

a warning to its citizens that if they did not yield to the United States in preference to their own self-established government—the first republic of Asia—they would be violently dealt with by American troops and American warships. This was the first declaration, the first announcement, the official beginning of the American war of conquest in the Philippines. And under that proclamation we have crushed a republic modeled upon our own. We have made charred ruins of civilized cities and villages and laid the country waste; we have slaughtered the inhabitants by scores of thousands and have savagely broken the peace and disturbed the good order that our own officers reported as prevailing under the republic; and we now spread over the islands a pall of death and call it "pacification."

How different all this might have been. Had we as a nation remained true to the letter and spirit of our pledge regarding Cuba, a pledge which was but a concrete expression of the foundation principles of American democracy and applied no more to Cuba than to the Philippines, we might now rejoice over the advent, under our good offices, not alone of one republic in the West Indies, but of one there and of a greater one in the far Pacific. Had we done that, we might rejoice over the spread of republican ideals. Had we done that, we might rejoice over our exalted position as a world power ruling by the force, not of mere armaments, but of ideas, ideals and moral example.

It is true that in this case internal dissensions in the republics we fostered might at times make us grieve and possibly despair. They might be subject to the disorders of South America, of Haiti and of San Domingo, which are so often cited as instances of the failure of popular government among "inferior" peoples.

But sneers like these could be answered with a little intelligent reflection. Pray are the "superior" people of autocratic Russia free from internal commotions. Does England govern Ireland without a jar. Was Spain a model of harmony while her seceded colonies, turned republics, were in the throes of revolution? Was not our own

civil war sanguinary enough to offset several generations of civil war in Haiti or San Domingo or the republics of South America? Or, to come to the immediate point, what can the scoffer at republics of "inferior" peoples say for our administration in the Philippines? Is that "pacification" which we in our might have spread over those islands preferable to the peace and order our officers reported from the interior of Luzon under the Filipino republic? Is it preferable even to the commotions in Haiti?

And what if we are told that peace and order would prevail if the people there did not resist our benevolent designs? Why, that is the way the oligarchy of Russia explains disorder under the benevolent regime of the czar. It is the way tyrants always explain disorder under their rule. Disorder in republics may be an objection to the republican mode of government; but if it is, it is not an objection which can be urged either as an excuse or a justification for autocratic modes, whether benevolent or malevolent. No mode of government can preserve peace and order among a dissatisfied people.

But this point is quite incidental in connection with the Philippine question, for we have the evidence of a three-years' war, attested by the reports of our generals that the Filipino people are not contented with American rule; and we have the further evidence of our own officials that they were contented with the rule of their republic. So far, then, as the actual facts aid us, we are justified in the inference that if our government had fostered the Filipino republic, as the spirit of its Cuban pledge required, instead of proclaiming its suppression, as President McKinley did on the 21st of December, 1898, we might now be celebrating two of the greatest achievements of our history next to the establishment of our own independence and the emancipation of our slaves.

That is what might have been. And in this case as truly, but with importance infinitely greater than in that of Whittier's judge and his hayfield maid, those are the saddest of all sad words. No sadder are in-

scribed in the history of our nation, and they can never be wholly effaced.

But the rising hope is that our people, under the inspiration of an awakened public conscience and revived patriotism, will yet write beneath that doleful lament, and write in blazing letters which our public servants cannot fail to see, these words of atonement: "That which might have been shall be!"

NEWS

Cuban independence (p. 88) was formally established on the 20th.

Five days earlier, on the 15th, the Cuban senate and house of representatives met in joint session at Havana, and after examining the credentials of the presidential and senatorial electoral colleges, declared them correct and proclaimed Tomas Estrada Palma as president and Luiz Estevez as vice president. Gov. Gen. Wood was at once formally notified of this action, and on the next day President Palma appointed the following cabinet:

Secretary of government—Diego Tamayo (nationalist), formerly secretary of state under Gov. Gen. Wood; secretary of finance—Garcia Montes (republican); secretary of state and justice—Carlos Zaldo (republican-autonomist); secretary of public instruction—Eduardo Yero (nationalist); secretary of public works—Manuel Diaz (nationalist), and secretary of agriculture—Emilio Terry (independent).

