

according to generally recognized standards, from the natural tutelage of infancy, they are of right entitled to exercise all the functions of citizenship.

## VII.

Self-government is the only natural government. It is the kind of government that all were intended for. This is well enough proved by the fact that no one has ever produced a natural commission to govern others without their consent, which did not in the end turn out to be a commission to misgovern them.

Macaulay riddled all the arguments against self-government, which make fitness a prerequisite, when he said—

There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell he cannot bear the light of day; he is unable to discriminate colors or to recognize faces. But the remedy is not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on and they will soon be able to bear it.

Yet we are urged by the organs of American torism to prevent self-government, and ourselves to undertake and indefinitely maintain the responsibilities of government, in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, regardless of the consent of the inhabitants. We are urged, that is to say, to take these islands as colonies, and to hold them in that condition, the condition of our own original 13 states before the revolution.

If unhappily we agree to do this, let us at least be candid about the matter. Let us first frankly denounce the self-evident truths of the declaration of independence as self-evident lies, acknowledge that our whole policy of giving life and force to that instrument has been mistaken, and explain that Lincoln dealt in empty platitudes when in his memorable Gettysburg oration he said: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Dorothy (who is accustomed to have her eggs prepared before they come to the table)—"Mamma, can't I have my eggs cooked with the covers on some time, same as you do?"—Judge.

## NEWS

The peace negotiations between Spain and the United States, which we were able to report last week as nearing a favorable end, were completed at 4:23 o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, August 12th.

The protocol was signed at the White House in the presence of the president by Jules Cambon, ambassador from France, in behalf of Spain, and by William R. Day, United States secretary of state, in behalf of the United States. It is as follows:

His Excellency, M. Cambon, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the French republic at Washington, and Mr. William Day, Secretary of State of the United States, having received respectively to that effect plenary powers from the Spanish government and the government of the United States, have established and signed the following articles which define the terms on which the two governments have agreed with regard to the questions enumerated below and of which the object is the establishment of peace between the two countries—namely:

Article 1. Spain will renounce all claim to all sovereignty over and all her rights over the island of Cuba.

Article 2. Spain will cede to the United States the Island of Puerto Rico and the other islands which are at present under the sovereignty of Spain in the Antilles, as well as an island in Ladrone Archipelago, to be chosen by the United States.

Article 3. The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines.

Article 4. Spain will immediately evacuate Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the Antilles. To this effect each of the two governments will appoint commissioners within ten days after the signing of this protocol, and these commissioners shall meet at Havana within thirty days after the signing of this protocol with the object of coming to an agreement regarding the carrying out of the details of the aforesaid evacuation of Cuba and other adjacent Spanish islands; and each of the two governments shall likewise appoint within ten days after the signature of this protocol other commissioners, who shall meet at Puerto Rico within thirty days after the signature of this protocol, to agree upon the details of the evacuation of Puerto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the Antilles.

Article 5. Spain and the United States shall appoint to treat for peace

five commissioners at the most for either country. The commissioners shall meet in Paris on October 1 at the latest to proceed to negotiations and to the conclusion of a treaty of peace. This treaty shall be ratified in conformity with the constitutional laws of each of the two countries.

Article 6. Once this protocol is concluded and signed hostilities shall be suspended, and to that effect in the two countries orders shall be given by either government to the commanders of its land and sea forces as speedily as possible.

Immediately upon the signing of the protocol in behalf of the two governments, President McKinley issued a proclamation suspending hostilities. His proclamation bears date August 12, 1898. It recites the fact of the signing of the protocol, and, in accordance with the terms thereof, concludes in these words:

Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, president of the United States, do, in accordance with the stipulations of the protocol, declare and proclaim on the part of the United States a suspension of hostilities, and do hereby command that orders be immediately given through the proper channels to the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States to abstain from all acts inconsistent with this proclamation.

