both methods, saying on page 327 of *Progress and Poverty* (Doubleday & McClure edition): "Deduction and induction have brought us to the same truth—that the unequal ownership of land necessitates the unequal distribution of wealth." But inductionists are apt to regard his method as wholly deductive.

Mr. Wallis attempts to trace the past movements of society, within prehistoric as well as historic times, and from "facts" so derived would indicate the next move—which is the above practical proposal, namely, the absorption of ground rent by taxation.

According to this writer the institution of slavery was society's first definite step in the upward march of civilization. He tells us that in prehistoric times man lived an animal life, scattered about in small groups, but gradually learned to make rude tools, to save seed for planting, etc. "These early steps in material progress changed the direction of forces hitherto operating among men." That is, instead of killing, and maybe eating, captives taken in war, their captors made them slaves, and put them at work utilizing these tools, and planting and cultivating these seeds, etc. It has come, therefore, to be "well understood by historical students, that ancient slavery was a great step in human progress."

Now, one who is not "scientific" would imagine that "the great step in human progress" was the discovery of the method of making those rude tools (suggesting, as it necessarily would, the possibility of better), and the discovery that the food supply could be increased and made more certain by saving and planting seeds, etc.—in short, increased knowledge on the part of men, whereby they could more fully utilize the resources of nature.

"Whatever its merits," continues Mr. Wallis, "the consideration of slavery introduces a much larger subject—the place of class relations in social development as a whole." For "along with the appearance of slavery came the rise of a ruling and owning class." Though this does not say so, it suggests that the ruling class

was incidental to slavery; yet, as matter of fact, some must assert authority over others before slavery is possible, unless we are to imagine free barbarians voluntarily entering upon a life of slavery—and even a "scientific" student of sociology will hardly do that.

A ruling class involves, of course, a ruled class, and the existence of these two classes constitutes, we are told, a social "cleavage." From this cleavage, as a "principal" agency, has come the vast industrial plant that society now enjoys, which is called "capital." For, the author says, "directly or indirectly, all social necessities resolve themselves into a demand for large material capital. This is furnished, neither from outside the borders of society nor by individuals in the conventional economic sense, but by a vast, unconscious cleavage within society itself." If we read aright, then, material capital "is furnished by an unconscious cleavage!"

Incidentally we are told that it "would save trouble if some social reformers would recognize that institutional injustice, uncrossed by deliberate human volition, is not immoral." This is no doubt good advice. We may even be positive about the matter when we remember that all slaves have been kept in servitude with no volition on the part of their masters; that Lord Scully involuntarily draws rents from occupiers of Illinois lands, etc., etc. This is truly "an ethic" that would save Rockefeller, Havemeyer and their ilk, and also their apologists, from much trouble.

But Mr. Wallis does not exclude economic facts and parallels. He says:

In its material aspect, property in men is an institution by means of which one class of people appropriates the labor products of another class without economic repayment. This relation is brought about by other institutions than slavery. For instance, if a class engross the lands of a country, and force the remainder of the population to pay rent, either in kind or in money, for the use of the soil, such a procedure issues, like slavery, in the absorption of labor products by an upper class, without economic repayment.

The change from slavery to the appropriation of ground rent is the

material aspect of the larger question of class relations above referred to—and according to the author the change is only in form, not in fact. Some men are robbed of the fruits of their toil by other men.

This is the result of a social cleavage, and is the cause of progress! "We have observed," the writer explains, "the origin of social cleavage into upper and lower strata, on this general basis, at the inception of social development. If we scrutinize the field carefully, it is evident that one of the greatest and most far-reaching facts of ancient civilization, as it emerges from the darkness of prehistoric times, as well as one of the most considerable facts of subsequent history, is just this cleavage of society into two principal classes. If the point is not apparent, let it be assumed." But it is perfectly apparent. It is the one thing that history makes undeniably clear. And almost any one of our modern monopolists could "give points" to the most ambitious of Oriental potentates in making that "cleavage" cleave. It was, indeed, a far-reaching fact. But so was the black death.

The next consideration is the historical fact that so-called groups of barbarians were gradually brought under one government, largely through conquest. Of course, the cleavage was thus accentuated. These communities "had struck out along the upward path of civilization; and, as the old life receded into the past, they were confronted, figuratively speaking, by a tremendous problem—or, perhaps better, by a number of problems with a common element." We are not sure the path was upward, but the problem, seems surely to have confronted them actually—not figuratively.

As these groups fused into larger aggregates they of necessity made provision for protection from hostile invasion, for food and water supply, for construction of roads, canals, etc., for exchange of products, for building temples of worship, and much besides. "All these and other necessities came into being as mankind rose above the levels of animality into advancing civilization." This seems another of those inverted statements to which sociological "sci-

entists" are addicted. Why isn't it true, not that these agencies came into being as mankind rose but that mankind rose as these agencies came into being? In another place Mr. Wallis adopts that view. "In the last analysis," he says, "they all resolve themselves into a general demand for large and increasing quantities of material tools, or capital. It may, indeed, be stated as a law that the integration of society rests upon a concomitant integration of wealth, of labor products, in the capitalistic form;" which is merely another way of saying that mankind rose as the various agencies before referred to came into being, and not the reverse as previously stated.

The point involved, seemingly, is that, if, as mankind improves, these various agencies are developed, it is a process of evolution. But, on the other hand, if men improved their condition as they learned to provide these agencies, there is merely an increase of knowledge—not evolution. A boy learning to make a whistle from a twig in which the sap has commenced to flow could hardly be cited as an instance of evolution at work—unless, indeed, we give the word two meanings.

The author next proceeds to tell us that: "Social cleavage into upper and lower strata has effected the capitalization of social development." Just what Mr. Wallis means by "the capitalization of social development" is difficult of determination. According to George, social development is capitalized in the value of land. Whether true or not, that proposition can easily be understood. If true, why not adopt it? If not true then what is social development capitalized in? Mr. Wallis does not say.

The least cloudy statement we get from Mr. Wallis on this matter is to the effect that around us in modern society there is a huge industrial plant technically known as capital, consisting of factory buildings, tools and appliances, agricultural and mining implements, railroad appliances, steamboats, business and dwelling houses, etc., etc. This huge industrial plant technically known as capital "has all been produced by the aid of earlier capital, which, in turn, rested back upon still earlier, and so on."

It [capital] has "been reserved out of labor products, thrown over from generation to generation." This seems to convey the notion that social development is capitalized in actual capital, which is precisely the contention of the socialists. It is one of the elementary differences between them and George. Whereas they hold that social development is capitalized in land and capital, laying stress upon capital and hardly considering land at all, George holds that it is capitalized in the value of land alone. In the last quotation, Mr. Wallis has asserted the principle of the wage fund theory, and elsewhere in his article he has indirectly affirmed the Malthusian doctrine. If he clings to these antiques, he "would save trouble" by directly meeting the arguments of George on those questions.

But if indirect in support of Malthus, Mr. Wallis is definite on these points:

That "social cleavage, based first on slavery," but "in modern times computed into land rents," is the principal agency in accounting for capital.

That "stability was organized out of barbarism by the forces of social cleavage."

That "social development depends upon the industry of material things."

That "the practical work of social development has been accomplished by the use of huge masses of lower-class products"—these masses of products being "appropriated" by the upper class.

But will these assertions stand?

Mr. Wallis tells us that in prehistoric times men had learned to make some tools, to plant seeds, etc. No one knows how much more they would have learned and performed, had they been left in their original freedom. Prof. Thorstein Veblen, of the Chicago University, is authority for the statement that before the time of the warring barbarians, of whom Mr. Wallis speaks, there was undoubtedly an era when the world was at peace. But now appears a ruling class and slavery, together with stability, a sort of Roman peace; and in this connection Mr. Wallis makes the fatal confession that "social development depends upon the industry of material things," which is an appeal to neither slavery, classes nor capital, but to the force

noted as existing in the prehistoric time of rude tools—namely human labor. And as if to emphasize this view, he tells us that "the practical work of social development has been accomplished by the use of huge masses of lower class products,"—the upper classes having stolen the same. Industry, then, and not capital, is the basis of material social development.