Public festivities in celebration of the establishment of the new republic began on the 16th with a banquet in honor of Gov. Gen. Wood and the other American officers about to depart from Cuba. It was given by the veterans of the wars for Cuban independence, and Gen. Maximo Gomez, formerly commander-in-chief of the Cuban army, presided. At his right sat the principal guest, Gov. Gen. Wood, and at his left President Palma. William J. Bryan sat next to the President and spoke to the sentiment, "Patriotism." In closing he said he would rather see the stars and stripes live in the hearts of the Cuban people than float over the island. During Gov. Gen. Wood's speech, in which he congratulated the Cubans upon their triumph, thanked them for their cooperation, and in the name of the United States

government and the American people wished them success, the assemblage remained standing. The reply to Gov. Gen. Wood was made by Gen. Gomez.

By the 18th the festivities had become general all over the island, and upon the eve of the great occasion Havana was crowded with visitors and splendidly decorated.

The official ceremony of transfer on the 20th was very brief. It took place in the same room of the palace in which Spain had relinquished control over the island to the United States. At noon, when the signal guns from the forts announced the end of foreign dominion, Gov. Gen. Wood began the ceremony by reading a letter from the President of the United States, and the proclamations of transfer prepared by the American war department and signed by himself as military governor.

There were three proclamations. One recited the establishment of the Cuban republic with a constitution to go into effect May 20 at noon, and proclaimed that—

at that time, the occupation of Cuba by the United States and the military government of the island will cease and determine, and the government and control of the island will be transferred to the president and congress so elected, to be held and exercised by them under the constitution so promulgated. Such transfer will be upon the understanding and condition that the new government does thereby and by acceptance thereof, pursuant to the provisions of the said appendix to the constitution, assume and undertake all and several the obligations assumed by the United States with respect to Cuba by the treaty between the United States of America and her majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, signed at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

The second proclamation simply declared the constitution to be in full force from and after the 20th and recited its provisions. The third was as follows:

To the President and Congress of the Republic of Cuba—Sirs: Under the direction of the President of the United States I now transfer to you as the duly elected representatives of the people of Cuba the government and control of the island; to be held and exercised by you, under the provisions of the constitution of the Republic of Cuba, heretofore adopted by the constitu-

tional convention and this day promulgated; and thereby declare the occupation of Cuba by the United States and the military government of the island to be ended. This transfer of government and control is upon the express condition, and the government of the United States will understand, that by the acceptance thereof you do now, pursuant to the provisions of the said constitution, assume and undertake, all and several, the obligations assumed by the United States with respect to Cuba, by the treaty between the United States of America and her Majesty, the Queen Regent of Spain, signed at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898. All money obligations of the military government down to this date have been paid as far as practicable. The public civil funds derived from the revenues of Cuba, transferred to you this day, amounting to \$689,191.02, are transferred subject to such claims and obligations properly payable out of the revenues of the island as may remain. The sum of \$100,000 has been reserved from the transfer of funds to defray anticipated expenses of accounting, reporting, and winding up the affairs of the military government, after which any unexpended balance of said sum will be paid into the treasury of the island.

The plans already devised for the sanitation of the cities of the island and to prevent a recurrence, of epidemic and infectious disease, to which the government of the United States understands that the provision of the constitution contained in the fifth article of the appendix applies, are as follows:

1. A plan for the paving and sewerage of the City of Havana, for which a contract has been awarded by the municipality of that city to McGivney, Rokeby & Co.

2. A plan for waterworks to supply the City of Santiago de Cuba, prepared by Capt. S. E. Reckenbach, in charge of the district of Santiago and approved by the Military Governor, providing for taking water from the wells of San Juan Canyon, and pumping the same to reservoirs located on the heights to the east of the city.