Forthwith the president's proclamation was officially telegraphed to the naval and military commanders at the seat of war, and orders were given accordingly. Admiral Sampson was notified that the blockade of Cuba and Puerto Rico was raised, and directed to withdraw his vessels to different points, while the military commanders were instructed to inform the Spanish commanders. The orders to Admiral Dewey were not made public. On the 14th the governors general of Cuba and Puerto Rico acknowledged the receipt of peace orders from Madrid.

The proclamation of peace caught Gen. Miles in the midst of his campaign in Puerto Rico. As we explained last week, Gen. Miles was advancing in four columns from the southern coast of the island to San Juan, on the northern coast. Gen. Brooke, at the head of the right column was moving from Guayama to Cayey; Gen. Wilson, commanding the column of the right center was to move along the military road and, after passing through Coamo, to diverge to the east and join Gen. Brooke at Cayey, whence the United

columns were to move directly upon San Juan; Gen. Henry, with the column of the left center was to proceed due north from Ponce to Arecibo, a town on the north coast about 30 miles west of San Juan; and Gen. Schwan, commanding the left column, was to move along the southern and western coast to Aguadilla, whence he was to turn to the east and join Gen. Henry at Arecibo. In this way the various Spanish garrisons of the island were to have been captured or driven into San Juan, which was to be the point of attack.

On the 11th Gen. Wilson, with the column of the right center, had got no farther than Coamo, which he captured on the 9th, as reported last week; but some of his skirmishers pursued a party of Spanish engineers who were attempting to destroy bridges to the north. The pursuit was so close that only one bridge was destroyed, and that the Americans repaired. On the following day, the 12th, Gen. Wilson advanced along the road toward Aibonita, near which, at Asomanta, he was met with a heavy artillery and infantry fire to which he replied with artillery, quickly silencing the enemy's battery. The American casualties were 1 killed, and 3 wounded. Gen. Wilson demanded a surrender, explaining to the Spanish, under flag of truce, that peace negotiations were almost concluded and that their position was untenable. The Spanish commander asked until the next day to decide, in order that he might meantime communicate with the governor general. While Gen. Wilson with the column of the right center was making his way toward Cayey, the left column, under Gen. Schwan, was on the way to Mayaguez. It met a body of Spaniards at a small town called Hormigueros, three miles south of Mayaguez, and after a brief engagement, in which the Americans lost 1 killed and 16 wounded, put them to flight. The Spanish force consisted of the Mayaguez garrison. This engagement occurred on the 10th, and on the morning of the 11th Gen. Schwan took possession of Mayaguez, which the Spanish had abandoned. Mayaguez is the third important city of Puerto Rico. It has a population of 20,000, and lies on the western coast about midway of the width of the island. From this point Gen. Schwan moved toward Linares, near where he fought a bloodless engagement on the 14th, just before getting news of peace. No news

has come from Gen. Henry, whose column—the left center—was to have advanced direct to the north coast, except that he has been notified of the peace; but the conclusion of the peace was just in time to prevent a battle to the extreme right, between the Spanish and the column under command of Gen. Brooke. Gen. Brooke was advancing on the 13th in three columns toward Cayey to join Gen. Wilson, when he came upon a Spanish force strongly entrenched, three miles out of Guayama. One of his batteries unlimbered its guns, loaded them with shell, and had just received the order to commence firing, when a message came in from Gen. Miles announcing the proclamation of peace. The American troops were therefore withdrawn to Guayama and the battle, which had promised to be a sharp one, remained unfought.

So, upon the cessation of hostilities, the left flank of Gen. Miles' army was in possession of Mayaguez and moving upon Lares; the left center was somewhere in the interior, having apparently met with no adventures; the right center was at Hormigueros near Aibonita, and the right flank was still at the starting point—Guayama.

The news of peace did not reach the Philippines in time to prevent the bombardment and capture of Manila. There is still no cable connection with the mainland, and Consul General Wildman, as soon as he was advised of the peace, at Hongkong, chartered the steamer Australia to carry the news to Dewey. She put to sea on the 13th, while a typhoon was blowing. Her arrival has not yet been reported, but she could not have prevented the bombardment, for that occurred on the very day of her departure from Hongkong.

