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THE TROUBLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

The "Record-Union" believes that the stories of the strained relations between Russia and England are much exaggerated. Russia is doing all in her power, and has practically succeeded in monopolizing the trade of the Yangtze Valley in China through concluded railway concessions.

A large party in England demands that the Government shall protest against this and insist upon equal concessions to British capital. They do not ask that any concessions granted to Russia shall be vacated, but they do ask China to refuse any further grants without treating English capital in like manner and that Russian influence in crippling the British railway concessions shall be rebuked and checked.

To China this party has said resist Russian push and England will stand abreast with you against Russia. But China has refused to get between the millstones, and Russia has had her way freely. The aggressive party in England is headed by Mr. Chamberlain, the London "Times" and Lord Berosford. They would have the English Government do something speedily to check the movement of Russia in China. They declare that unless that is done Russia will soon dominate Mongolia, and then Tibet itself, and the whole of Northwestern China. They pretend to fear even for English power upon the Indian frontier.

Lord Salisbury and the cooler headed statesmen of England reply that the demand for "the open door," the fair play game for England in the markets of the Orient is enough; that she cannot compel English capital to enter China, get concessions and build railways, much less build them herself; that in fact English capital has fought shy of such investment because no guarantee could be had from China to secure it. It is no part of the duty of the Government, says Lord Salisbury and Mr. Curzon, to hunt up routes for railways in foreign lands for English capital to improve upon. But the Government's duty is to protect the rights of Englishmen wherever they secure concessions and make investments large or small. As for the Government building railways on foreign soil it does not propose to do anything of the kind, no matter how much Russia indulges in that doubtful policy.

But the Government of England will contend for the open door for trade, and, if necessary, will fight for it. It is entitled to trade into the valley of the Yangtze and it will resist exclusion in the interest of a monopolizing nation. If the British concession for a railway line in New Chang is perfected and built upon, the Government will defend every right gained under it, just as it would defend the right of the humblest coter to his thatched roof. Indeed, the Government had notified China that it would sustain her in resisting any aggression due to the grant of any concessions to English syndicates. That had reference to the demand of Russia that China should forbid the mortgaging of the English railway scheme as security for the cost of building. But China, thinking the easier way out was to comply with Russian demand, has acquiesced in it, and that action has practically killed the British railway enterprise.

In the meantime France and Germany are driving wedges in China that make it easier for Russia to contemplate and some day carry out its movement southward, and it is this that alarms the "Times," Mr. Chamberlain and their party. But, as is suggested by a number of commercial writers, if Russia opens up China to a new and vast trade, England will get her share of it. But that share will not be proportionately as large as at present, as she carries now 82 per cent. of China's foreign trade and pays 76 per cent. of the Chinese revenues from it. The New York "Post" suggest that if Russia im-

mensely enlarges the sphere of her trade in China, England will also be the gainer by an enlarged trade in Russia, for England now makes 95 per cent. of all the machinery used in the Czar's realms. Augmentation of her manufactures will, therefore, increase the demand from Russia for supplies from England.

But it is very doubtful if this argument by our New York contemporary is sound, since there are very many evidences that Russia is to gradually reduce her demand upon England by developing home capacity to manufacture. We know as a fact that Russia has lately called to her aid American engineering and mechanical skill with precisely that end in view. Whether she can accomplish it, is another thing. The real issue in England is whether the Government shall go into partnership with English subjects in constructing works in foreign lands. The present Ministry says, "Never, Government patronage of that order is abominable."

On the other hand, a formidable party declares that such notions are old-fashioned and England must clear the way for her trade with shells and cannon, if need be, or see Russia monopolize that which should be free to all. In one sense this position is the advancing and civilizing one, but on the other hand it is strengthening of a stand that points toward dangers to free government, and gives strength to the socialistic idea of government ownership and promotion. That there is a possibility of the English Government being driven into a war because of the issue is not to be denied, but as matters now stand, with as firm a man as Lord Salisbury holding the helm, it does not appear probable.

A contemporary calls the State Democratic platform "wobbly." It is worse than that. It is flat failure. "Wobbly" implies some degree of ability to stand on its pins; the platform has no legs at all; it is worse than evasive. It lacks tone in every respect, and in many is absolutely false in its recitation of alleged facts. We incline to the belief that the Stockton "Record" has best named it in calling it a "boomerang," for it will certainly rebound to the discomfort of its manufacturers. In its condemnation of alleged evils it challenges thought as to what the Democracy has done when in power to correct them, and the result of research along those lines reveals total absence of accomplishment by that party. Our contemporary, the "Record," sharply arraigns the railway labor wage plank in the platform, declaring it to be, as it certainly is, the essence of paternalism. It might as well have said tomfoolism. The idea of a Government fixing the wage rate is just a little too raw for the civilization of the age.