3. A plan for the sewerage of the city of Santiago de Cuba, a contract for which was awarded to Michael J. Dady & Co. by the Military Governor of Cuba, now under construction.

4. The rules and regulations established by the President of the United States on the 17th of January, 1899, for the maintenance of quarantine against epidemic diseases at the ports of Havana, Matanzas, Cienfuegos and Santiago de Cuba, and thereafter at the other ports of the island, as extended and amended and made applicable to future conditions, by the order of the Military Governor, dated — day of April, 1902.

5. The sanitary rules and regula-

tions in force in the City of Havana and in any other city having official rules.

It is understood by the United States that the present government of the Isle of Pines will continue as a de facto government pending the settlement of the title to said island by treaty pursuant to the Cuban constitution and the act of Congress of the United States approved March 2, 1901.

I am further charged by the President of the United States to deliver to you the letter, which I now hand you.

The letter referred to, signed by Mr. Roosevelt himself, as President of the United States, was in these terms:

“White House, Washington, D. C., May 10, 1902.—To the President and Congress of the Republic of Cuba—Sirs: On the 20th of this month the military governor of Cuba will, by my direction, transfer to you the control and government of the island of Cuba, to be thenceforth exercised under the provisions of the constitution adopted by your constitutional convention as on that day promulgated, and he will thereupon declare the occupation of Cuba by the United States to be at an end. At the same time I desire to express to you the sincere friendship and good wishes of the United States, and our earnest hopes for the stability and success of your government, for the blessings of peace, justice, prosperity and ordered freedom among your people, and for enduring friendship between the republic of the United States and the Republic of Cuba.

President Palma replied to Gov. Gen. Wood, saying:

I receive in this act the government of the island of Cuba which you transfer to me in compliance with the orders communicated to you by the President of the United States, and I recognize that in this act the military occupation of the island ceases. In accepting this transfer I declare that the government of the Republic of Cuba assumes, in conformity with what is determined in the constitution, each and all of the obligations that the government of the United States took upon itself in regard to Cuba by virtue of the treaty signed on the tenth day of December, 1898, between the United States and her majesty, the queen regent of Spain. I note that all financial responsibilities contracted by the military government up to this date have been paid, that \$100,000 has been set aside to attend, insofar as it is necessary, to the liquidation and settlement of the obligations contracted by said government, and that there has been transferred to the government of the republic \$689,191.02, which constituted the balance in cash to the credit of the

nation. In all that article V of the constitutional appendix may be applicable, the government will take care to facilitate the execution of the work of sanitation planned by the military government. The Cuban government will also endeavor, as far as possible, and as far as depends on it, to comply with the necessity of sanitation and the observance of the system established by the military government of Cuba. It is understood that the Isle of Pines continues de facto under the jurisdiction of the government of the Republic, pending what will be agreed upon between the United States and Cuba, and in conformity with what is ordered in the Cuban constitution and by the law voted by the Congress of the United States, passed on March 2, 1901. I receive with great satisfaction the letter which President Roosevelt has addressed to the congress of the Republic and to me, on account of the sentiments of friendship therein expressed for the people of Cuba. I take advantage of this solemn occasion, when there is fulfilled the honest promise of the government and of the people of the United States in regard to the island of Cuba, and when the personality of our country is established as a sovereign nation, to express to you as a worthy representative of that great nation the immense gratitude that the people of Cuba feel to the American nation, to its illustrious president, Theodore Roosevelt, and to you personally, for the efforts which you have made for the attainment of that cherished ideal.

An interchange of courteous expressions having then been made between the outgoing military governor and the incoming president, the latter took the oath of office.

All the foreign representatives thereupon expressed in turn their good wishes to Gen. Wood and President Palma, being led by the new British minister to the Republic of Cuba, L. E. G. Carden, formerly British consul general at Havana, the only foreign minister in attendance. He appeared in the uniform and character of his new office.