"Society disintegrate without capital"! Nonsense. Destroy all the capital in the world, leaving the knowledge of how it is produced, and almost as soon as Chicago was rebuilt it would be replaced. It is knowledge, not capital, that is "thrown over from generation to generation."

Mr. Wallis's practical proposal, though in harmony with George's, rests, of course, upon the "scientific" interpretation of history. The institution of slavery supplanted barbarism, operating to vastly extend industry; social stability made extended commerce possible; and ultimately slavery was commuted into competitive land rents. Under this arrangement, industry has enormously enlarged. But now, as industry and capital bear the burdens of these land rents, and also the burdens of government, it is evident that capital will be more effectively invested, if one of these burdens be removed—which is plainly possible by adjusting taxation so as to absorb land rent, as George proposed.

The fatal mistake of all this lies in the supposition that these historical moves were made in the interest of capital, and in the failure to perceive that the proposed move is not analogous to those quoted from history. When slavery was instituted, a ruling class—that is, an aristocracy—was, of course, the cause. When slavery was changed to land rent, the aristocracy was unharmed, provided it got the rent. Now Mr. Wallis proposes, as did George, that the state take the rent. The effect of all the preceding moves was to establish and maintain an aristocracy, and George knew that here was something which must be met and resisted in future with all the power civilization could exert. But Mr. Wallis has taken us through a historical essay to determine

the direction of social evolutionary forces (in order, if any practical lesson is intended, that we may learn how to evolve); and having made the determination, he proposes that we fly in the face of those tendencies. We might do this without adopting the historical basis.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

NEWS

Another mile-stone in the progress of the American Philippine policy (pp. 9, 24, 54, 71, 199) was set last week by President Roosevelt. He proclaimed peace, placed the islands under civil control, and granted amnesty to the offending Filipinos.

President Roosevelt's proclamation of amnesty, bearing date July 4, 1902, recites the insurrection against Spain beginning in 1896 and continued against the United States after the Spanish cession; declares this insurrection at an end and peace established in all parts of the archipelago except the Moro country, to which the proclamation does not apply; refers to crimes against the laws of civilized warfare committed by the insurgents but probably in ignorance of those laws, and then proclaims—

a full and complete pardon and amnesty to all persons in the Philippine archipelago who have participated in the insurrections aforesaid or who have given aid and comfort to persons participating in said insurrections for the offenses of treason or sedition and for all offenses political in their character committed in the course of such insurrections pursuant to orders issued by the civil or military authorities or which grew out of internal political feuds or dissensions between Filipinos and Spaniards or the Spanish authorities or which resulted from internal political feuds or dissensions among the Filipinos themselves during either of said insurrections. Provided, however, that the pardon and amnesty hereby granted shall not include such persons committing crimes since May 1, 1902, in any province of the archipelago in which at the time civil government was established, nor shall it include such persons as have been heretofore finally convicted of the crimes of murder, rape, arson or robbery by any military or civil tribunal organized under the authority of Spain or of the United States of America, but special application may be made to the proper authority for pardon by any person belonging

to the exempted classes and such clemency as is consistent with humanity and justice will be liberally extended; and further, provided, that this amnesty and pardon shall not affect the title or right of the government of the United States or that of the Philippine islands to any property or property rights heretofore used or appropriated by the military or civil authorities of the government of the United States or that of the Philippine islands organized under authority of the United States by way of confiscation or otherwise; and provided further, that every person who shall seek to avail himself of this proclamation shall take and subscribe the following oath before any authority in the Philippine archipelago authorized to administer oaths, namely:

"I, ———, solemnly swear (or affirm) that I recognize and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America in the Philippine islands and will maintain true faith and allegiance thereto; that I impose upon myself this obligation voluntarily, without mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me God."

Military authority in the islands was terminated through a war department order, taking effect on the 4th, which relieved Gen. Chaffee, as general commanding the division of the Philippines, "from the further performance of the duties of military governor," and declared that "the office of military governor in said archipelago is terminated." The same order makes the military forces subject permanently "to the call of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order and the enforcement of their authority."

Another war department order, issued concurrently with the one establishing civil government and the proclamation of amnesty and also bearing date July 4, conveys the thanks of the President and the American people to the army for its services both in Cuba and the Philippines. The part of this order which bears upon the question of cruelties of the army in the Philippines is as follows:

Bound themselves by the laws of war, our soldiers were called upon to meet every device of unscrupulous treachery and to contemplate without reprisal the infliction of barbarous cruelties upon their comrades and friendly natives. They were instructed, while punishing armed resistance, to conciliate the friendship of the peaceful, yet had to do with a population among whom it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe, and who in countless instances used a false appearance of friendship for ambush

and assassination. . . . With surprisingly few individual exceptions its course [the army's] has been characterized by humanity and kindness to the prisoner and the noncombatant. With admirable good temper, sympathy, and loyalty to American ideals its commanding generals have joined with the civilian agents of the government in healing the wounds of war and assuring to the people of the Philippines the blessings of peace and prosperity.

In consequence of the amnesty proclamation, Aguinaldo was promptly released from custody, as were some 600 other political prisoners. There was a large turnout of the people at the celebration at Manila of Independence Day on the 4th, in connection with the military and civic parade, though the attendance at the meeting at which the amnesty proclamation was read was very small. The prisoners on the island of Guam are to be released immediately and brought to Manila on a special vessel. These include Apolinario Mabini, an able lawyer, who was Aguinaldo's chief adviser and the head of his cabinet under the Filipino republic. It is expected that Aguinaldo will soon visit the United States.

The question of the acquisition by the United States of the Spanish friars' lands in the Philippines (p. 199) is still unsettled. The reply of the 21st by the papal commission to Gov. Taft's proposals appears to have suggested that the apostolic delegate at Manila settle with the United States government the matters regarding the American demand that the friars absolutely withdraw. Answering this communication on the 3d, Gov. Taft objected that the suggestion, if adopted, would deprive the United States of "the advantages expected from a direct contract with the vatican clearly determining the principallines upon which cooperation between the state and the church may be assured." The previous proposals by the United States are then reviewed by Gov. Taft more elaborately as to detail than before, and on the subject of the expulsion of the friars he requires that all friars of the four orders shall withdraw within two years from the first payment on account of the purchase of their lands. A small number may continue during that time to look after their schools and universities, but all of them must go, half during nine

months from the first payment and half 18 months later. This does not, however, include friars who have not raised the hostility of the natives and who remained in their parishes after the revolution of 1898 till now, except those in Manila. Gov. Taft also requires that no Spanish friars shall be substituted for those withdrawn. Yet the churches, schools, and universities may be directed by Spanish clergy or orders, other than those withdrawn, or by clergy of the same orders who are not Spanish, it being regarded as necessary to convince the Filipinos that the ancient regime of the Spanish friars is finished. It is this question of the expulsion of the Spanish friars that causes the papal authorities to hesitate, and so prolongs the negotiations. They shrink from making the pope a direct party by contract to enforcing the expulsion.

A reply to Gov. Taft's latest communication was delivered to him by the papal commission on the 9th. It is acquiescent as to all the proposals except those relating to the secularizing of the public schools and the expulsion of the friars. The question of the schools is not strenuously insisted upon, the commission contenting itself with an expression of hope that it may be left in abeyance until the apostolic delegate to be sent to Manila may come to an understanding about it with Gov. Taft. But on the question of expelling the friars, the papal commission is positive. It says that the pope cannot agree to recall the Spanish friars within a fixed period unless compelled by superior force, as the doing so would be an act of hostility toward Spain and in derogation of the treaty of Paris between Spain and the United States. This argumentative inquiry is then made by the commission:

If the United States cannot order the withdrawal of the friars, how can the pope do so, especially when it has been proved that all the accusations made against them were partly false, partly exaggerated, and partly inexact?

At the same time the commission offers the papal promise that the pope will try to introduce into the Philippines clergy of other nationalities than that of Spain, especially Americans, gradually, as they are found ready or are adapted to the purpose, and that the Spanish friars

shall not return to the parishes they left and where their presence could provoke trouble.

