

drifting as the republic of Rome did into the whirlpool of imperialism? Never fear. God will take care of us. Don't blaspheme him by urging that the prow of the ship of state be turned in another direction. He will do that if it is for the best. Let us enjoy the exciting voyage. Don't be a pessimist!

Are our institutions making classes of very rich and very poor, of luxurious idlers and impoverished and degraded workers? Impossible. God is too good to allow that, and he is too wise and powerful to need help from us. Let us laugh at these idle fears, let us throw our hats into the air in joyful frenzy as we see the greatness of God's work in raising up a pious Rockefeller, a generous Carnegie, a masterful Morgan, and in providing millions of inferior mortals for them to pillage and coddle. Don't be a pessimist!

That is the optimism of the child in a boat gliding swiftly down the Niagara river, which claps its hands in baby glee at the flowers on the banks as they rush by, until the boat is upon the very edge of the abyss. To shift the metaphor, it is the optimism of the thoughtless housewife, who is so happy over the beauty of her garden that she pleasantly rebukes her "pessimistic" friend for warning her that weeds are growing there, which will soon choke the plants.

At all manifestations of this most popular kind of optimism, we may well imagine that the devil kicks up his hind legs in wicked glee.

What commonly passes for optimism is really not optimism at all. It is as we have said, nothing better than an expression of mental and spiritual indolence. Those who affect it do so because it is easier to trust in God than to help him. On the other hand, much that passes for pessimism, even with the so-called pessimists, is genuine optimism.

There are times when the best expression of optimism is an aggressive pessimism, vitalized with a sense of outraged justice. And these are such times. The man who is hopeless of the triumph of justice over injustice, of right over wrong, yet fights for justice, dies for justice,

lives, or pleads or suffers for justice—that man, though he deny God with his lips, proclaims him from his heart. Though he professes to be hopeless, his work asserts his confidence. In comparison with this kind of pessimism, your lotus-eating optimist, whom we find so numerous now, is a sorry creature.

To warn the people that they must amend their ways or perish, is not atheistic pessimism. The frivolous who heard Jonah foretell the overthrow of Nineveh doubtless thought him a pessimist. But he was certainly not an atheist, and his pessimism saved the city. In our own time as in Jonah's, God speaks through so-called pessimists. "If ye keep on denying in your lives this truth and that," say they, "ye are doomed! Unless ye mend your ways, ye shall surely perish!" That has been the cry of the pessimism that in reality is optimism, all down the ages. It is the cry to-day of the prophets whom spurious optimists call pessimists. It is the cry that has made the world advance.

For the world has advanced, and does advance, not only in victories over external nature, but also along the lines of righteousness. He must be blind who cannot perceive it. There are fluctuations, now up and now down, but the trend is upward and onward. This progress is the stock in trade of the lazy optimist. But to it none of his kind have contributed. They have done less to promote it than the optimistic fly did to turn the cart wheel. They have had no more to do with it than to sing about progress accomplished, and good naturedly to obstruct further progress. They neither give warning like Jonah, nor mend their ways like the people of Nineveh.

The essence of optimism is not the state of the mind. If it were, the mother weeping for her first born would be a pessimist, while the laughing fool at the funeral would be an optimist. A gloomy outlook is not necessarily inconsistent with optimism, nor a smiling face with the lowest depths of atheistic pessimism.

Optimism or pessimism depends upon the direction of the life. To live towards the development of

righteousness is to be an optimist; to live indifferent to righteousness is to be a pessimist. The selfish man is no optimist, however contented and happy and hopeful he may be. The happier he is in his selfishness and the more hopeful about it, the less right has he to rank as an optimist. Nor is the unselfish man necessarily a pessimist, though his outlook be gloomy. No man can be inwardly hopeless of ultimate righteous adjustments who gives the first place in his life to the cause of justice, of that comprehensive justice which means equality of rights. But he who does not give that cause a high place in his life is a pessimist, and his pessimism is indeed a form of atheism. If it assumes an optimistic garb, his optimism is worse than atheistic; it is 'devilish.'

All agree that in individual life God helps them who help themselves. In other words, in working for the individual he works with the individual. To deny this is atheistic pessimism; but the only effectual way of denying it is to withhold one's own contribution to the partnership. The idea holds good with society. God helps the society that helps itself—whose members, that is, justly help one another. It is not mere verbal denials of this that constitute atheistic pessimism. Neither is it gloomy forebodings and ominous prophecies. Atheistic pessimism in this connection consists in disregarding unjust conditions and tendencies. And tried by that test, the dearest pessimists of our day and generation are to be found among our most cheerful "optimists."