The surrender of Manila was demanded by Dewey and Merritt on the 7th. The Spanish commandant asked for 24 hours' delay, which was granted; and at the expiration of that time the attack was deferred. It was begun, however, on the 13th, at 9:35 in the morning, which, by Washington time, was about 10:30 on the night of the 12th, six hours after the signing of the protocol. The attack was opened by a bombardment from the fleet directed at the Malate fortifications. Under Admiral Dewey's orders no shots were to be fired at the city unless the ships were fired upon; and as there

was no response to the firing of the fleet, no bombardment was made except of the Malate fort. At 10:40 the American troops advanced and at 10:55 they had captured the Malate fort. Admiral Dewey then moved toward the city menacingly, and signaled for surrender. The Spanish at noon asked for a conference, which was granted; and at 2:20 the report was returned to Admiral Dewey that the surrender had been made. The American flag was raised over the city at 5:43. In the land attack the American loss was 9 killed and 39 wounded. The navy lost nothing. Unverified reports put the Spanish loss at 150 killed and 300 wounded.

Captain General Augusti was not in command at the time of the surrender. He and his family arrived at Hongkong on the 15th. There is some mystery connected with his departure, but the latest accounts indicate that he resigned his command or was relieved of it prior to the bombardment. He came to Hongkong on board the German war vessel, Kaiserin Augusta, and sailed for Europe on the 17th on board the German Lloyd steamer Prinz Heinrichs.

The last act of war in Cuba occurred on the 15th. That morning the American gunboat Mangrove, in ignorance of the suspension of hostilities, went into the harbor of Caibarien and bombarded that town. She fired 87 shells and solid shot, three of which fell on the Spanish gunboat Hernando Cortes, smashing her engine. The garrison and people of the town took to flight and were unhurt. The fire was replied to by the Spanish gunboat Cauto Intrepido, but without effect. Early in the afternoon the Mangrove started to leave the harbor but ran aground, and while waiting for flood tide was boarded by a Spanish flag of truce party and notified of the proclamation of peace.

The reports of last week that the Cubans under Garcia had invested Holguin are confirmed; but there are no assurances yet that Garcia has taken possession, though it was reported at Key West on the 13th that the Spanish forces there under Gen. Luque had been ordered to evacuate. Gen. Garcia had demanded the surrender of the town, but on the 9th the Spanish had made no reply to the demand, and were still in possession. Concurrently with the receipt of the foregoing news at Key West, it was re-

ported at Santiago that Gen. Garcia had given his army a furlough of 30 days.

In the military department of Santiago, created by the president last week, as reported in our last issue, and to the command of which Gen. Henry W. Lawton was appointed, Brig. Gen. Wood retains his position as governor of the city of Santiago and Gen. Ewers becomes governor of the city of Guantánamo. Santiago city is being cleaned, and the sick rate and the death rate are falling. During the week following the surrender the deaths in Santiago city averaged 190 a day; on the 15th they had fallen to 30. Among the troops the total number of sick has fallen from 2,830 at our last report, to 1,516 on the 16th, and of fever cases from 2,043 to 1,139. The deaths for the same period increased from 61 to 94.

Late last week returning troops from Santiago began to arrive at Montauk Point, the eastern extremity of Long Island, which, as stated in our last issue, has been selected for their home encampment. Among the first to arrive were Roosevelt's rough riders. They landed on the 15th, accompanied by Gen. Wheeler. On the transport Grande Duchesse, which arrived on the 16th, a fifth of the troops had fallen sick, two of them with yellow fever. Gen. Wheeler is in command of the Montauk encampment.

