

### RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE.

Few words are more often used; few are so often abused. If a man be merely a mossback, he is regarded as a type of conservatism; he may so regard himself. If a man be a mere blatant demagogue, we are apt to call him a radical, and he may rejoice in the epithet.

Referring to these two words, the San Francisco Star makes this distinction, that a radical "is a man who seeks the right, and having convinced himself, is consequently outspoken in doing what he believes is right, though all the world beside were against him;" whereas, a conservative "is a pusillanimous creature, afraid of his own shadow, never outspoken or candid." This distinction does not seem to us to be satisfactory.

A radical is one who seeks the root of things, who tries to bring political conditions into harmony with fundamental principles; while a conservative is one who adheres to the existing order. Upon reflection, we shall learn that both are necessary to human progress.

True progress is doubtless toward adaptation to fundamental principles. The radical, therefore, would be progressive, if he were not human and liable to err. But he is human, and he does err. Often what seem to the radical to be first principles, are no principles at all. All unconsciously, instead of being progressive, he is retrogressive.

It is this fact that makes the conservative mind as important a factor in progress as the radical. Clinging to the existing order, the conservative does in truth obstruct progress, but he also and most effectively obstructs retrogression.

Like the pawl to the ratchet wheel, conservatism secures the advances that radicalism makes.

The radical mind constantly seeks changes. It is the discontented mind. In physics, it invents new machines and methods. In politics it urges on to better social conditions. Though radicals may in their ignorance drift far away from true radicalism, they never become mossbacks. They always want change, are always restless, are always in

search of the holy grail of first principles. Left to itself, this restless type of mind might as well carry the world backward as forward. Deceived by appearances, it might turn in its tracks and imperil the very advances it had made. But the conservative mind prevents that.

There is more power in truth than in falsehood. Consequently, when radical tendencies are backward, conservatism, resistance to change, is apt to be effective; but when radical tendencies are forward, conservatism, though it makes much friction, much difficulty, is ultimately ineffective. Radical energy, turned by the inertia of conservatism in the right direction, is in the long run irresistible.

These two forces operating in the great mind of human society, like the centrifugal and centripetal forces in physical nature, establish equilibrium and promote permanent progress.

Where conservatism is most stubborn, radicalism is most hardy. For an example of the more wholesome radicalism we shall turn not to France, where conservatism is weak, but to England, where it is strong.

## NEWS

A startling rumor has been current, to the effect that the peace negotiations between Spain and the United States have been broken off by Spain.

The joint peace commission was to have resumed its sessions on the 19th, as we reported last week; but at the request of the American commissioners the meeting was postponed until the 21st. The object of the postponement was to enable the Americans to perfect their reply to the argument submitted last week by the Spanish in opposition to the American proposition for the cession to the United States of the Philippine archipelago. Upon the assembling of the joint commission on the 21st the American reply was presented. It declared that the United States must have the entire archipelago; offering, however, to pay Spain therefor the sum of \$20,000,000 and pledging equal rights to the world's commerce—the "open door," as it is called. The proposition Spain had made to arbitrate the Phil-

ippine clause in the protocol was positively declined, and November 28 was fixed as the date on which the American commissioners would expect a definite response to its propositions. Along with the report of this meeting came a positive statement from the Associated Press that Senor Montero Rios, the president of the Spanish commission, had refused to continue the negotiations.

But the statement that Rios had withdrawn was afterwards denounced by the Paris correspondent of the Associated Press as a stock jobbing trick. He said he had sent no such statement, and that Senor Rios declared the statement to be untrue. It is now believed that the Spanish will not wait until the 28th to make their reply; but that they will make it on the 23d, and that it will be an acceptance of the American conditions. They applied to the American commissioners on the 22d for a further elucidation of the American conditions. One of their requests was to know whether, if the Philippines be ceded, America will take them free of subsisting obligations. Other requests related to the "open door" policy, the release of political prisoners, and the revival of previous treaties. The final request was to know whether the American suggestion that conferences on other points will follow if Spain finally and definitely accepts the American conditions, means that if the conditions be not accepted conferences will not follow.

While the peace commissioners negotiate regarding the Philippines, the American authorities are extending their occupation from Manila, on Luzon island, to other islands in the group. Admiral Dewey telegraphed on the 18th that the entire island of Panay was in possession of the insurgents, except the town of Iloilo, which was defended by 800 Spanish troops, and that the island of Negros had declared independence and asked for an American protectorate. Since then it has been reported from Manila and denied from Madrid that the insurgents have captured Iloilo. In response to Dewey's telegram, the president, after conferring with the cabinet, instructed Gen. Otis to send enough American troops to the islands of Panay and Negros to protect life and property and to subdue the insurgents. The president at the same time instructed Admiral Dewey to send part of his fleet to those islands

and notify the insurgents that the United States intends to manage the affairs of the Philippines without interference on their part.