Venezuelan affairs are believed to be approaching a crisis. Our last reference to the revolution in progress in that country was made in March (vol. iv., p. 760), when a new revolutionary leader, Gen. Matos, had appeared upon the scene and was believed to be about to march upon Carupano, a town of 12,000 inhabitants in the state of Bermudez and about 100 miles west of Guiria. From that time on there were evidences of renewed activity, and the cause of the government seemed to lose ground. Carupano and Barcelona were reported to be under siege by the rebels later in March; the seaport town of Tucacas in the state of Lara was captured by them on the 3d of April; and a few days afterward the whole eastern part of Venezuela was said to be virtually in their control. About the middle of that month the government suffered a disastrous loss in a battle near San Antonio in which Gen. Ramon Castillo, in command of the government forces, was killed. Meanwhile the revolutionists had got possession of Carupano, and early in May were attacked by the government from land and sea. After a long and bloody battle the government forces were driven back and took refuge in their gunboats. But the town had been so badly injured by the bombardment from the sea that toward the end of the same month the rebels abandoned it, and government troops took possession without resistance. They soon learned, however, that the rebels were seriously menacing several towns in the state of Carabobo, and that fresh uprisings against the government were taking place all over the country. Matters became worse in June. Government troops were repeatedly beaten by the Matos revolutionists; and about the middle of the month President Castro declared a blockade of the Orinoco river. On the 15th of June the revolutionists had captured La Vela de Coro, on the coast, and invested Coro, three miles inland and the capital of the state of Falcon, where Vice President Ayala was in command of government troops. The rebels achieved another victory a few days later near Urica in the state of Cumana. On the 3d President Castro's brother was completely

routed near Barcelona; and on the 8th President Castro himself landed near Barcelona, in the state of Bermudez, with government troops, intending to lead in person an attack upon the rebels who then had Barcelona partly surrounded. Before leaving his capital he published a proclamation recognizing the existence of anarchy in Venezuela and promising to suppress it and reestablish peace shortly. The American state department received, also on the 8th, advices from Venezuela, said to be of a serious nature, though their purport has not yet been divulged.

Another labor strike, which may or may not become formidable, has broken out in the United States. It is of the railroad freight handlers at Chicago. Of the 9,000 freight handlers on the 24 railroads centering in Chicago, more than 7,800 are union men. On the 25th of June the union presented its demands to all the railroads and requested an answer by July 1. The demands called for an advance in wages, time and a half pay for overtime, double pay for Sundays and holidays, two pay days a month, and recognition by the railroads of the union. Most of the roads raised wages, July 1, without reference to the demands of the union and not quite up to those demands, but all refused to treat with representatives of the union, though they were willing to treat with representatives of their own employees respectively. Fearing that the roads would "blacklist" leaders among their own employees who appeared as representatives of the men, the union has insisted upon its demand in this respect. The Chicago Federation of Labor refused to support the freight handlers in their position. It urged them to appoint a committee to meet the railroad officials, selecting the committee from the various freight houses, so as virtually to conform to the requirement of the railroads that the only committees with which they would consult must come direct from their own employees respectively. While the subject was thus under consideration, it was discovered so the freight handlers claim, that the railroads were importing men to take their places. They consequently decided, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, on the morning of the 7th, to quit work in a body. On the 8th, representatives of labor organ-

izations, including a committee of the striking freight handlers and headed by James H. Bowman, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, called upon the general managers of all the roads, at their joint meeting, but were refused an audience. They then delivered a communication to the board of managers, asking: "Will the general managers agree to meet a committee of their own employees and talk over plans of a settlement?" The board returned an answer that the proposition could not be considered. Subsequently, however, it was agreed that a committee of five employees of each road should meet the general managers individually in their separate offices on the 9th. This was done, and the managers offered an ultimatum confirming the raise in wages as per the scale announced by them on July 1; declining to pay extra rates for extra work; insisting upon a 10-hour day; promising that no work shall be done on holidays or Sundays; offering to take back all strikers who apply by noon on the 10th; and agreeing to make no discriminations against union men.

The western railroads are also involved in strikes by their mechanical employees. Eight of the leading roads have been notified by the International Association of Machinists that they must adopt the union scale of wages and establish a 9-hour working day. Meanwhile the boiler makers' union has demanded of the Chicago and Northwestern railroad and the Great Northern railroad an increase of pay and has met a refusal with a strike which was called on the 1st. A local strike of machinists threatening to become general, is in progress on the Baltimore and Ohio road. And on the Union Pacific a strike of all the machinists and their helpers on the line has been in progress since the 28th. The latter strike is for a 10 per cent increase of pay, no piece work, discharge of nonunion men, and reinstatement of machinists "locked out" by the company on the 21st.

Although the Democrats of Ohio have not yet made their nominations, the Democratic campaign opened on the 1st at a clambake in Beulah park, Columbus. John R. McLean of Cincinnati was among the guests

invited, and so was Mayor Johnson of Cleveland.

Mayor Johnson had recently referred in a newspaper interview to Mr. McLean in these terms:

My interest in politics is to further certain principles which have been put forward in this state during the past year, and which were incorporated in the platform of the last Democratic state convention. We are desirous of securing the reaffirmation of these principles by the Democratic convention in September. All the opposition which we encounter to the Democratic party standing for these real Democratic principles comes from the friends and followers of John R. McLean. McLean stands for nothing in Ohio politics. His opposition would be of more benefit to the party than his support. Great numbers of independent voters will be attracted to the Democratic party if it is known that the party is not supported by McLean, men who would never vote with a party which was known to be controlled by such a man. We expect no help from McLean and his newspaper; in fact, most of our friends welcome his opposition.

Alluding to this characterization, Mr. McLean, in writing his letter of regret to the managers of the Columbus clambake said:

I am unable to cancel or postpone engagements made prior to receiving an invitation to the Democratic clambake at Columbus on the 1st of July. This, though, does not keep me from taking pride in the success of your celebration. With the excellent management it has, with the well-founded hope of victory that now inspires the Democracy and with the spirit of unification now pervading, it cannot be a failure. I trust the proceedings will be of a character to stimulate the party to unite on sound doctrines, to employ all legitimate forces and to work earnestly and intelligently for a triumph which may glorify every true Democrat in the land. The enduring principles of Democracy are those upon which we must rely. No expedients or irregular innovations are required. If there ever is a time for apologies for Democratic existence, or for trifling with the cardinal faith, or for doubtful alliances, the present is certainly not that time.

Mayor Johnson attended the clambake and was the principal speaker, his subject being "The Mission of Democracy." In the course of his speech he commended the supreme court of the state, saying:

I have known supreme courts about which I had doubts, and have had very

little knowledge of our own except that the judges were all of the other political faith from myself. But I have come to love this supreme court, that had the courage to say: "No; we will not pull down the government of Cleveland, but we will pull down the whole fabric of fraud in municipal government," I say "Amen" to that decision. Though the federal plan of Cleveland is the best plan of government yet got up for cities, still I say, pull it down because of the fraud in its inception. Let the legislature in a plain constitutional way provide a general outline of city government, uniform for all cities, and let each city under its own home rule, by its own people, determine the matters of detail.

On the subject of the general political situation, both within and without the party, Mayor Johnson said:

We have the taxation question and we have this question of home rule in our cities. Can you imagine a better issue for the Democratic party? I cannot. And to those who call these questions fads, I say they do not know the temper of the people. To those people who say they are new-fangled notions, I say they are as old as the hills. Home rule is a principle of the Democratic party, and equal taxation is one that everybody of every political faith can stand for and fight for. Those are the questions before the people of Ohio. Harmony! I hear the cry of harmony. It is all right. I say harmonize when you can, but don't harmonize by taking men among you that may disturb you. Don't try to harmonize the free traders of Ohio with the protectionists of Louisiana, and expect they will accomplish anything. Let the free traders, or the protectionists, win out. The best way to have harmony is to drive out hostile people who only want to harmonize you with themselves, and make room for those that will help you. I believe in the old Irish proposition: "We will have peace if we have to fight for it."

NEWS NOTES.

—The National Educational association met on the 8th at Minneapolis.

—The Socialist Labor party of Colorado met in state convention at Denver on the 4th.

—The Rhode Island street car strike (p. 171) was declared off on the 5th. The strikers were beaten.

—The Socialist party of Illinois held its convention at Peoria on the 4th, and nominated A. W. Nelson, of Streator, for governor.