The people are fully convinced that the campaign is not to be fought on the make-believe issue of silver. There is no issue in the platform. As the Fresno "Republican" well says, the only square-toed matter set forth in it upon which a campaign fight can be made is the Indorsement of Governor Budd and Senator White—"purely a question of offices."

WISD JUDGMENT CONCERNING THE PHILIPPINES.

Time was when this nation, in the vealy stage, well might have feared to assume the responsibility of acquiring and governing colonies. But we have passed out of the period of adolescence. The nation has attained manhood. It has demonstrated its right to a place among nations as a first-classer. The question therefore comes to us, as a nation, as it does to men, why should we persist in our old-time policy of isolation? Is it in keeping with the tendency of our development and the drift of our thought and spirit? Is not this fear to take and manage the Philippines, or the larger of them, a good deal of a bugbear born of our timidity, rather than of our reason? There is no better evidence of capacity than self-reliance of responsibility imposed, accepted or sought. The man who feels the full importance of any responsibility carried by him is more than half equipped at once to bear it and well discharge it. So it is with nations. The late war, instead of unsettling, has steadied us. We are looking problems calmly in the face to-day which we dared not even think of six months ago, and to propose which a year ago would have brought forth a storm of indignant protest from all over the land.

Dread of international responsibilities means in a certain sense cowardice. It certainly implies willingness to be dwarfed by selfish isolation. More willing to be shut up within ourselves selfishly than to masterfully come into the open world and take our share of duty and reward. Why should we fear to hold the greater—at least—of the Philippines? Is it the cost involved? That plea would confess us financial incompetents. Is it fear of the complications possible with other nations? Then we must draw within our shell and close it whenever any nation of the earth chooses to fright us.

We have created the condition we confront; shall we fear to grapple with it? We have a duty upon us, one we invited, and that we cannot manfully relinquish. As the situation now stands the judgment of the American people is practically unanimous that President McKinley has decided wisely in not claiming the entire group of the Philippines as ours, nor yet in consenting to the thought that we do not wish to retain the islands. In other words, he has left the question open whether we shall be better off with or without the Philippines, or whether we shall content ourselves with Luzon and its harbor, great bays and Capital city.

The proposition to take any one or more of the islands rests, as the New York "Times" well observes, upon the same justifying basis as the demand for the cession of Porto Rico and of one of the Ladronez. We needed both; we had full right to demand and to

take them, and as to those two cessions Spain has freely acceded, thus confessing our claim. To have been merciful in our demands would have been foolishly indulgent to Spain, of whom we asked no money indemnity, as we had full justification for doing. In waiving that right to compel her to pay the cost of the war, we were, in fact, merciful to Spain beyond parallel in the history of the world, since no one will have the temerity to assert that one of the Ladronez and Porto Rico are equivalent in value to our war expenditure.

It was wise therefore on the part of President McKinley to defer definite expression of American claim and demand regarding the Philippines, until Admiral Dewey and General Merritt could be consulted. That our motives may be laid bare to the world he has provided that Spain shall have an equal number of representatives upon the Peace Commission which is to determine the fate of the Philippines, but also that there shall be no umpire, that we may be by a single vote of a stranger robbed of the fruits of victory.

In the matter of acquiring in the Philippines, therefore, the President has lined the American policy wisely in relegating the whole business to the early future for adjustment, when war's alarms shall have ceased, and when sober judgment and ripe wisdom may have full play, and that whatever is best for ourselves may be calmly achieved. But in the meantime we relinquish nothing we have gained, and do not lower the flag where it has been raised. In the meantime, also, let us be neither cowards fearing acquisition, nor braggarts affirming a brutal desire for conquest.

The "Chico "Enterprise" says that "the Democratic party must be in hard straits for timber when it seriously proposes to head its ticket in this State with the name of a man who a few years ago publicly terminated his connection with the organization, after loading it with opprobrium and predicting that it would meet deserved disaster when the people thoroughly understood the animating motives of those who control its destinies." Well, it is in hard straits; that is the long and the short of it. Any plank in a storm, you know; it is not a question of any port, but any plank, in these no-issue days.

Transfusion of blood has been proved in medical science a saving feature in many a case of debilitated vitality. But to transfuse Populist blood into the moribund Democracy is a task not even the most skilled political surgeons would attempt with any hope of success.

