

approved interview in the New York Evening Post with the remark that "it would certainly be a great pity to drive Spain out of Cuba only to turn the island into another Hayti." But the most specific explanation of the motive and purpose of the sentiment which the Chicago Tribune phrases was given to the president early in the month of April, by Dr. Klopsch, editor of the Christian Herald, upon his return from Cuba. Dr. Klopsch said that "the better class of people in Cuba are in favor of autonomy; that they would consider independence a terrible calamity, and that the majority of the Cubans believe this and admit their own incapacity for self-government."

What all this means is that with the expulsion of Spain from Cuba an effort is to be made under the sanction of the United States to prevent in some way the establishment of self-government among the Cubans. Whether a protectorate, or a sort of autonomy under the control of the planters, or a syndicate, shall be resorted to for this purpose is matter of detail. The essential thing is that the Cubans shall not be allowed to govern themselves, lest the majority put an end to some of the wicked privileges of what Dr. Klopsch calls "the better class of people," that is to say, of the people who live in the sweat of the faces of the lower classes.

No one will deny that local self-government in Cuba may at first result in disorder and misrule. But so would government which is not self-government. That in itself would be disorder and misrule. It might be "stable," to use the president's ominous expression. It might preserve order in the sense of maintaining peace. But it would be the peace of the prison, the peace of liberty in shackles. The disorder and misrule of an autocratic government are premeditated, and grow worse as the government grows older. But the disorder and misrule of self-government among a people who have recently escaped from tyranny is only a lingering reminder of the old disorder—part of the pain of a healing wound.

It is perfectly true, as the Tribune says, that "when a people who have been despotically ruled are freed it

takes them some time to learn to govern themselves." But the Tribune's cure, which so many people thoughtlessly adopt, is worse than the disease. The only true remedy was prescribed by Macaulay in his essay on Milton. 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.

This is the cure which the United States ought to apply to Cuba. Not only have the Cubans the natural right to govern themselves, but the only way in which they can ever become self-governing is by making a beginning. Self-government in nations, like self-government with individuals, can reach perfection only through experience. As no man can teach another to govern himself, so no nation can teach another to govern itself. If Cuba would be disorderly now, upon throwing off the yoke of Spain, unless held in subjection by the United States, the time would never come when the United States could relax control. Under repression, the people of Cuba could not learn to govern themselves.

And would the disorder incident to newly-acquired freedom be so deplorable after all? Hayti is mentioned by Dawley, from whom we have already quoted, as having been changed from a "thrifty commercial settlement, lawful and orderly, into a community little above the level of barbarism." This "lawful" and "orderly" commercial settlement was a settlement of slave owners and slaves. Is such a settlement preferable to what Dawley calls "the level of barbarism"? By the masters, living upon their plundered slaves, perhaps so; but how about the slaves? Would not any man rather live in freedom near the "level of barbarism," than as a slave in a "thrifty," "orderly" and "lawful" commercial settlement? Would it not also be bet-

ter for him, and better for the masters?

The insurrections in Hayti are a legitimate inheritance from the kind of "law," and the kind of "order" and "thrift" which prevailed when that country ignored the natural rights of the majority of its population. And those insurrections, do they prove that Hayti is unfit for self-government, any more than our civil war proved our unfitness? Why should Haytian insurrections prove that Hayti is unfit to govern herself, while the insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines prove that Spain has been fit to govern there?

The truth is, that at bottom this is not a question in the minds of those who raise it of the ability of Cuba to maintain order through self-government. Order, in the true sense not only of peace but also of harmony with natural law, is not what they are thinking of. They are thinking of maintaining the power of the classes over the masses. That power they will maintain, if possible, by the strong American arm.

It will remain to be seen, when the war shall have ended, whether on this issue the plutocratic or the democratic spirit of this country will prevail. That there will be a contest over the issue, however, there can be no doubt; and through that contest social and economic questions will become more pressing than ever. And of all social questions the land question will be uppermost. For in connection with Cuba the contest will relate most directly to the rights relatively of the landed and the landless. The sentiment to which we have referred, and which has found such pronounced expression in the Chicago Tribune, has its origin in a determination to maintain landlordism in Cuba, and to back it with American law when Spanish law can no longer protect it.

NEWS

Though no official news from Commodore Dewey's movement upon the Philippines, reported on page 7 last week, has been received at this writing, it is evident from other sources of information that he penetrated into Manila Bay on the morning of the 1st, and fought a great battle and

won a great victory there on that day. It is a reasonable inference, besides, that he followed this victory with a bombardment of Manila and its fortifications, for the purpose of forcing a capitulation. The result of the bombardment, however, is not yet known.

* Commodore Dewey, under whose leadership the naval battle of Manila Bay was won, entered the naval academy from Vermont in 1857, and was graduated in 1861. He served under Farragut in the civil war. In 1884 he was made a captain and placed in command of the *Dolphin*, one of the four vessels which formed the original "white squadron." His commission as commodore bears date February 28, 1896. In January last he took command of the Asiatic squadron, which fought the battle of Manila Bay.