Now came the spectacular ceremonial. Thousands of Cubans had assembled before the palace to see the American flag come down and the Cuban flag go up in its place; and as soon as President Palma had indorsed Gov. Gen. Wood's proclamations of transfer they were gratified. Gen. Wood and Gen. Gomez ascended to the roof of the palace. Their appearance was welcomed with great shout-

ing from the street. Gen. Wood personally lowered the American flag from the staff. As it fluttered down it was saluted by a detachment of American cavalry and the echoes of guns from the forts, which were almost drowned in the cheers of the people as Gen. Wood, assisted by Gen. Gomez, raised in its place the Cuban flag. Having performed this final act of transfer, Gen. Wood said his farewells, and, accompanied by the American troops, embarked for the United States.

So ends a sad episode in history, the general outline of which, filled in with the more important details, may be traced in these columns, beginning at page 8 of No. 1.

For the information of foreign powers Secretary Hay sent a note of instructions on the 20th to all American ambassadors and ministers informing them that the military occupation of Cuba by the United States had that day ceased, and that an independent government, republican in form, had been inaugurated there under the presidency of Tomas Estrada Palma. The ambassadors and ministers were instructed to convey this information to the governments to which respectively they are accredited. On the same day, at the suggestion of Representative Sulzer, Representative Hitt offered in the lower house of Congress a resolution expressing its satisfaction "at the appearance this day of the Cuban Republic among the nations of the world." The resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted.

Legal proceedings against the meat trust by the United States government, under the Sherman anti-trust law (p. 89), have reached the stage of a temporary injunction. It was granted at Chicago on the 20th, by Peter S. Grosscup, as judge of the circuit court of the United States for the 7th circuit. There was no opposition, but the injunction is subject to a motion to be made at any time to dissolve it. The injunction restrains the several meat packing houses, together with their respective agents and all other persons acting or assuming to act by their authority—

from entering into, taking part in, or performing any contract, combination, or conspiracy, the purpose or effect of which will be, as to trade and commerce in fresh meats, a restraint of trade or commerce among the several

states, territories, and the District of Columbia, either by directing or requiring their respective agents from refraining to bid against each other in the purchase of live stock; or collusively, and by agreement, refraining from bidding against each other at such sales; or by arbitrarily raising or lowering prices, or fixing uniform prices at which said meats will be sold, either directly or through their respective agents; or by curtailing the quantity of such meats shipped to such markets and agents; or by imposing penalties for deviations from prices, or establishing and maintaining uniform rules for the giving of credit to dealers in such matters; or by imposing uniform charges for cartage and delivery of such meats to dealers and consumers; or by any other method or device, the purpose and effect of which is to restrain trade and commerce, as aforesaid.

The injunction also restrains these persons, in terms, from violating the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law by—

combining or conspiring together, or with each other and others, to monopolize, or attempting to monopolize any part of the trade and commerce in fresh meats among the several states and territories and the District of Columbia, by demanding, obtaining, or, with or without the connivance of the officers or agents thereof, or of any of them, receiving from the railroad companies or other common carriers transporting such fresh meats in such trade and commerce, either directly or by means of rebates, or by any other device, transportation of or for such fresh meats, from the points of the preparation and production of the same from live stock or elsewhere, to the markets for the sale of the same to dealers and consumers in other states and territories than those wherein the same are so prepared, or the District of Columbia, at less than the regular rates which may be established or in force, on their several lines of transportation under the provisions in that behalf of the laws of the United States for the regulation of commerce.

The coal miners' convention, which assembled at Hazleton, Pa., on the 14th (p. 89), to consider the advisability of continuing the temporary strike order issued on the 9th, and which went into effect on the 12th, has decided that question in the affirmative. The question came to a vote in secret session on the 15th. The total vote cast was 811, of which, as reported by the press, 346½ votes were against, and 461½ in favor of continuing the strike. But the result as officially announced to the public