—A petition from Cape Colony asking for a suspension of the constitution establishing representative co-

lonial government there, has been denied by the British ministry.

—Wholesale evictions from the estate of Lord De Freyne, in Ireland (see p. 172), were made on the 7th. There was no disorder, but the evictions were made in the presence of large and angry crowds.

—At the first separate state convention of the Socialist party of Colorado, held at Colorado Springs on the 5th, the national platform was condemned as inefficient as a method of organization. It nominated a full state ticket.

—The Public Ownership party, of Chicago, has nominated Clarence S. Darrow as its candidate from the Seventh senatorial district for the lower house of the Illinois legislature. Several such nominations are in contemplation, owing to the objectionable character of Democratic nominations for the legislature in Chicago.

—At the second national conference of the Women's National Single Tax League, held at New York, June 26, 27 and 28, Mrs. John S. Crosby was elected president, Miss Bessie A. Dwyer vice president, Mrs. Kate E. Freeman corresponding secretary, Dr. Mary D. Hussy recording secretary and Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe treasurer.

—The monthly statement of the treasury department for June shows on hand June 30:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash balance.....	208,574,115 85
Total	\$358,574,115 85
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1901.....	326,833,124 02
Increase	\$31,740,991 83

—The statement in the summary of Congress of last week (p. 198) as to the passage by the House of the Fowler banking bill was an error. This bill has been reported favorably to the House by the committee on banking and currency and referred to the committee of the whole house, by which it is expected to be considered at the short session next winter.

—The North American Bund, of Turners, in session at Davenport, Ia., defeated a proposition to admit women to membership, and adopted a resolution recommending that "the executive committee be directed to act in conjunction with the American Secular Union, the Free Thought Association and the Association of Free Congregations of North America, for the taxation of all church property," and directing district societies to work with the view of making such a declaration effective.

PRESS OPINIONS.

OHIO POLITICS.

Columbus (Ohio) Press (Dem.), July 4.—Instead of stealing Tom Johnson's thunder the Republicans just now are raising

thunder, the last rumble of which may be audible in the campaign a year hence when another state assembly is to be elected. And it is that assembly on which Marcus must depend for his return to the Senate.

CAPITAL VERSUS MONOPOLY.

Buffalo Enquirer (Ind.), June 4.—As time goes on the necessity of Democrats drawing a clear distinction between capital and monopoly grows more and more urgent. To confuse these two ideas, which is constantly done by labor leaders as well as corporation managers, gives the Republican party an advantage in discussion and obscures the real issue.

BUCKLIN BILL IN COLORADO.

Durango (Colo.) Democrat (Dem.), July 4.—Denver's Republican is again out against all the amendments, favors voting down the entire collection, eight-hour day and all, declares the Bucklin amendment a "menace to prosperity." The corporations are going to utilize the Republican and the Republican party against labor and against honest and equitable taxation.

DEMOCRATIC HARMONY.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), July 3.—As a matter of fact the harmony shouters do not want harmony. If they did they would quietly come back into the ranks they deserted and make common cause with the rest of us against the plutocracy. But they have no quarrel with plutocracy. Their quarrel is with those who oppose it. They demand that Democrats shall cease to make war upon privilege and that the party shall be reorganized with themselves in control.

WHAT SAVED CUBA.

Out West (Los Angeles), June.—There are three reasons why Cuba flies her own flag to-day. One is that the American people are more honest than the "push." Another is the character of the two men upon whom the destiny of Cuba has largely rested—Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood. But the immediate reason is that, with these two things to fall back upon indubitably, enough typical Americans have "kicked" and kept on kicking until they awakened the average American conscience. But for the public opinion crystallized by men with enough backbone to do the unpopular thing for their country's good, willing to bear the insults and sometimes the violence of the rabble, and of those who in the temporary excitement acted with the rabble they do not belong among—without these men, the Cuban programme would have gone through as secretly slated.

LABOR STRIKES.

American Federationist (Lab.), July.—When workmen insist on certain terms, they are not seeking to control the employer's business, but to lay down the conditions of their own participation in that business. Too many still assume that the employer is to be thanked and regarded as a benefactor for paying wages at all, and giving his employes work! This miserable fallacy is back of every arrogant claim put forward by capital. But for it, everybody would see that if the workman has something to arbitrate, so has the employer. In fine, a candid examination of the facts will satisfy reasonable men that the interests and rights of the public are seldom disregarded by organized labor, and that the obstinacy, superciliousness, and bigotry of certain types of employers are responsible for the number, duration and character of strikes and labor contests. Assuredly, no sane man will ask workmen to accept any terms employers choose to grant them. What more can labor do than to agree to accept mediation and arbitration? What more does consideration for the "third party" require? Let, then, the champions and spokesmen for the public, address

their protests and appeals to the backward and short-sighted employers whose name, alas! is still legion. Organized labor needs no conversion. It is ready to do the right thing at the right time.

AMNESTY.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), June 5.—At Manila yesterday, the President's proclamation of amnesty and the abolition of military government, was read in both English and Spanish from a decorated booth, "In the presence of a small gathering," the heat having dispersed the crowd after the parade had ended, the dispatches say. No report is made of native rejoicings, although political prisoners to the number of about 600 were set free.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.).—All things, including the Bible, take on new meanings with the passage of time. But never before has it happened that the natal day of American independence should be celebrated by an act of pardon to men whose only crime was in following the example of those whose struggle for freedom has found in the Fourth of July a glorious memorial forever. It may be only one of life's little ironies that we should choose the day the Continental Congress flung forth the blazing period of the youthful Jefferson—arch rebel!—on which to forgive, and restore to their civil rights, a far distant people who began their fight for independence without being rebels at all. There are Americans who will not see this phase of the amnesty, and there are Americans who will not desire to see this phase of the amnesty; but there is not an American in our broad, prosperous and mighty land who would be injured, either as a citizen or as a patriot, by seeing it.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 35 of that publication.

Washington, June 30-July 1, 1902.

Senate.

On the 30th a discussion took place (p. 8248) on a joint resolution proposed by Mr. Elkins for the admission of Cuba as a state, and on the 1st the Senate took up for consideration the conference report (p. 8364) on the bill for civil government in the Philippines. This report was agreed to (p. 8368), after which Mr. Carmack called up a resolution (p. 8369) empowering the Philippine committee to pursue its investigation and for that purpose to visit the islands. Under the rule the resolution went to committee (p. 8360) but debate proceeded for a time (pp. 8359, 8362) by unanimous consent. At 5:30 the Senate adjourned sine die.

House.

The conference report on the Philippine bill came up on the 30th (p. 8308) and was adopted (p. 8308) by a vote of 190 to 93; and at the evening session a bill (H. bill No. 11664) to promote the efficiency of the militia (p. 8313) was passed (p. 8321) under suspension of the rules. At 5:30 on the 1st the House adjourned sine die.

Record Notes.—Speeches of Senator De Boe (p. 8187) on election of senators by the people; Teller (p. 8204), on the duty on Cuban sugar; Carmack (p. 8213), on the Philippine question; and Representatives Cannon (p. 8336), Livingston (p. 8338), Benton (p. 8438) and Sulzer (p. 8435), in review of the session; Sulloway (p. 8339), Stark (p. 8415), Conroy (p. 8432) and Sulzer (p. 8435), on efficiency of the militia; and Cochran (pp. 8339, 8342, 8345, 8347), on Cuban commerce, trusts, Chinese exclusion and the money question.

Full text of the Philippine civil government bill as reported to the two houses by the conference committee (p. 8274).

Explanation by House conferees of the differences between Senate and House of Philippine civil government bill (p. 8308).

Full text of Dick militia bill (H. bill No. 11654 (p. 8313)).

MISCELLANY

PACIFIED.

"I wish you to kill and burn. The more you kill, the more you will please me. The interior of Samar must be made a howling wilderness. Kill every boy over ten years old."—General Smith's order of several months ago.

"Samar is completely pacified."—Imperialist newspapers of to-day.

When you've made a howling wilderness,
On which God's sunlight frowns;
When you've massacred the natives;
When you've burned the native towns;
When the meanest hut is ashes;
When the smallest boy has died—
Then's the time to cry in chorus,
"They're completely pacified!"