News of the victory of Commodore Dewey's fleet at Manila Bay was slow in reaching this country. This was because the Spanish controlled the Manila cable until it was interrupted. Though the battle was fought on Sunday, May 1, and rumors about it began to reach the United States as early as Sunday evening, these rumors came by way of Madrid, and the nature and extent of the victory had to be spelled out between the lines of Spanish accounts.

On the 1st, Commander Dewey's squadron, which had left Mirs Bay on the 27th, as told on page 7 last week, was reported as having come in sight of Manila on the 30th and as having already captured four Spanish prizes. The Spanish warships instead of coming out to give battle in the open sea, as it had been announced they would do, were said to be in hiding. According to this report, it was supposed at Hong-Kong that Admiral Montejó, in command of the Spanish squadron, would try to fight about 15 miles outside of Manila, and, failing to win a decisive victory, would retire to the harbor; and that Commodore Dewey would if possible, before attacking, get between the Spanish ships and the shore in order to cut off retreat. Letters from the Philippines, smuggled into Hong-Kong to the insurgent junta there, asserted that at this time the insurgents held all the hills surrounding Manila within a radius of from ten to twenty miles, and were awaiting the arrival of the American squadron. After that, nothing was heard from the Philippines until

the Spanish ministry at Madrid began to furnish news of the battle.

The first official dispatch they gave out was from the governor-general of the Philippines to the Spanish minister of war. It announced that the Americans had been fired upon by the forts at the entrance to Manila Bay while forcing a passage under the obscurity of the night; that at day-break they had opened a strong fire against Fort Cavite, within the bay, and against the arsenal, but were obliged by the Spanish fleet "to maneuver repeatedly," and that at nine o'clock they took refuge behind the foreign merchant shipping on the east side of the bay. A later dispatch reported the *Reina Maria Christina* on fire and the *Don Juan de Austria* to have been blown up. Considerable loss of life was admitted, including the killing of Capt. Cadarzo, of the *Maria Christina*. Later on the same day the governor-general was said to have reported that Admiral Montejó had transferred his flag to the cruiser *Isla de Cuba*, from the cruiser *Reina Maria Christina*, the latter being completely burned, as was also the cruiser *Castilla*, and that the other Spanish ships had retired from the combat, some having been sunk to avoid their falling into the hands of the Americans. According to the *El Herald*, of Madrid, of the same day, two engagements occurred, the latter being begun after the Americans had landed their wounded on the west side of the bay. Other dispatches by way of Madrid reported the sinking of both the *Reina Maria Christina* and the *Castilla*; also severe damages to the *Don Juan de Austria* and the killing of its commander.

Further advices from Madrid on the 2d reported that dispatches from Manila indicated that the American fleet had razed the town of Cavite, demolished the batteries protecting it and burned the unfortified part of Manila; and that Admiral Montejó acknowledged officially the complete destruction of his fleet. These advices told also that Commodore Dewey had demanded the surrender of the city of Manila, with all the guns and torpedoes, and the possession of the cable office; also the surrender of all Spanish vessels in the Philippine archipelago; and that he threatened to bombard the city if his demands were not complied with.

Through the British consul at Manila it was learned at London on the 2d that the fighting between the fleets lasted about an hour and a half, and

that the Spanish fleet was destroyed and the land batteries silenced. Also that Commodore Dewey had demanded the capitulation, through the British consul, who conveyed it to the Spanish governor general and the Spanish admiral.

On the 3d a dispatch to the German minister of foreign affairs at Berlin, received from the German consul at Manila, described the battle of Manila Bay as short and decisive, resulting in the total destruction of the Spanish fleet and the loss to the Spaniards of more than 400 men, with but slight damage to the American fleet and few injuries to its crews.

These reports made it clear that the American victory had been complete, but nothing was yet known as to the occupation of Manila. An anonymous dispatch, purporting to come from Hong-Kong on the 3d announced that Manila had fallen; and advices through Madrid spoke of the native quarters in Manila being in flames and said that the batteries of Ciudadela, especially the large guns, were vigorously replying to the American fire and had done considerable damage to the American fleet. These reports seemed to relate to an attack by the American fleet for the purpose of getting possession of Manila and her defenses, and a message from Hong-Kong of the 3d, dated early in the morning, reported an attack about an hour before by the American squadron at Manila upon the forts on Corregidor island, at the entrance to Manila Bay; but before any further information came the cable was interrupted. The Eastern Telegraph company announced on the 3d at London, that it was impossible for any word to have come from Manila since ten o'clock London time in the morning of the 2d, or early in the evening of the 2d at Manila.

Orders were issued on the 3d preparatory to sending American troops to the Philippines, including instructions to engage transports to convey 10,000 from San Francisco. The plan at present is to take the militia from the far western states, but all plans are to be held in abeyance until the arrival of Commodore Dewey's report.

The early reports which the Spanish ministry had given out appear to have been entirely favorable to Spain as they reached the public in Madrid.