The purpose of the United States to take possession of the Philippines as conquered territory, not only against the claims of Spain, but also against the protests of the native inhabitants as represented by the insurgent government, a purpose which is now manifest, has begun to arouse a hostile feeling among the insurgents. Their representatives continue to express confidence in the American president, but it is evident that they are inclined to resist American conquest. As some of these leaders phrase it, they do not propose to be sold by Spain to the United States or to any other power.

Organized opposition to the conquest of the Philippines is also beginning to appear in the United States. A meeting was held at Boston on the 19th, over which Edward Atkinson presided. At this meeting a constitution was adopted, officers were elected, and an address to the people of the United States was issued. The address urged prompt cooperation in getting signatures to a protest against the annexation of the Philippines. In response to this call a meeting was held on the 21st at Chattanooga, which was almost unanimous in its opposition to the Philippine conquest.

The opposition to American occupation which Filipino leaders express, is also expressed by Gen. Garcia for the Cubans. Gen. Garcia, who sailed from Havana on the 17th, arrived in New York on the 21st. He is at the head of a commission appointed by the Cuban congress which recently met at Santa Cruz del Sur. Two commissions were appointed by that congress, one to constitute a provisional government for the maintenance of order, and the other, of which Gen. Garcia is at the head, to visit the United States for the purpose of advising with the president and congress regarding the future of Cuba. While protesting that the Cubans desire a temporary occupation by the Americans, and would in no way attempt to dictate terms, Gen. Garcia declared their opposition to annexation. He said:

We do not want annexation and we do not believe there will be necessity for arguing that point with President Mc-

Kinley or anyone else. We consider that settled. McKinley's word is good enough for us. We do believe, however, that it is necessary for American troops to occupy the islands for the present and we will do all we can to cooperate with them. From one end of the island to the other there is a sense of gratitude to the United States for the service she has rendered to us in our struggle for liberty that can never be forgotten. We are willing and anxious to be ruled by Americans for the present, but not forever.

Later news from the elections, perhaps the most important of all the election news, though the daily news gatherers give it but scant attention, tells of the adoption by the people of South Dakota, not only of the woman suffrage amendment, but also of an amendment embodying a system of direct legislation. This is the longest stride in the direction of popular government in this country since the adoption of the declaration of independence. Under the South Dakota system, no legislation to which 5 per cent. of the voters object can become effective without indorsement by popular vote; and any legislation which 5 per cent. of the voters desire, must be submitted to popular vote and become law if adopted by a majority. The people of South Dakota can no longer be governed against their will by a corrupt, ignorant or indifferent legislature.

The details of the South Dakota system of direct legislation are simple. Whenever 5 per cent. of the qualified voters of the state petition for the enactment of a measure, the legislature is required by the new constitution to submit that measure to the people at the next general election, when, if approved by a majority, it becomes the law of the state. On the other hand, any act of the legislature may be objected to by the petition of 5 per cent. of the qualified voters of the state, and being so objected to it must be submitted to the people at the next general election, when if not approved by a majority, it fails to become a law.

The heat of the election campaign of 1898 having cooled, preparations for the campaign of 1900 have begun. We have already noted the plan for raising a free coinage campaign fund by popular contribution, which Harvey, of "Coin's Financial School," is managing under the authority of democratic leaders. In New York another movement has been started.

It looks to the same end, the retention of the free coinage plank in the national democratic platform and the exclusion from places of power in the party of politicians who represent nothing but their own personal interests or aspirations. At the head of this movement is John Brisben Walker, of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Mr. Walker was a member of the democratic state committee of New York. He resigned rather than support Richard Croker in the late campaign, and he now seeks to organize the anti-Croker democratic forces. Meanwhile Mr. Croker is not idle. He recently visited Chicago, where he conferred with Mayor Harrison, and on the 6th of next month, a meeting of democratic politicians opposed to the Chicago platform is to be held at New York, under his auspices, for the purpose of planning for control of the national convention in 1900. Among the democratic leaders of national reputation who are invited to Mr. Croker's conference are Mayor Harrison of Chicago and ex-Gov. Stone of Missouri, neither of whom is regarded by the silver men as faithful to the Chicago platform. Democrats who are regarded as loyal to silver and Bryan have not been invited.

In the republican party also trouble is brewing. It has first begun to show itself in Michigan. Gov. Pingree is opposing the return of Senator Burrows, of Michigan, to his seat in the national senate, while Mr. Hanna and Mr. McKinley are supporting Burrows, with the aid of federal patronage. Pingree has long been restive under interference from Washington, and now he declares himself without reservation. He has given notice that if federal office holders continue to interfere in the state politics of Michigan, he will consider that the administration invites his enmity; and that if the administration wishes to fight him, he is willing to fight the administration. It is reported from Detroit that if the governor is further annoyed from Washington, the delegation from Michigan to the next republican convention will cast 28 votes against McKinley's re-nomination.

The labor trouble in the coal region of central Illinois has broken out afresh. The settlement of the lock-out at the Virden mines, reported last week, did not involve the difficulty at the Pana mines, about 30 miles to the