They're completely pacified.
We can speak of it with pride;
We have sent them to a happy land,
Where bayonets can't divide;
And, because they're dead, you see,
They're as peaceful as can be;
And you cannot disagree,
When we proclaim them pacified.

We have learnt a lot from Weyler,
And the records left by Spain.
We have studied up on oriental tortures,
Not in vain;
And, in terror and in agony,
Have found the shortest way
To make a pain-racked wretch
His brother countrymen betray.

But, at last, they're pacified;
So proclaim it far and wide.
They're contented with our government;
You cannot say we've lied.
For we've shot and hanged and drowned,
Until we've killed the last we found,
And we've put him underground,
And he's completely pacified.

Oh, our boys were smartened up a bit,
In doing it, be sure.
They were taught to shoot at children,
And to give the water cure,
And to torture with the twisted rope,
And butcher man and beast;
But we brought about a state of things
Where all resistance ceased.

For our foes are pacified.
They have struggled and they've cried,
As for country and for liberty
They suffered and they died.
But the bitter fight is over;
And, upon a distant shore,
Their Souls have met their Maker,
And, at last—are pacified.

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

CAREER.

The army to-day offers a career.—Boston Transcript.

Standing on the brink of world politics, we were like the naked boy at the river's edge in summer. We shivered in anticipation of the plunge. But having plunged, oh! how delicious.

As is usual with very great peoples, we include numbers of young men who are too noble to work. Hitherto the rest of us have selfishly left these to get along as best they

might, to marry money, to dine out every day, or to starve, as they chose, while we went about our business. This has been a national reproach, and it has been felt as such by the more right-thinking.

'Tis pleasant, then, to reflect that henceforth there lies before the ambitious, yet fastidious youth a wider choice; that the hand which he might hitherto only harden with toil or hang listless in his pocket, he may now imbrue in the blood of his country's foes.

The thought that our statesmanship will not be always equal to providing foes is unworthy of us.—Life.

EXPERIENCE OF AN EVANGELIST.

A story is told of Evangelist Sunday and his encounter with a sharp-witted sinner. The ex-baseballist was holding meetings in a tent in Sioux City, Ia., where he had great success, his spectacular methods, his theatrical manner and sensational statements being hailed with joy by the populace of the western town. The meetings were held in a tent near the post office, and one of the great griefs of the evangelist was that a great many people would congregate about the tent but would not enter. If Mr. Sunday spied anyone at the outer edge he usually shouted an invitation for the person to enter.

One night just before meeting a fellow came slouching along and finally propped himself unsteadily against one of the tent poles.

"Come on in, my man," shouted Sunday from the platform. "Don't be afraid of us. We mean to do you good."

"Don't want to," was the surly reply of the swaying man.

"Why not?" came back the question as quick as a flash from the quick-spoken evangelist.

"Caush yer all my enemiesh in there," said the stranger with an effort.

"Ah, but you must remember that the Saviour went among his enemies," replied the evangelist, soothingly.

"Yes, an' just see what dey done to him, too?" was the reply, and Mr. Sunday turned to the choir and said:

"Let's sing something."—Chicago Chronicle.

PHILIPPINE LITERATURE.

Undoubtedly the most extensive and important library of Philippiniana, if I may use that word, is the property of a Spanish gentleman, W.

E. Retana, who printed an admirable catalogue of his collection in 1898. At that time Senor Retana had 2,986 pieces in his library. The books included (a) works printed in the islands, (b) works treating of the islands, and (c) works written by Filipinos. . . . It will be a surprise to many to learn that books have been printed in the islands and that many of these are in native languages, yet such is the case. Among the earliest books in these languages are certainly San Buenaventura's *Vocabulario of the Tagal*, which was printed in 1613, and San Agustin's *Tagal Arte*, which appeared in 1703. Retana has no copy of these. The oldest work of linguistic character in his collection is Mateo Sanchez's *Vocabulario of the Bisayan*, which was printed in Manila in 1711, and forms a folio volume of nearly 600 pages. Since that time to the present printing presses, not only at Manila and other island towns, but in various foreign lands, have been busy, and to-day considerably more than 1,000 printed works, in or upon the native languages, exist.

Senor Retana himself possesses more than 900 of these. They represent 25 different languages. . . . A notable characteristic of the Filipino is his fondness for poetry. So great is this, that many of the strictly religious booklets are wholly or in part in verse. There are some forms of poetical production which are, though semi-religious in character, and often prepared by the priests—highly popular. Such are *pastorelas*, for singing and acting, celebrating the birth of Christ and various passion plays. Still more popular are the *corridos*, of which Retana has nearly 50. These are long and highly romantic poems detailing the doings of knights and ladies, princes and princesses, with high sounding names and dwelling in Spain, Portugal, Albania, Turkey, Hungary and other regions so remote and unknown in Filipino experience as to be practically fairyland or some other mythic district. Such works as these lead us on to set dramas of which a number have been printed in Tagal, Ilocan, Bicol and Bisayan. On the whole comedy appears the favorite, though not the only dramatic form. A number of poems pure and simple, with no attempt at either romance or drama, may also be attributed to Filipinos, several of them being by indios, i. e., individuals without Spanish admixture.—Prof. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, in the *American Antiquarian* for May and June, 1902.

THE FILIPINO GOVERNMENT.

A correspondent asks the Post: "Had the Filipinos any organized government prior to the battle of Manila?" And the Post replies: "The Filipinos had no more government prior to that time than the Cuban insurgents had prior to the landing of Shafter's expedition near Santiago—that is to say, none at all."

Can we not arrive at a more definite answer? United States Consul Williams wrote home from Manila February 22, 1898: "A republic is organized here." Faust says in "Campaigning in the Philippines:" "They had a well-defined form of government, which not only made provision for its permanence, but also for the social well-being of the property and person of the subject." United States Consul Wildman at Hong-Kong reported to Secretary of State Day, under date of November 3, 1897, (six months before the battle of Manila): "Since arrival at Hong-Kong I have been called upon by Agoncillo, foreign agent and high commissioner, etc., of the new republic in the Philippines. Mr. Agoncillo holds a commission signed by the president, members of the cabinet, and general in chief of the republic of the Philippines, empowering him to conclude treaties with foreign governments. Mr. Agoncillo offers on behalf of his government an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the United States, when the United States declares war with Spain, which, in Mr. Agoncillo's judgment, will be soon."

This looks very much as if there was a civil government in the Philippines before the battle of Manila, and civil government that was capable of doing things. And there is other testimony. A correspondent of the People's Paper, Minneapolis, Lieut. Martin E. Tew, U. S. V., speaking of the results of the revolution of 1897, says: "In each captured town or city the revolutionists immediately organized a local government, consisting of president and councilmen. Every important town or city had its police force and court of justice. Peace and good order prevailed. Schools were established." This looks very much indeed like civil government. Messrs. Wilcox and Sargent, who were sent through Luzon by Dewey just after the battle of Manila, testify to being cordially received by mayors, councilmen and judges, the successors of previous civil incumbents.

It would, I think, be more nearly correct to say that there never was a time before the battle of Manila when the Filipinos did not have a civil government. It is notorious that the military government of the Spaniards included only a few of the cities and seacoast towns. Is it conceivable that 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 people got along for years, generations, and centuries without a government? And the testimony which Messrs. Wilcox and Sargent bear to the prosperity, good order, happiness and intelligence of the people implies that they not only had a government, but had a very good government indeed. What kind of a government have they now?—W. A. Croffut, in Washington (D. C.) Post.

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.
REASONS WHY THE PEOPLE SHOULD
BE GRATEFUL TO THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY.

For The Public.

I was having a slight attack of the blues, on account of too much rain, and being on the wrong side of the market, when I met Congressman Boyman, of the Ninety-First district, the other night. He cured me of the blues in about ten minutes. He told me about the things the Republican party had done for the people, and, although he started the vibrations in the right direction, and broke up the blues, I can hardly believe the Republican party is as good as the Congressman thinks it is, and would like to have my doubts resolved, in one way or the other. The Congressman was confidential and smooth, but he did not impress upon me the necessity of secrecy, and perhaps some other poor man, out of a job, and trying to guess which side of the market is the right one, may get some comfort out of his revelations.