All fears, whether real or feigned, that the Cubans may not acquiesce in the peace arrangements were put at rest on the 13th by an announcement from the war department that T. Estrada Palma, the head of the Cuban Junta in the United States, had, in the name of the Cuban provincial government, accepted the armistice. Estrada and Assistant Secretary of State Meiklejohn, were in conference on that day upon the subject of the relation of the Cubans to the president's proclamation of peace, when Estrada gave his assurance of satisfaction. He cabled the president of the Cuban republic accordingly as follows:

Bartolome Maso, President Cuban Republic, Santiago, Cuba: I have this 13th day of August, 1898, accepted, in the name of the Cuban provisional government, the armistice proclaimed by the United States. You should give immediate orders to the army throughout Cuba suspending all hostilities. Preliminary terms of peace, signed by representatives of Spain and the United States, provide that Spain will re-

linquish all claim over and title to Cuba.

In the Orient, the relations of Great Britain and Russia appear to be more tense than last week. The British press makes an impression, at any rate, that a colossal war is imminent. It is not easy for the American reader, unlearned in the intricacies of European diplomacy, to grasp the situation from the disjointed cable news which falls under his eye. About all that is evident to him, and that only in a general way, is that Russia is elbowing England out of China, and that England proposes to fight rather than get out. We endeavored last week to explain the difficulty, though without tracing it to its origin. This controversy relates back to the treaty of Tient-sin, which Lord Elgin in behalf of England, and Baron Gros in behalf of France, negotiated with China in 1858. That treaty guarantees to British subjects equal rights with the subjects of all other nations, throughout the Chinese empire, and affords the foundation for the now familiar policy of the "open door." Pursuant to this policy England claims the right for her subjects, which she accords to all other nations, of engaging in commerce upon an equal footing throughout the whole of China. Opposed to that policy is the policy of marking out "spheres of influence" in different parts of China, placing one region within the sphere of one nation's influence, another within that of another, and so on. In effect, the latter policy is one of partition. It would end in parcelling out China among the European powers. These two conflicting policies, that of the "open door," and that of "spheres of influence," appear to have become confounded in the English mind, which probably accounts for the confusion that the cable reports of the Anglo-Russian situation induce in the American mind. At one time we find English sentiment aroused over some Russian trespass upon English preserves, and at another it is aflame for the principle of the "open door." But the policy of the "open door" and that of the "sphere of influence" are quite inconsistent, and when their antipodal character is grasped and clung to, the cable reports become more humorous.

Understanding that the policy of the "open door" is in irreconcilable conflict with that of acquiring "spheres of influence," of parcelling out China, it is easy to interpret the

purpose of the present ministry as declared by Lord Salisbury in the house of lords on the 1st. Intimating that the government would not engage in the railroad business in China, he said it was "prepared to defend to the utmost every contractual right that English subjects might acquire." This means simply that the ministry do not intend to go to war to protect any supposed sphere of British influence in China, any parcelling out of territory, for railroad building or what not, but that they do intend to go to war, if need be, to protect the contracts of Englishmen made anywhere in China, under the general concession of equal rights conferred by the treaty of Tient-sin. In other words, it is proposed to fight not for "spheres of influence," but for free trading throughout the Chinese empire—for the "open door."

The immediate cause of the Anglo-Russian difficulty relates, as we explained last week, to a proposed railroad from Tient-sin to New Chwang, on the north shore of the Gulf of Leaton. Capital for the construction of this railroad was to be provided under contract with the Hongkong and Shanghai bank, an English institution. This brought on interference by Russia, the proposed railroad being within what she has marked out for her "sphere of influence." Through secret diplomacy with the Chinese foreign office, she called for conditions which would prevent the road's ever falling under British control, by means of mortgage foreclosure or otherwise, conditions which made a British loan impossible and in effect abrogated the contract for the loan already contracted for with the Hongkong and Shanghai bank. Last week we were able to report that it was rumored that the Chinese foreign office had assented to Russia's demands. The rumor is now confirmed. On the 11th, the London Times published a dispatch from its Peking correspondent announcing that the Chinese foreign office had given formal assent to all the conditions demanded by the Russian charge d'affaires, M. Pavloff, regarding the contract for the New Chwang railroad extension loan, those conditions being in direct conflict with the terms of the signed contract for the British loan. Mr. Balfour, the first lord of the British treasury and government leader in the house of commons, being questioned on the same day in the house as to the correctness of the Times dis-