

we would do the world by abandoning our position as to the basis of just government, but we must consider what the effect of the new position would be upon the American people. The formal and deliberate adoption of a permanent colonial system could not but affect our home government, for no matter what may be said to the contrary, governments are administered according to a theory, just as lives are governed according to certain fixed principles. The abandonment of the theory of self government in dealing with the Filipinos would necessarily be followed by the weakening of the doctrine of self-government in this country. Walpole declared that the English people could not defend the English position during the revolutionary war without asserting principles which, if carried out, would destroy English liberty as well as American liberty. It can be said with equal truth that the people of this country can not defend an imperial policy in dealing with the Filipinos without asserting principles which, if carried out, will ultimately destroy American liberty as well as Philippine liberty. Doctor Winston's position, therefore, is erroneous. First, because a colonial policy is not necessary for the advancement of the welfare of the Filipinos; and second, because we could not afford to help the Filipinos at such tremendous cost to ourselves and to the rest of the world.

Doctor Winston's position, however, is the more dangerous because it is conscientiously held by a man of high repute. If he had said that we should hold the Philippine islands in order to make money out of them, his argument would have had little weight, but when he puts the retention of the islands on the ground of duty he makes an appeal to conscience, and it should be considered in that light. It will help Doctor Winston to see the error of his position if he will ask himself the following questions:

First.—If the Filipinos are now incapable of self-government, how will he explain the action of the Creator in leaving them so long without a benevolent guardian (to govern them against their will, and to tax them without representation)?

Second.—As nations differ in their capacity for self-government, just as individuals differ in their ability to restrain themselves, and as he predicates our obligations to govern them on the ground that we are more capable than they are, how does he expect the gulf between the capacity of the Filipinos and our capacity to be narrowed unless the Filipinos without self-government make more progress than we do?

Third.—Those who oppose imperialism point to the text "So live that others seeing your good works will be constrained to glorify your Father,"—a text that emphasizes the influence of example. Upon what Bible text do imperialists rely for authority to purchase from a defeated king the title to his subjects or to give to the Filipinos the choice between accepting our rule or dying at the hands of our soldiers?

Fourth.—How can this nation continue to hold out before the world the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence and at the same time deny the force of that doctrine when dealing with the Filipinos?

These questions are not presented in a controversial spirit, but because the editor of *The Commoner* believes that the editor of the *Christian Advocate* has inadvertently fallen into a grievous error hurtful alike to himself and to those whom his arguments may lead astray.

Memory.

The closing days of December bring retrospection. It is the season when the fire burns most brightly on memory's altar. Lost opportunities, gone never to return; mistakes that can not be corrected; uncharitable words, if not deeds wrong in themselves—all these are recalled, mingled with pleasant memories, as the winter's winds sing a sad requiem over the dying year.

It is the accounting period, and if the life is what it ought to be each expiring year should show a larger balance on the credit side of the ledger than the year before. But reformation does not entirely obliterate the marks of sin. Children learn the story of the boy whose father gave him a hammer and some nails and told him to drive a nail into one of the gate posts every time he did anything wrong and to withdraw a nail whenever he did a good deed. For awhile the nails increased but the very number of them finally brought reflection and the boy began to withdraw nails. One day the father found him standing before the post—all the nails withdrawn but the

boy was in tears. The father, delighted with his son's improvement, asked why he was sad and the boy replied: "The scars are still there." Yes, the scars remain but they may serve a useful purpose if they restrain us from future transgression.

While repentance may change the course of a life it is not always possible to make complete restitution when an injury has been done to another. If, for instance, one takes a human life no amount of repentance can call back the spirit that has flown. Nor is the taking of a life the only sin for which full compensation can not be made. The wrong done by a false witness is largely irremedial. It is told of a priest that one of his flock came to confess to wilful slander. The priest directed him to scatter a handful of thistle down upon the wind and when he had done so he was directed to go forth and gather up the scattered seed. When he replied that it was impossible to do so his spiritual adviser reminded him it was likewise impossible to entirely undo the wrong done by a false accusation.

Memory does not always smile upon us but when she does chide us it is for our good and while she sobers us with the contemplation of time wasted, hours misspent and moments which we may wish to forget, still she enables us to live over the joyous days of the past, preserves for us the faces and voices of friends and gives us sweet communion with the absent and the dead. Memory is the wireless telegraphy which indissolubly connects us with every experience through which we have passed and the messages move most freely between youth and age. By a kindly provision the Creator has made memory most active when the other powers are failing and when planning for the morrow loses its charm. In fact, it is one of the signs that the sun has crossed the meridian that the time given to memory increases. The young talk not of the past. With strong step they press forward; with firm hand they lay hold of the work before them; with steady eye they look into the future. But as age creeps on the pace slackens, the grasp is loosened and the eyes grow dim. Then the currents of life flow backward and the early days return, bringing with them a period that resembles childhood, just as the setting sun recalls the glowing colors of the dawn. Happy are we if the evening of life brings the satisfaction which crowns a well spent day and finds us waiting with triumphant faith the hour when "man goeth to his long home."

