

However, such a person is not a fair specimen of the average American citizen. The average American is capable of being educated through information and appeals to reason. That is a gloomy pessimism which regards education as incapable of reaching the common people and of no use. Education is of use. The common people can be educated. What they chiefly need is what the dying Goethe prayed for, what we all, living or dying, need—"more light."

Despite the result of the recent election, the intentions and motives of the American people are worthy of all confidence. The great heart of America beats true.

It is said that the heart muscle, which so uninterruptedly throbs in the human breast, if its force were directed against a granite pillar the size of the human body, would, in the course of an ordinary lifetime, wear that granite pillar to dust. The simile holds good. Whatever granite pillars of imperialism, despotism or base appeal are erected in the pathway of the American people, the great, throbbing heart of America will in time wear them away.

It is sadly true, however, that at the present time a majority of the people do not understand. They neither know what are the rights of others nor how to maintain their own. They need education. And the next campaign of education cannot begin too soon nor continue too steadily.

If the leaders of democracy are wise, they will begin educational work for 1904 right away. It can be carried on through anti-imperialist leagues, anti-trust organizations, and many other independent and non-partisan channels, as well as through the regular machinery of party action.

"We must educate. We must educate, or we must perish by our own ambition." Never was this more true than to-day; nowhere was it ever more true than in America.

The worst foe to human knowledge, human progress, human rights, in America is not, as some think, the priesthood. It is not, as others think, the saloon. It is the daily press. There are, of course, noble and not-

able exceptions; but the daily press, as a rule, is owned, body and soul, by Mammon, and by its suppressed, its colored, its distorted news it hoodwinks and deceives the people and imprisons them in what Socrates rightly regarded as the worst possible ignorance—"the seeming and conceit of knowledge without the reality."

There are not a few weekly journals, however, which are truly independent, and the reading of which during the year amounts to a liberal education. These should be wisely distributed and strongly supported. This will act, in large measure, as the needed corrective for the misinformation of the daily press.

The lecture platform should be revived, rescued from the uses of mere amusement, and restored to the pristine vigor and worth which it possessed, as the people's university, in the days of Phillips, Parker and Beecher. This can be done. It is indeed true, as the Rev. Dr. George H. Peeke has said, that "the lectures which please most" are, for the most part, "full of wind and rose leaves," but it is also true that if those who believe in and desire social and political reform will send out, to give free lectures, men and women of power whose chief ambition is not to win applause nor to amass a fortune, but to instruct the teachable and inspire the patriotic, a large hearing can be obtained and a vast amount of educational work be done among the common people.

In these and other open ways, the next campaign should be begun at once. Four years is none too long in which to educate the people how to see, to think, to vote.

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NEWS

The most important event of the week, to Americans at least, is the opening, on the 3d, of the last session of the Fifty-sixth congress. And of that event the most important feature was the reading of President McKinley's message. It is a very long document and deals with a great variety of subjects, chief among them being the situation in the Philippines and the Chinese problem.

Beginning with congratulations upon our "individual and national prosperity," and assurances that "American liberty is more firmly established than ever before" while "love for it and the determination to preserve it are more universal than at any former period of our history," Mr. McKinley dwells for a moment in his message upon the larger statistics of our national growth, and then plunges into the Chinese question. His account of the evolution of this question is a model of clear statement, leading up to a presentation of the American policy on the subject. This policy, which he says has been adhered to consistently, he describes as having consisted first in rescuing the imperiled American legation at Peking; second, in obtaining redress for wrongs already suffered; and, third, in securing all possible safety for American life and property in China and preventing a spread or recurrence of disorders. Involved in this policy is the idea of "permanent safety and peace to China" along with preservation of her "territorial and administrative entity," protection of "all rights guaranteed to friendly powers," and maintenance of the "principle of equal and impartial trade" with all parts of the empire. These views coincide with "the views and purposes of the other cooperating governments," and negotiations for settlement accordingly are in progress. "The Russian proposition looking to the restoration of the imperial power in Peking has been accepted" by us; but "we forego no jot of our undoubted right to exact exemplary and deterrent punishment of the responsible authors and abettors" of the anti-foreign outrages. For them, "full expiation becomes imperative, within the rational limits of retributive justice." This is "the initial condition" of settlement. An essential factor of durable settlement is a guarantee by China of freedom of worship, and a question of grave concern is the matter of indemnity. China may not be able to pay an adequate money indemnity, yet all the powers disclaim any purpose of dismembering the empire by demanding land grants. In this dilemma President McKinley is "disposed to think that due compensation may be made in part by increased guarantees of security for foreign rights and immunities, and most important of all by the opening of China to the equal commerce of the world." But he inclines favorably, in the event of disagreement among the co-

operating powers, to the suggestion of Russia, that "the matter be relegated to the court of arbitration at The Hague."