The first thing he told me was that the Fifty-seventh Congress, which is conceded to be a Republican Congress, had appropriated \$1,059,557,052 at the session just ended. I began to feel rich as soon as he mentioned this, and then I began to shudder as I thought how that statement would read if some ill-disposed person should put "stolen" in the place of appropriated. But the Congressman seemed real pleased with the dimensions of the appropriation (steal), and remarked that it was only about \$15 for each man, woman and child in the republic, and the man who was supporting a wife and ten children on \$11.40 a week couldn't feel it, much. If he did feel pinched, he wouldn't know

what hurt him, and then I felt richer than ever. My opulence became almost oppressive. But this was not a tithe of the things the party had done for the people. Look at the Panama-Nicaraguan-Roosevelt canal, and think of the many jobs and appropriations yet to come from that, and feel poor and blue if you can.

Then there are the war revenue taxes that were repealed. The people ought to be so very grateful to be relieved from the job of licking stamps that they would give the party a perpetual lease of power. It is probable they will, unless something should happen to mar the prosperity of the trusts.

"We have also redeemed other pledges made to the people," said the Congressman; and then I thought how they had busted up all the trusts (in their minds), and I felt richer than ever, and so happy that I didn't care which way the wheat market went.

The Congressman also remarked that what we had done for Cuba in the matter of reciprocity ought to entitle the Fifty-seventh to a gilt frame and the best place in the front parlor, and I didn't know whether to agree with him or not, because I can't see any way to reconcile the conflicting claims of the sugar refiners and the beet sugar combination, without bringing grief to somebody. I have become so used to paying two cents a pound, or thereabouts, more for my sugar to help out the suffering people that are starving to death in these twin INDUSTRIES, that I hate to give up the benevolent feeling that comes over me whenever I taste sugar, and wish the Congressmen wouldn't fool around the reciprocity buzz-saw any more.

But the revelation the Congressman made about the Philippines made me feel happier than anything. The great measure of good government and human liberty that we are giving to those down-trodden people never dawned upon me till the Hon. Boyman explained it to me. Any people on the face of the earth ought to be happy to be governed by a commission of the most expert republican politicians appointed by the President of the United States, backed up by the army and navy. Think of the trouble these appointees will save the poor Filipinos in the matter of governing themselves. It is a serious thing for a people to try to get along without somebody to look after them, and levy taxes on their property. When the commission takes hold of things out there, and gets through levying taxes and ap-

pointing office holders, the Filipinos will have no trouble at all about counting their money, and they ought to be happy. Then the Congressman told me of the good things the party is going to do for the people at the next session, which I will not reveal until I can borrow money enough to pay my rent, or pacify the landlord in some other way.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

THE SINGLE TAX.

Mr. Henry George published in 1879 his "Progress and Poverty." In this he sought to find the reason for the "persistence of poverty amidst advancing wealth." He said that had an eighteenth century man like Franklin or Priestley been able to pierce the future and foresee the mechanical triumphs of the nineteenth century he would have assumed that poverty must necessarily have disappeared like an evil dream. But it remains. The race is disappointed. They have assumed the failure to be temporary: to be due to monarchy, standing armies, defective money systems, tariffs and the like; but the situation exists amidst all forms of government, tariff systems, money and military systems. A common effect must be traceable to a common cause. What is it?

Strangely, the trouble seems to lie in the fact itself of industrial progress, the very object of our admiration and worship. In a new country, crude and undeveloped, the social problem does not exist. Great wealth is absent, but so is intense poverty. A substantial equality reigns. But with progress comes poverty. Behind the palace stands the hovel. Boulevard is balanced by slum; the companion-piece of the millionaire is the proletaire. Where progress has achieved its highest triumphs extremes meet. Why?

The authorities trace the trouble to our productive system. Too little capital, they say, exists; labor is dependent upon capital for a living. If wages are low and men unemployed the reason is that there is not enough available capital to employ them. The solution, then, must be found in our working harder, saving more closely and thus increasing the capital of the community with the hope that labor may obtain a portion of this capital in wages.

The weakness of this explanation is evident when we remember that in the new country where capital is absent extreme poverty is also ab-

sent, and that it is in the city where capital abounds that poverty festers and dark alleys breed the fiercer vandals and more hideous Huns which Macaulay prophesied would destroy our civilization.

The authorities next lay the blame on labor. This, they say, is too abundant. Animals multiply as fast as their food supply will permit; and man is but an animal. However great the annual output of wealth the supply of population will rise to meet it as the volume of a gas expands to fill its confining body, however much the size of that body may be expanded. Poverty thus lies in the nature of man himself, and, unless he can overcome the propensity whereby he increases like the beasts that perish, he must reconcile himself to the conclusion that "the poor we (shall) have always with us."

Like the first, however, this argument will not bear inspection. If men multiplied as fast as their means would permit we could have no comfortable class—which we have—to say nothing of a millionaire class. The little savings would promptly be swallowed up by the new mouths; the millionaire would count his family by the tens of thousands and soon all would sink back together into the social swamp.

Further, the very conditions which economists charge up to an increasing population can be found in their worst form in a country with a diminishing population. Ireland affords the classic example, and the famine-slaughter of millions in India leaves poverty there as gaunt and terrible as before.

Finally, in England, the home of Malthusianism, "in spite of an unexampled increase in numbers, the wealth annually produced . . . per head (during the nineteenth century, has nearly doubled."

If, then, neither insufficient capital nor superabundant labor be the cause let us turn from wealth-production to wealth-distribution. This, the economists have taught, separates wealth into three grand shares—wages for labor, interest for capital and rent for land. Further, one of these Ricardo has taught and George has emphasized tends like the lean kine of Pharaoh's dream to swallow up everything else. It is Rent. Every increase in population, every new invention, every improvement in industry, government, education or social condition tends to raise rent. This increase comes in large part out of the other two shares, wages and interest, as shown by the impoverishment of

labor and the fall in the rate of interest. Progress intensifies this condition. It is as though a great wedge were thrust horizontally through society, splitting it into two classes, a handful of rent-recipients rising ever higher in affluence and an army of producers, laborers and capitalists sinking ever lower under the resistless pressure.

What, then, is the remedy? To abolish rent? No; this is impossible. Rent is indestructible. It must be taken from the land owner and given to the people. This can be done by taxation. The resulting revenues will be so abundant as to make all other taxation superfluous. Further, no other tax is just. Gradually, then, abolish all other taxation, straight and crooked, and absorb all rent by the "Single Tax on the Value of Land." This, the public collection of rent, will break land monopoly, afford employment to labor and capital, release from the cities the pent-up thousands, open the social safety valve and prevent the coming explosion, solve the social problem, establish distributive justice and make possible the Golden Age.—Prof. Thomas Elmer Will, in the "Multitude."

DISINFECTION VERSUS VACCINATION.

In the April (1902) Arena, the editor, Mr. B. O. Flower, offered editorially the following interesting and suggestive account of "How Cleveland Stamped Out Smallpox."

Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, Ohio, is unquestionably the bravest, strongest, most sanely progressive and fearlessly true municipal chief in America to-day. He has achieved victories for honest economic and social government in the face of the most powerful and determined opposition, and the only reason that his victories have not been more sweeping and state-wide in influence has been due to the almost invincible influence of corrupt interests long entrenched in power and waxing great through injustice and at the expense of the people. The true statesmanlike qualities that mark Mr. Johnson's public work are as conspicuously illustrated in his wisdom in selecting men to assist him in municipal duties as in his magnificent personal fight made in the interests of juster social and economic conditions, and in his efforts to call American citizens back to the democratic ideals that are the hope of free government.