NEWS

American imperialism has now boldly come to the fore at Washington. On the 25th, the senate committee on relations with Cuba, of which Senator Platt, of Connecticut, is chairman, recommended the following provisions regarding Cuban independence, as an amendment to the army appropriation bill:

That in fulfillment of the declaration contained in the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898, entitled "For the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the

government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the president of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect," the president is hereby authorized to leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution, which, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows:

1. That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

2. That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which and to make reasonable sinking-fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate.

3. That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

4. That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

5. That the government of Cuba will execute and, as far as necessary, extend the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemics and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

6. That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

7. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as

well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the president of the United States.

8. That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

This amendment was forced through the senate at a night session on the 27th by a vote of 43 to 20. Both Hoar and Hale voted for it. Mason did not vote. It was finally adopted by the senate, as part of the army appropriation bill, which passed that house after midnight of the 27th. The measure now goes to the lower house.

The foregoing conditions precedent to the recognition of Cuban independence had for several days been foreshadowed from the war department and the white house. As early as the 6th a Washington special to the Chicago Chronicle reported, "from the highest source possible," that the president's views were "something like the views of Senator Platt, of Connecticut," and gave an outline of the president's ideas. They harmonized with the conditions subsequently specified in the Platt amendment quoted above. On the following day the Chicago Record published a special from a correspondent who, though his habits of journalistic veracity are not of the best, is known to be a favorite channel for white house announcements, from which the identity of the president's plans and those of Mr. Platt's committee, as subsequently reported, is distinctly noticeable. All the circumstances indicate that the conditions of Cuban recognition prepared by the senate committee were formulated by the secretary of war and the president.

These demands are not relished by the Cubans. From the moment when, early in the month, the Cuban leaders were informed by Governor General Wood, who acted under instructions from the American war department, that certain conditions of recognition would be exacted by the American government, they changed their manner. Until then they had exhibited a confidence, almost childlike, in American good faith. After that they became restless and in some instances hostile. Governor General Wood's instructions were to the effect that the Cuban constitution would

not be approved by the American government nor American troops be withdrawn until Cuba had conceded the right of the United States to interfere with Cuban sovereignty whenever necessary to preserve the peace, to prevent foreign entanglements and protect foreigners, to prevent the creation of objectionable public debts, to protect American commercial interests, to maintain at least two coaling stations, and to prevent a recurrence in Cuba of the experiences of Hayti and Santo Domingo. These specifications appear in the Washington correspondence of the Chicago Record of the 8th—a dispatch which is intended to be friendly to the president.

It is understood that Governor General Wood divulged his instructions to Cuban leaders about the 15th or 16th, when he took with him from Havana to Batabano a committee of five members of the constitutional convention to confer upon a scheme with reference to the relations of the United States and Cuba. Upon the return of the committee to Havana on the 16th, its members exhibited considerable feeling. So did other convention delegates when the exactions were made known. Some were bellicose, but the more thoughtful favored throwing the whole question on the United States by refusing to concede anything. One delegate declined to sign the constitution on the 21st, when the others signed it, because it was being signed in duplicate, one of the two originals being intended for submission to the United States. This was Senor Cesneros, ex-president of Cuba. He said: "Cuba is now independent, and I can see no reason for sending this constitution to the United States for acceptance. The United States government has no right to pass on it, for it is distinctly a Cuban document." He charged the Americans with seizing all they could, and intimated the probability of armed resistance. The other delegates signed. The American duplicate was to have been delivered to Governor General Wood on the 22d, but there are no reports that this has even yet been done. Washington dispatches indicate that Governor General Wood was instructed not to receive the document until the American demands had been conceded and either incorporated in the constitution or added to it by ordinance of the convention. The convention held daily sessions after signing the

constitution, and on the 27th, at three in the morning, came to an agreement, almost unanimous, upon the following additional constitutional clauses:

1. The government of Cuba will not make a treaty or agreement with any foreign power which may compromise or limit the independence of Cuba, or which may permit or authorize any power to obtain by means of colonization or for military or naval purposes, or in any other manner, any foothold or authority or right over any portion of Cuba.

2. The government will not permit its territory to be used as a base of operations for war against the United States or against any foreign nation.

3. The government of Cuba accepts in its entirety the treaty of Paris, in which are affirmed the rights of Cuba, to the extent of the obligations which are explicitly indicated in these, and especially those which the international law imposes for the protection of life and property, and substitutes itself for the United States in the pledge, which they assumed in that sense, according to articles 12 and 162 of the treaty of Paris.