Following its discussion of the Chinese problem, Mr. McKinley's message presents many other subjects before dealing with the Philippine situation. First among these are our relations with the Argentine republic, Austria-Hungary, Belgium and the nations of South America. Then comes a description of the Paris exposition, with an account of the satisfactory part taken in it by the United States. After our relations with Germany have been reviewed, there follows a recital of certain vexatious questions arising out of the seizure by Great Britain of American shipments to Portuguese South Africa of food destined for the Transvaal. Other relations with Great Britain have to do with Canadian questions. Then come references to minor matters concerning Guatemala, Hayti, Honduras and Italy. The Italian difficulty, which grows out of the lynching of five Italians at Tallulah, La., serves the president as a text for decrying lynching, which he does in very general terms and without in any wise connecting his general observations with the lynching of American negroes. Japan is the next subject of consideration, and, following that, is a series of notes and observations regarding the court of international arbitration, the Mosquito revolution in Nicaragua, conflicts in South America, the matter of an isthmian canal, the Delagoa bay arbitration, a treaty with Peru, a seal fishery arbitration with Russia and the courtesy of Russia to American missionaries in Siberia, our new relations with Spain, and the arbitration of losses in the Samoan islands. Another miscellaneous collection of notes and observations begins with assurances of an early settlement with the sultan of Turkey, touches then upon reciprocity treaties, mentions next the forthcoming pan-American exposition at Buffalo and pan-American congress at the City of Mexico, and concludes with a tribute to the American consular service. The statistics of treasury receipts and expenditures next claim attention, and in this connection the president recommends the continuance of the "parity under all conditions between our two forms of metallic money, silver and gold," and explains the refunding of the debt

under the act of March 14, 1900, and the growth of the national banking system. Space is then given to the increase of the excess of exports, the growth of manufacturing, and the extension of agriculture, after which a reduction of internal revenue taxes is advised, and the passage of the ship subsidy bill is urged, while a colorless reference to trusts closes the list of miscellaneous subjects which precedes the discussion of the Philippine question.

With reference to the Philippines, Mr. McKinley recalls the statement in a previous message of his purpose, "until the congress shall have made known the formal expression of its will," to maintain American sovereignty in the archipelago by means of the military power, and reports that as no contrary expression of the will of congress has been made, he has "steadfastly pursued the purpose so declared," employing also the civil arm. Here he quotes at great length from his message of a year ago to show what action had then been taken and what instructions given, following the quotation with a statement of progress since and a recommendation to congress. He would impress upon congress that any legislation regarding the Philippines should be along the "generous lines" of "insuring the benefits of liberty and good government to the Filipinos, in the interest of humanity and with the aim of building up an enduring, self-supporting and self-administering community." Calling the Filipinos "the wards of the nation," he declares it to be our duty as their guardian "so to treat them that our flag may be no less beloved in the mountains of Luzon and Negros than it is at home; that there as here it shall be the revered symbol of liberty, enlightenment and progress in every avenue of development." Though he prophesies great culture and advancement for the Filipinos "if our duty toward them be faithfully performed," he studiously refrains from indicating that they should ever be invested with either independence or statehood or otherwise be allowed to rise above the level of an American colony.

Of Porto Rico, the next subject of the message, but little is said, and nothing whatever to indicate a policy under which the island shall cease to be a colony. The president prom-

ises to transmit the Cuban constitution, as soon as framed, to congress for its consideration and action. These subjects are followed by recommendations for the laying of a chain of electric cable by way of Hawaii to Manila. They give way in turn to a discussion of army reorganization, wherein Mr. McKinley proposes a standing army of from 60,000 to 100,000 men, in the discretion of the president, inclusive of 15,000 native troops in the Philippines. A few minor military recommendations are succeeded by a discussion of the state of the postal service, of the needs of the navy, of the progress of American government in Hawaii, of the work of the census bureau, and of the agricultural department. There are then recommendations regarding the alien contract labor law and the eight-hour law, and explanations with reference to the civil service commission in its functions both at home and in the Philippines. The erection of a hall of public records is next advised. Reference follows to the proposed celebration of John Marshall day, and to the centenary of the removal of the seat of government to Washington, after which the message closes with an admonition lest business prosperity generate extravagance and growing national power invite conflict and aggression. "Let us keep always in mind that the foundation of our government is liberty, its superstructure peace," are the final words.

On the day following the reading of the president's message, the senate gave precedence, by a vote of 38 to 20, to the ship subsidy bill, and Senator Frye opened the discussion with an elaborate speech in its favor. The lower house on the same day received from the committee on military affairs its report recommending a bill for the enlargement and reorganization of the standing army, and on the 5th began the consideration of the bill in committee of the whole. Mr. McCall, republican representative from Massachusetts, obtaining an hour's time from the democratic managers, enlivened the debate with a keen but dignified criticism of the military and colonial policy of the administration. The ways and means committee reported on the 5th a bill reducing the war taxes by \$40,000,000. The largest reduction it proposes is on beer. It would also do away with stamp duties. Two Boer

resolutions were offered in the house, one on the 3d, by Fitzgerald, of Massachusetts, and the other on the 4th, by Sulzer, of New York. The former expresses the sympathy of the American people with President Kruger in his effort "to obtain the assistance of the civilized nations of the world in securing peace and proper terms of settlement;" the latter urges upon the British government the adoption of the principle of arbitration.