A striking illustration of this keen discernment in the selection of men charged with the most weighty re-

sponsibilities is seen in his choice of a head for the health office of Cleveland. Through the happy selection of Dr. Martin Friedrich, Cleveland to-day enjoys an immunity from smallpox while other cities are filled with the dreaded disease, and armies of physicians and boards of health are vainly trying to cope with it through vaccination. It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of Dr. Friedrich's victory. He has opened the way for the stamping out of this scourge without running the risk of sowing the seeds of the disease or corrupting the blood and endangering the life of the people. His method is strictly scientific and in perfect alignment with twentieth century thought, and, if promptly acted upon by other municipalities, not only will smallpox be controlled, but there will be a marked diminution of the ravages of other "germ diseases." So significant is the victory for science, so important and far-reaching is its promise for cities threatened with smallpox epidemics, that, in conformity with the settled policy of the The Arena to keep abreast with the best progressive thought of the period, we requested Dr. Friedrich to furnish us with the full and authentic data as to his method of procedure and the results that have followed its inauguration. In reply he has kindly prepared the following important statement for The Arena:

"It affords me great pleasure to state that the house-to-house disinfection freed Cleveland from smallpox. Since August 23, 1901, to this very hour of writing, not a single case has originated in this city, but seven cases were imported. The disease raged here uninterruptedly since 1898. We relied upon vaccination and quarantine as the most effective weapons to combat it, but in spite of all our efforts it doubled itself every year and was in a fair way of repeating the record of last year, as in 1900 we had 993 cases, and from January 1st to July 21, 1901, the number amounted to 1,223. On this date I was called to take charge of the health office, with 17 cases on hand. I had been in the city's employ ever since 1899, and it had fallen to my lot to investigate and diagnose most of the cases of smallpox that occurred in Cleveland. During that time I observed that, after disinfection with formaldehyde of a house in which we had found smallpox, never another case could be traced to this house. On the other hand, vaccination had given us many untoward symptoms. Frequently it did not 'take' at all. One-fourth of all cases developed sepsis in-

stead of vaccinia. Some arms swelled clear down to the wrist joint, with pieces of flesh as big as a silver dollar and twice as thick dropping right out, leaving an ugly suppurating wound, which to heal took in many cases over three months. Finally four cases of tetanus developed after vaccination, so that the people became alarmed, and rightly so.

"I laid these facts before Mayor Johnson and proposed to stop vaccination entirely and instead of it disinfect thoroughly with formaldehyde every section of the city where smallpox had made its appearance; also to give the city a general cleaning up. The mayor not only consented to my plan, but also gave me all aid needed. I formed two squads of disinfectors, preferring medical students for the work. Each squad consisted of 20 men, with a regular sanitary patrolman at their head, and each man was provided with a formaldehyde generator. Thus equipped they started out to disinfect every section of the city where the disease had shown its head, and every house in this section, no matter if small pox had been within or not, and every room, nook and corner of the house, special attention being paid to winter clothes that had been stored away, presumably laden with germs. It took over three months to do the work, but the result was most gratifying. After July 23d seven more cases developed, and the last one August 23d.

"In order to give you an adequate idea of what we did here to get rid of smallpox, I have to mention the investigation department, consisting of physicians who were thoroughly familiar with every phase of the disease. They were day and night at the disposal of the health department. They had to investigate every suspicious case in town, and whenever they found a case of smallpox they asked the patient the following questions:

"Who visited you during the last two weeks?"

"Whom have you visited during the last two weeks?"

"Have you been at any public meeting during that time, and who was present, to your knowledge?"

"Where do you work?"

"Where do the children attend school?"

"Where does your family attend divine worship?"

"This information obtained, they started out to all the indicated addresses. They asked the foreman, preacher and teacher for all absentees during the last month from shop,

church, or school, and then visited the house of every one of them. They 'phoned their findings to the health office, and disinfectors with formaldehyde generators were kept ready to follow the steps of the investigators and disinfect where there was the slightest suspicion of an exposure to smallpox. Along with this the regular sanitary police force was given orders to make a house-to-house canvas to tell the public to clean up their yards, barns, and outhouses, and abate all nuisances that could be found. As a result of it Cleveland is now free from smallpox, and from the worst infected city it has become the cleanest."

The results of Dr. Friedrich's campaign of disinfection confirm the recent observations of Dr. H. Valentine Knaggs, M.R.C.S., of London England, who in a recent number of the Medical Brief says: "Smallpox is generally conceded to be a filth disease, propagated by a definite microbe, which, like the microbe of tuberculosis, typhoid fever and diphtheria, flourishes and spreads in unsanitary, overcrowded areas. Any treatment to be effectual would have to be preventive as well as curative."

Dr. Knaggs, although he has for many years practiced vaccination, inclines to the belief that the wedding of the profession to vaccination has proved unfortunate in that it has served to prevent the same concentration of thought by experts and scientific physicians, on smallpox that has been given to diphtheria, typhoid fever, "and other analogous scourges of mankind for which vaccination is not an accepted form of treatment." This physician has great faith in the efficacy of sulphur in time of smallpox contagion. He makes the very significant observation that "it is known to be absolutely impossible to vaccinate a person successfully who is taking sulphur, or even onions—a vegetable that is very rich in sulphur constituents."

If persons taking sulphur are immune from the effect of vaccine virus, might not this powerful enemy of germ diseases also fortify them against the germs of smallpox? This certainly is a thought worthy of consideration, especially in the light of further evidence that Dr. Knaggs advances from numerous recognized authoritative sources in England, Scotland, Canada and elsewhere, where sulphur, administered externally in ointment and internally, first in glycerin and later as sulphurous

lemonade, has proved most effective in drying up the smallpox pustules and causing them to fall away without a particle of pitting, while its administration has also greatly modified the severity of the disease.

The observations of the English scientist and the practical demonstration of the American physician suggest a method of attack that we believe will prove effective in controlling if not in entirely stamping out smallpox during the next few decades. Both aim at attacking the disease by eradicating the microbe with powerful germ destroyers; and, moreover, the procedure is strictly rational, scientific and in harmony with the best progressive thought of the age. Dr. Friedrich has done far more than deliver Cleveland from the scourge of smallpox; he has given the world one of the most important object lessons in the practical value of sanitation to be found in the history of modern science.

THEY WERE PACIFIED.

For The Public.

Away in the sea-girt islands
In the land of the rising sun,
Where the feathered songsters warble
From morn till the day is done,
Where the gorgeous tangled festoons
Of vine and bud and flower,
Drape all the land and the forest grand,
Where the graceful bamboos tower—
Fair Freedom came for a day to dwell
In that sweet enchanted bower.

She lifted aloft her banner;
She planted a Christian state;
And added it to the nations
To grow both strong and great—
A beacon light in the ocean blue,
At the heathen's very gate.
And the sore distressed, by Spain oppressed,
No longer for justice cried,
For their hungry hearts and their thirsty souls
By Freedom were pacified.

But from over the calm Pacific
The growl of the dogs of war
Was heard from the western free-land
By those sunny isles afar.
In the name of God and freedom,
And Christian charity,
They strewed the land—the invading band—
With the wrecks of liberty.
"Now yield to foreign sovereignty,
To Columbia free," they cried;
"For not till ye bow to the alien yoke,
Shall your land be pacified."

Then up arose God's freemen—
Sons of a dusky hue—
In defense of home and country,
In the might of manhood true.
From the gently flowing Pasig,
Creeping by Manila's wall,
And from Tariac's weeping willows,
To Malolos ere the fall,
From Calococan to the mountains
That rim in Laguna de Bay,
To the bosom of the forest
In the island of Panay,

Their lives they gave; but the crimson
wave
The oppressor ne'er satisfied.
To make of the land a wilderness,
Was the way they pacified.

And there went forth an edict
From the mighty man of war,
To burn the towns, and the people slay
On the island of Samar—
From the innocents of ten years old,
E'en to threescore years and ten.
And the west-land free, that would cause
the knee
Of a brother to bend, in pride
Proclaimed to the cruel waiting world
That the island was pacified.

Weep for the island's helpless—
The lame, the halt, the blind,
The new-born and the dying,
What succor could they find?
If from the burning dwellings
They were borne, 'twas but to meet
The flashing steel and the Mauser's peal,
In the glare of the burning street.
Stricken with awful terror,
In vain they for mercy cried,
By shot and shell, by fire and sword,
Weak and strong were pacified.

And just on the edge of the city,
In a fragile nipa cot,
Reposed the aged grandsire
And the grandam, dreaming not
Of the cruel fate awaiting
Ere they wake to sleep in death.
The morning broke amid flame and smoke,
And silently, side by side,
Two little mounds of ashes lay,
And old age was pacified.