As in the closing years of life, so in the closing days of the year, memory holds sway and we yield ourselves to her consolations and admonitions.

The Complete Returns

On another page will be found an Associated Press dispatch from Chicago giving the complete returns from all the states. Editorial reference has been made to the returns from particular states and to the estimated total vote. But it seems that the estimates were not accurate. For instance the total vote cast this year seems to be 460,078 less than the total vote in 1900, while the estimates based upon partial returns did not indicate so large a falling off. The republican gain is only 409,822 which is nearly a hundred thousand less than the estimate generally received.

Judge Parker falls 1,277,772 behind the democratic vote of four years ago. These figures are only a little more than the estimate made from the incomplete returns.

The total populist vote is only 114,637, which is considerably less than the estimate based upon earlier returns. The total populist vote is only a little more than twice what it was four years ago, although four years ago the regular populist party fused with the democrats, and the vote of that year was the vote cast for the middle of the road populist ticket, as it was called.

The socialist vote is 397,587, which is considerably less than the estimate made earlier upon partial returns. Some thought that the socialist vote would run as high as 600,000 but even the present increase is doubtless gratifying to the socialists, as it is the largest relative gain made this year. The prohibition vote is 260,303, a gain of about 25 per cent. The fact that the democratic loss was nearly half a million greater than the total gain of all the other parties indicates that the election was a rebuke to the plan of campaign adopted by the democrats rather than a victory for President Roosevelt or for his party. The gain in the socialist vote, taken in connection with the democratic loss, shows that those who oppose the republican party demand more radical legislation rather than the conservative policy proposed last summer by the eastern democrats.

The socialist vote is small in the south and largest in Illinois, New York, Ohio, California and

Wisconsin. To what extent the socialist vote has been swelled by democrats who voted that ticket as a rebuke to the conservative democrats can not be known. Future elections may throw light upon this subject.

An inspection of election returns is always interesting, and ought to be of value in determining the drift of public sentiment. Such inspection also shows how impossible it is to base predictions upon the statements issued by campaign committees just before the election.

The South in Politics

Since the election the southern papers have contained many editorials regarding the position of the south in politics. Some complain that southern interests are not sufficiently considered by the north, and some have even gone so far as to suggest that the south form a party of its own and act independently in politics. It is natural that the failure of the north to recognize the danger which southern people see in the race issue should bring forth criticism and it is not strange that some of the criticism should be bitter and that some of the advice should be ill considered. The race question is not an issue in the north and the northern people do not understand it. Nowhere in the north is white supremacy menaced. During the late campaign the race question cut practically no figure. With but few if any did it have any weight in the determining of political action, but the south need not be surprised at this. Many people think only of questions that immediately concern them. This is to be regretted, but it is a fact, and because it is a fact local self-government is the best government. Because people will consider most carefully those things that affect them most it is dangerous to have the government too far from the people, and it is equally dangerous to have the people of one section acting for the people of another section. The people in the fishing districts can not intelligently decide upon questions of irrigation, and people in the arid regions are likewise ignorant of matters affecting the coast. The farmer does not as a rule understand the problems with which the city has to deal, and the resident of a great city does not understand the problems with which the agriculturist is wrestling. Where each community governs itself the laws are made not only by the people who are to live under them but by the people who understand the conditions which the laws are expected to meet. The white people of the north are not different from the white people of the south. If the race question presented itself to the north as it does to the south, it is not likely that it would be met in a different spirit or in a different way, and if the race question were a northern question rather than a southern one, the people of the south would be as indifferent to it as the people of the north are. There is no disposition in the north to interfere with the manner in which the problem is now being worked out by the south. Once in a while the question is raised, but it is usually for political purposes. It is not likely that any serious attempt will be made to secure national legislation on the subject. If such an attempt is made it should be made with logic and with light, not with the calling of names and with heat.

There is a strong political reason that will probably prevent the passage of any legislation reducing the congressional representation of the south, namely, the fear of alienating the colored vote of the north. As long as the republican party can use southern franchise amendments to solidify the colored vote of the north it will do it, but the moment it provides for a reduction of the representation of the south it confesses that it has abandoned the colored man in the south and the political advantage which the republican party would gain by the reduction of southern representation would stand in the way of its again taking up the case of negro suffrage. The south, with the recollection of reconstruction days fresh in memory, is protecting itself against a repetition of those days of legislative robbery. The amendments have only been adopted in the states where the colored voters are numerous enough to endanger the continued supremacy of the white race, and even in those states the colored man has been given the protection of the constitution and laws made by the white man for himself—a protection which the republicans have denied to the Filipinos. If the republicans seriously attempt to pass a law changing the representation of the south they will be met with amendments that will apply the law to northern states as well, and they will have to explain why they did not suggest a reduction of the representation in the eastern states that pre-