President Kruger's enthusiastic reception in France, described in these columns last week, was brought to an end on the 1st by his departure for Germany. Before leaving, he was advised by Delcasse, the French foreign minister, that France would decline taking the initiative in proposing intervention in South Africa, but would not discourage intervention by any other country. The chamber of deputies, by unanimous vote—600 members being present—adopted a resolution on the 29th addressing him as "President Kruger of the Transvaal," and conveying to him "a sincere expression of respectful sympathy." Upon arriving at Cologne, on his way to Berlin, Kruger was met by a representative of the emperor, who, in answer to a message of "respectful devotion and cordial sympathy" he had sent to the emperor, conveyed to him the emperor's regret that it would be impossible to receive him at Berlin at present. In consequence of this intimation, Kruger altered his plans, going directly from Cologne, where his popular reception had been most gratifying, to The Hague, where he arrived on the 5th.

In President Kruger's absence from South Africa upon his European mission, the little army he left behind has given new life to the war. There was some indication of this in last week's report, but further facts make it evident that Great Britain has far from completed her conquest. Dewetsdorp, which lies to the southeast of Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State, was on the 23d seized by Gen. De Wet and President Steyn. The British garrison of 400 surrendered, after a battle in which they lost in killed 15 and wounded 42. But the Boers immediately withdrew with their prisoners and the British reoccupied the place on the 26th. All through the country, south of Ladybrand, Thabanchu and Bloemfontein

and between the railroad and Basutoland, the Boers are most active; and, according to the London Mail, "the British seem everywhere upon the resentative of the emperor, who, in defensive." Kitchener reports some British successes, but they consist only in resisting Boer attacks.

Partly from irritation at the military situation in South Africa and partly from indignation at the uncivilized methods employed by the British army officers, who are ruthlessly destroying property, laying the country waste and warring upon women and children, a revulsion of public feeling in England appears to have set in. One of the more distinct indications of this is an editorial published on the 1st in The Statist, the leading financial journal of London, which says:

We are losing in every way, losing in prestige and losing in life. We are seeing our South African possessions plunged into greater distress and the opinion is gaining ground abroad that we are incapable of bringing the struggle to a satisfactory termination.

The same influences have extended and intensified the anti-British feeling in Cape Colony, until the situation there is regarded, in the language of the London Mail's correspondent, as "graver than at any previous period during the war." But the British government shows no disposition to modify its drastic policy. Lord Kitchener, who has the reputation of being a British Weyler, has been made commander in chief in place of Lord Roberts. There are rumors, however, that Cecil Rhodes has undertaken to formulate a scheme of conciliation, the central idea of which is a confederation of South African states under the British flag, and that some members of the cabinet are encouraging him, feeling that the only hope of the ministry is to offer such terms to the Boers as, without humbling the government, will enable it to withdraw the British troops from South Africa.

If these rumors are justified, developments in harmony with them may be expected soon in the British parliament, which assembled on the 3d. It is the first session of the new parliament—the fifteenth of Victoria's reign—which was chosen at the elections in October. No business was done besides the selection of a speaker, and for that office William

Court Gully was elected for the third time.

From the Philippines there is no news worth noting, besides the casualty report, except a report that 2,100 combatants have voluntarily surrendered and taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. The oath was administered with impressive religious ceremonies in a church at Santa Maria, near Vigan, under the direction of Gen. Young. Gen. MacArthur, in his official report, attributes the submission of these Filipinos to "the president's reelection and vigorous prosecution of the war." No rifles were surrendered.

American casualties since July 1, 1898, inclusive of the current official reports given out in detail at Washington to December 5, 1900, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900 (see page 91)	1,847
Killed reported from May 16, 1900, to the date of the presidential election, November 6, 1900.....	100
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period.....	468
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Total deaths to presidential election	2,415
Killed reported since presidential election	17
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period.....	76
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Total deaths	2,508
Wounded since July 1, 1898.....	2,373
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Total casualties since July 1, '98....	4,881
Total casualties to last week....	4,866
Total deaths to last week.....	2,504

The Chinese complications appear to be reaching a solution more favorable to China, the allied powers having now come to an agreement that it is injudicious to insist upon demands which China would be compelled to reject and which would therefore necessitate a renewal of military operations. This news was given out on the 5th by the state department at Washington, which claims credit for having brought about the result. Germany and England are said to have stood out for large indemnities and the execution of the anti-foreign leaders; but as Russia, France and Japan were disposed to be conciliatory, the United States, influenced by the Chinese minister at Washington, joined them in efforts to procure a withdrawal of the more drastic demands. The ef-