Away from the burning city
A mother in wild despair
Fled, clasping her babe to her bosom,
While a bullet rankled there,
Till her life-blood stained its forehead
And matted its dusky hair.
Away from the burning city
She turned to the ocean strand,
And there at the lonely midnight
Sank down on the wet sea sand.
Then, with a cry of anguish
To the Christ who was crucified,
With a prayer for the babe on her bosom,
The mother was pacified.

And the babe on mother's bosom
Wailed through the livelong day—
Wept out its desolation,
Till the light had passed away.
Then, in the gloom and shadow,
Mid the sighs of the rising tide,
The babe on its mother's bosom,
By hunger was pacified.

Over the ruined landscape
Wild shouts on the stillness rise—
"Three cheers for the starry banner!
For Old Glory that proudly flies!"—
Over a subject people
In the isles of the eastern sea,
Where the brown man gave his life to save
For his children a country free.
But the Christos veiled with horror
His face in his mantle white,
And shuddering turned from the banner,
Where the beauteous stars of light,
Now set in a field of blood,
Had gone out in the clouds of night.
And the Nazarene's followers meek
Mocked at the crimson tide,
Nor heeded the crown of thorns
Nor gazed on the wounded side,
But waded in human gore
Till revenge was pacified.

Weep, O stricken Visayas!
Weep, sea-girt isles afar,

From the sun-kissed hills and the vine-
clad vales
Of Luzon to lone Samar.
Weep for the day when tyrants
With Christian charity
Marched through the land with an armed
band
To assimilate the free.
Not till the tears of ages
By our Father's hand are dried,
Will thy sons, denied their freedom,
Be finally pacified.

REBECCA J. TAYLOR.

An admirable life of our king has been issued by Religious Bits. It shows how by sheer perseverance our illustrious monarch worked his way up from being mere prince of Wales to his present exalted position. A more encouraging present for a child it would be difficult to imagine.—Punch.

BOOK NOTICES.

"COMMONWEALTH OR EMPIRE."

Very few living writers have a style so clear and interesting as Mr. Goldwin Smith, and he has never written anything clearer and more interesting than this little book of less than a hundred pages, "Commonwealth or Empire, a Bystander's View of the Question" (Macmillan). It has already been briefly noticed in these columns; but its timeliness, its calmness of judgment, its friendliness of criticism, its breadth of view, and its importance as a contribution to contemporary discussion, are such that no one who reads it and sympathizes with his, the author's evident purpose in writing the book, can fail to persist in wishing to extend the knowledge of it among intelligent readers.

No difficulty will be found in finishing the book after it is once begun, and anti-imperialists are to be congratulated upon adding to their bibliography a work of permanent literary value.

No one could possibly be found better fitted for preparing such a work than the author. He is not a citizen of the United States, yet he knows the history of the country as intimately as any man living. His political "History of the United States, 1492-1871," apart from any question of agreement with all his views, is an acknowledged masterpiece of historical summary.

His insight into the modern politics of the country is shown on the first page of the

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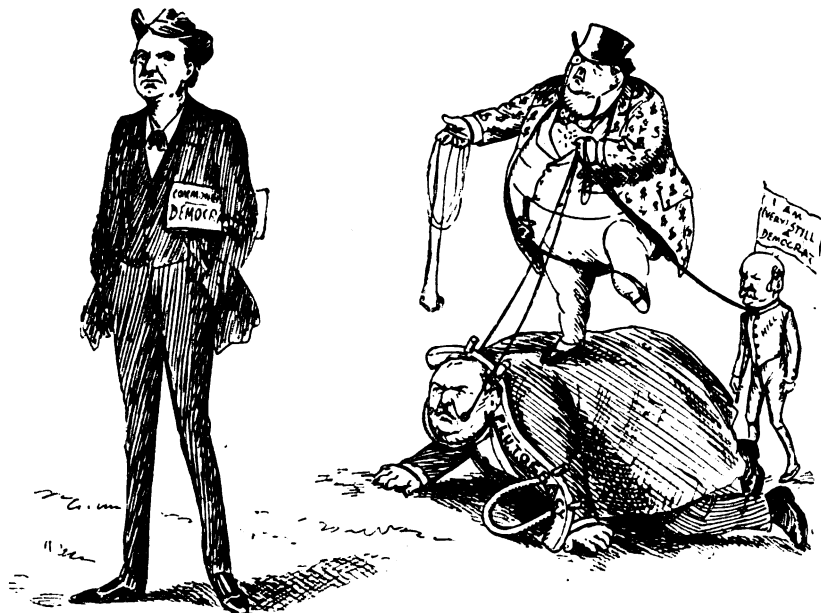
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“HARMONY.”

Cleveland—Come along, Bryan, let us “get together”!

present work, in his recognition of the fact that in the last presidential election the paramount issue—no matter what it was for this or that individual American voter—was, for the world at large, the question of commonwealth or empire. From the first page to the last, the reader will feel the genuineness of the author's good-will toward, and faith in, the “great experiment” of the American Union and many will agree that in writing this little book he has done a real service to the commonwealth in citing the dangers that now confront its preservation.

J. H. DILLARD.

Prof. Oscar Lovell Triggs, of the University of Chicago, has appropriately dedicated to Marguerite Warren Springer, in recognition of her devotion to the cause of industrial art, his “Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement.” The book (published by the Bohemian Guild of the Industrial Art League of Chicago) is an inviting volume typographically, and comprises six chapters on art in labor. In one it describes Carlisle's relationship to the new industrialism; another tells of Ruskin's contribution to the doctrine of work; while a third has to do with Morris. Prof. Triggs' economic prophecy is that “voluntary cooperative individualism,” a phrase that is much easier to write than to interpret, “is the goal toward which “the whole world is now tending.” Prints of Julia M. Bracken's medallions of Carlisle, Ruskin and Morris are interleaved in the volume.

PERIODICALS.

The issue of the Church Standard (Philadelphia) for June 21 was a coronation number, containing a full reprint of the coronation service. The numerous Americans who are beginning more and more to delight in functions will find inspiring reading in all the sixteen sections. From section 1, where it is enjoined that “care be taken that the Ampulla be filled with oil and, together with the spoon, be laid upon the altar,” to section 16, where the archbishop kneels down before his majesty's knees, and the bishops, and the princes of the royal blood kneel down, and “they do their homage,” the service is one long procession of solemn ritual. Section 10 is especially rich: “Then the king arising, the armilla and imperial mantle or pall of cloth of gold, are by the master of robes delivered to the dean of West-

minster, and by him put upon the king, standing; the lord great chamberlain fastening the clasps; the king sits down, and then the orb with the cross is brought from the altar by the dean of Westminster, and delivered into the king's hand, by the archbishop,” etc. If any one falls to feel the awful grandeur, he may find the interpretation of the various functions in a leading editorial of the New York Churchman.—J. H. D.

The Atlantic Monthly for July has an entertaining article on “Certain Aspects of America,” which laments in pleasant style our spending all our energies and genuine passions upon industrialism. For religion, art, literature, poetry, social ideals, and political righteousness—though we say they are fine things—we have no real strength left, and our parade of them is—parade. “Phraseology is that form of art which we understand the best. We cling to a phrase made by one of our patriot fathers;” but, “It is like an ancestral chair in the parlor, not to be sat upon.” The author has two remedies to suggest, Contemplation and Discipline. What he says of Discipline is one of the most effective passages of magazine writing which we have seen in a long while. It may be doubted whether Discipline is just the word to embrace what he describes; but, whatever the word, it is something that our youths should get in schools and colleges, and do not get: “the spirit which calls nothing common . . . teaches us to keep distinct and separate the permanent and the transitory . . . teaches us that right and wrong are not matters of sentimentality . . . lies less in wooing success than in marriage to unsuccessful causes.” His eloquent appeal might well be taken to heart by those who have the training of the young; but to save civilization from its absorption in commercialism, to relieve men's minds from constant thoughts of materials and comforts of life, we shall have to go much deeper than our author suggests. Until we lay a better foundation of justice in the industrial world, and so make living easier for all there can be no sufficient release of minds from commercial stress to finer pursuits. J. H. D.

The Public

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

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