THE SOURCE OF REAL STRENGTH.

Professor Gunton, in his magazine for August, considers intelligently and fairly the question whether militarism or industrialism is power. We should scarcely think there was room for debate on such a question. By militarism we understand the dominance of military power and spirit, and that we take it no student of civilization will estimate as true power, since, as Professor Gunton points out, a life of militarism gives obedience and discipline, but it does not give the background of intelligence and patriotism that characterizes a well-fed, progressive, prosperous and intelligent citizenship.

The case of the United States in this war astonishes the world. What Europe conceived to be our weakness has proved our strength, namely, the intelligence, vigor and soldierly quality of the fighting, independent-bred citizen of the Republic. We have it from Mr. Church in the "Review of Reviews," who was a close critic of the battles in the province of Santiago, that the volunteers fought with equal courage, adaptability and resolution side by side with the regulars, lacking only the particulars gained alone by long service.

The maintenance of a large regular army by the United States is not militarism, it does not even point in that direction, for the regulars are, after all, volunteers. They are not the product of a system which treats every male youth as first fruit for the army, and compels his service in it, precedent to entry upon any other walk in life.

The military chiefs of the United States, drawn from the humblest walks of citizenship most often, never have been, and under our system, never can become the dangerous power that the military chiefs of France are to that nation, defying the courts, snubbing the civil authority, and maintaining, in fact, a government within a government, the former threatening and dictating to the latter.

The orderly efficiency, the rapidity of mobilization, and the trustfulness of the American military arm summoned from the citizenship of the land, surprised not Europe alone, but a good many of our own, who have been accustomed to look upon the "tin soldier" with contempt. This same tin soldier has demonstrated that he is true metal; an uncut stone, perhaps, but not the less of first water. He has not proved, as was prophesied, insubordinate, non-susceptible to discipline, or lacking in any element of valor.

So, as Professor Gunton has well said, we have proved civilization unarmed the stronger than barbarism armed. We might amend it by saying that "imperialism armed," where the masses are held beneath the military heel.

All this shows, not only with us, but to the world, that two things have occurred in this country under the industrial regime, with more than a half century of non-militant policy, viz., that the wealth development of the country has produced a citizenship that has intelligence and energy never developed by a mere military policy.

It is worth while to know, says Professor Gunton, that we have demonstrated that poverty is weakness and wealth is strength; that strength does not consist in the unrelenting orders of a Kaiser, but in the patriotic impulse and characterful determination of well-fed citizens, and he should have

added citizens of intelligence, who are capable of taking the initiative, who think, and who have a personal political stake in the country. Professor Gunton well says:

Our millionaires and employers have not sufficiently realized that their safety and ultimate prosperity depend on the welfare of the mass of our people. In fact, as a lesson of this war, every American millionaire, every employer, great or small, ought to learn that not only his personal safety and safety of his property, but the safety of the nation, the respect of the Republic, the honor of our institutions, depends not on his wealth, but upon the social status and industrial condition of the great mass of the laborers.

If the Spanish press reflects governmental sentiment and intention, then there is in the surrender of Spain a mental reservation concerning the alleged Cuban debt. It is intimated in Spanish journals that it is simply the right thing to do to claim that the transfer of the island carries with it the liability for the debt created by Spain in the name of the island, to prosecute war against its people. That is not the law, neither is it grounded in reason. The money power holding the Cuban bonds issued by the Spanish Government will of course press the point and use its endeavor to secure our acquiescence in the scheme. It will be to the eternal discredit of the United States if we become even by silence a party to the plot. When Spain surrendered all title to Cuba, confessed its independence and abolished it from allegiance to the Spanish monarchy, it was giving it absolute freedom, freedom from all obligations incurred by Spain in warfare against the island. If the Cubans are to be saddled with the \$400,000,000 of debt Spain has piled up against her by offering the Cuban revenues as security, they will be practically slaves to the tax gatherer for the next hundred years. The simple sense of the matter is this—the principal, Spain, is to be held, the involuntary security has failed.

We must admire the wisdom and discretion of the late Democratic Convention in remaining silent upon the question of the annexation of Hawaii. It was the very best thing the platform makers could possibly do. All the same, it was a damaging omission.

The Fresno "Republican" well says that the Democratic State platform is a woodpecker concern, a striking confirmation of the truth that the old issues are settled and there is no Democratic side to the new one.

Is it not remarkable that the Democratic Convention at its late session, in making a platform, never mentioned the tariff question? That omission was square, frank confession that as an issue the question is dead as a door nail.

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THE SOURCE OF REAL STRENGTH.

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