It was even claimed that the Spanish fleet had won a victory. The excuse for this claim having been, as afterwards explained, that the Americans had been forced to retire behind neutral merchantmen in Manila harbor. And so broad had the claim been that arrangements for a celebration were made. Consequently, when the truth began to leak out, the anger of the people of Madrid rose rapidly. Reports from Madrid under date of the 2d were to the effect that utter consternation had reigned since the Manila disaster was divulged. The cabinet was said to have been in full possession of the particulars of the battle on Sunday morning, but decided to make known the news by degrees. When the facts were fully known a cry went up that treachery alone could account for the entrance of the American squadron into Manila harbor. Pacifying bulletins were sent out in the early morning of the 2d to the effect that the city was tranquil and that the authorities were determined vigorously to suppress all street demonstrations.

On the 3d the anger of the people at the ministry found expression through the Madrid newspapers, several of which bitterly attacked the ministry for having neglected the precautions necessary to have prevented the Manila defeat. Then came news that martial law had been proclaimed in Madrid and that troops were patrolling the city. The proclamation of martial law suspended the power of the civil authorities, proclaimed the city in a state of siege, ordered as a consequence that "all offenses against public order, those of the press included, will be tried by the military tribunals," and prohibited public meetings and public demonstrations. In the offenses of the press the proclamation included "offenses committed by those who, without special authorization, shall publish anything relative to any operation of war whatever." The immediate occasion of the proclamation was a demonstration on the 3d of over a thousand men, who cried as they marched through the streets: "Down with the Bourbons!" "Long live Don Carlos!" "Long live the republic!" and "Long live Weyler!" The civil governor of Madrid broke up the procession with the aid of the police, who were badly stoned, and thereupon martial law was proclaimed. Lieut. Gen. Daban, the captain gen-

eral of Madrid, took charge of the government of the city.

The minister of the interior explained in the lower house of the cortes, that martial law had been proclaimed because "certain elements had sought to turn the misfortunes of the country to their own advantage by trying to arouse political passions."

But the proclamation of martial law did not allay the excitement. On the 4th Madrid was in a wilder state than ever. The people were defying the troops and the troops were firing upon the people. The sentiment against the government was then plainly divided between the republicans, the Carlists and those who wanted a dictatorship under Weyler. Carlist, socialist, and republican papers had been suppressed, but revolutionary literature was openly distributed.

The bitterness of the popular feeling which had led to the proclamation of martial law, thrust itself into the cortes. At the session of the lower house on the 3d, one of the deputies, Salmeron, the republican leader and once president of the chamber, in the course of a speech on the defeat of the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay, said it would be "necessary to establish the responsibility attaching to the crown as well as to the least citizen." For these words he was called to order, his attention being directed to the constitution, which declares the inviolability of the crown. But persisting, he criticized monarchical governments in Spain, holding those of the past half century responsible for the present situation. His concluding words were: "We expend millions to maintain the monarchy, but we have not enough to buy ironclads. Whoever will destroy the existing regime will be a great patriot."

Sagasta replied in what the dispatches describe as "a determined way," begging the house to grant the necessary war appropriations. It was understood that if that were done the cortes would be dissolved, and he was greeted with angry demonstrations by both the Carlists and the republicans. He made none of the explanations of the defeat at Manila that were demanded, and a vote of censure of the government was moved.

In the evening, the minister of marine, while attempting to answer Salmeron, was howled down by the republicans, and epithets were ban-

died by the deputies, who called each other "Yankees" and "traitors." London dispatches describe the session as scandalous.

On the same day that martial law was proclaimed in Madrid, evidence that the disaffection in the city extends over Spain was afforded by orders given to the governors of provinces to resign their powers to the military authority in their own discretion. In cases in which this is done, the military authorities are to proclaim martial law.

Martial law was accordingly proclaimed on the 4th in some of the provinces. At Giron, on the Bay of Biscay, at Talavera near Toledo, at Malaga, and at Oviedo, the capital of the province of Oviedo, rioting was at that time apparently beyond the control even of the military; and some of the military at Giron had deserted to the people. A band of revolutionists were reported to have made a rendezvous at Catalan, in Valencia, to which the people from all directions were flocking.

Just before the Manila cable was cut, the Spanish government at Madrid, in reply to a request of the Chinese at Manila to place themselves under the British flag, and the offer of the British consul to accept the responsibility, said that there was no reason for the protection, as Spain "would uphold Spanish sovereignty in its integrity, while respecting international rights." The ministry communicated the offer to the British consul to the European powers with a statement of its refusal, and a significant suggestion to "the powers who are not disposed to allow Great Britain to protect China, that they have squadrons in the far east themselves for that purpose."

On the American side of the two oceans, preparations have been in progress looking to a movement upon Cuba. Troops were hurried from Chickamauga and Mobile on the 28th to Tampa and Fernandina, and regimental commanders of the First Provisional brigade at Tampa, commanded by Col. M. A. Cochran, were ordered to prepare their respective regiments for immediate field service with 30 days' rations. The regiments are the Fifth, Sixth, Ninth and Thirteenth United States infantry. Active preparations for departure were going on among the troops at Tampa on the 29th, but so far only