4. Cuba recognizes as legally valid all acts of the military government during the period of occupation; also the rights arising out of them, in conformity with the joint resolution and the Foraker amendment and the existing laws of the country.

5. The governments of the United States and Cuba ought to regulate their commercial relations by means of a treaty based on reciprocity, and with tendencies toward free trade in natural and manufactured products, mutually assuring ample special advantages in their respective markets.

In a preamble it is explained that in so far as security for the independence of Cuba is sought by the American demands other than those thus conceded, there is ample security in the constitution; and that the demand for coaling stations militates against independence, while that for sanitary regulation should be subject to future adjustment.

Concurrently with the precipitation of the question of Cuban independence in the senate the question of conferring upon the president unlimited power in the Philippines—civil as well as military, and legislative and judicial, as well as executive—was in the same way introduced in the same body, the Spooner bill being offered as an amendment to the army

appropriation bill. This Philippine provision is in these words:

That all military, civil and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine islands, acquired from Spain by the treaties concluded at Paris December 10, 1898, and at Washington November 7, 1900, shall, until otherwise provided by congress, be vested in such manner as the president of the United States shall direct for the establishment of civil government and for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion; provided, that all franchises granted under the authority hereof shall contain a reservation of the right to alter, amend or repeal the same.

Mr. Vest moved to amend by making all action on the part of the president's representatives in the Philippines subject to the constitution and laws of the United States. This was defeated, 45 to 25. Mr. Rawlins offered an amendment denying any intention of holding permanent sovereignty over the Philippines, and limiting such sovereignty to the pacification thereof and the establishment of a stable government therein. This was defeated, 45 to 24. Mr. Bacon proposed to limit the operation of the president's unlimited power to March 4, 1905. This was defeated, 46 to 26. Mr. Pettus proposed that every appointee under this presidential power be required to take an oath of office to support the constitution of the United States. It was defeated, 41 to 25. Mr. Teller proposed that the civil government to be established in the Philippines should allow the inhabitants the fullest participation consistent with safety. It was defeated, 39 to 23. He then moved to guarantee to the Filipinos our own bill of rights—no ex post facto laws, etc. It was defeated, 41 to 23. Mr. Hoar moved that none of the Philippine officials to be appointed under this authority should exercise more than one kind of the three great powers—legislative, executive and judicial—"to the end that the government might be one of laws, not men." It was defeated, 43 to 26.

Two amendments were offered by the majority, as follows:

Provided that no sale or lease or other disposition of the public lands or the timber thereon or the mining rights therein shall be made.

And, provided, further, that no franchise shall be granted which is

not approved by the president of the United States, and is not in his judgment clearly necessary for the immediate government of the islands and indispensable for the interest of the people thereof, and which cannot, without great public mischief, be postponed until the establishment of permanent civil government; and all such franchises shall terminate one year after the establishment of such permanent civil government.

So amended, the Spooner clause was adopted on the 27th at 10:30 in the evening, after a session from 11 in the morning, by a vote of 45 to 27. Hale voted for it. Hoar and Teller voted against it. Mason did not vote. After midnight, as already stated, the Cuban clause having been meantime inserted, the army appropriation bill passed with these Philippine and Cuban clauses by a vote of 43 to 18, and now depends upon the action of the lower house.

While the fate of the Philippines is thus hanging in the balance in congress, soothing reports of conditions in the archipelago come from Manila. They are to the effect that the Filipinos in large numbers are becoming convinced that the United States sincerely intends to confer upon them the blessings of civil liberty, and so are welcoming the organization of provinces under American sovereignty. The latest provincial organization reported is that of the province of Bulacan, in which Malolos, the old Filipino capital, is situated. Local government here was organized by the American commission on the 26th. Jose Serapio was made governor, and Capt. Ernest A. Greenough, treasurer. Salaries in this case are not stated in the dispatches. This province is not yet fully cleared of hostile Filipinos, Col. Morel, with a force of 300, being reported as operating from Santa Isabel.

A skirmish took place on the 22d near Santa Cruz, in the province of Cavite, in which several Filipinos were killed. Another hard fight occurred on the 25th near Cavinta, province of Laguna, and six Filipinos were killed. The same report tells of two others in the province of Albay, and still another in the island of Panay. In the first, 18 Filipinos were killed; in the second, nine; and in the third six. No American casualties are reported.

We turn now to China. The indications of the note of the 20th from