

The Sun

SUNDAY, JUNE 9, 1895.

If your friends who favor us with manuscripts for publication will please to have returned articles returned, they must in all cases state for what purpose.

Local News.—The City and Suburban News Bureau of the United Press and New York Associated Press is at 21 to 23 Nassau street. All information and documents for publication are instantly disseminated to the press of the whole country.

The List and the Choice.

The Hon. RICHARD OLNEY of Massachusetts, who thinks he can frame an income tax law that will meet all constitutional objections.

The Hon. WILLIAM L. WILSON of West Virginia, who thought he could construct a protectionist tariff for revenue only, and discovered that he couldn't.

The Hon. WILLIAM C. WHITNEY of New York, the most expert and successful Pool Killer in American politics.

The Hon. THOMAS F. BAYARD of Delaware, who constructed our Samoan policy during CLEVELAND's first term, and helped GRESHAM to repudiate it during CLEVELAND's second term.

The Hon. DON MARCEL DICKINSON of Michigan, who is an ardent admirer of CLEVELAND and yet a Jingo American; GOD bless him for that!

The Hon. GEORGE GRAY of Delaware, who knows better than he does and is better than he talks.

The Hon. BENJAMIN H. BRISTOW of New York, who has certainly been, like GRESHAM, a Republican, but has never been suspected of being a CLEVELAND Republican.

The Hon. PATRICK HENRY of Georgia, who went out to haul down a flag, and set up a Queen, and accomplished only half the job assigned to him.

The Hon. JAMES C. CARTER of New York, the prosperous corporation lawyer, who pleaded for an income tax and menaced the Supreme Court with red revolution if it should refuse to decide as he desired.

The Hon. EDWIN F. UHL of Michigan, whose fame rests upon one letter which he wrote and another man signed.

The Hon. JAMES B. EUSTIS of Louisiana, who spoiled his chance by speaking out at London like the patriotic American he is.

The Hon. HENRY T. THURBER of Michigan, the faithful, uncompromising, and as yet unwarded servant, who reflects consecration as a moral reformer.

The Hon. DINK HORTS of Georgia—but he is not really a candidate; he would never serve in the same Cabinet with the Hon. HORSE SMITH of the same State.

All of the names above had been suggested, seriously or otherwise, as fit candidates for the office of Secretary of State during the remainder of Mr. CLEVELAND's term. We preserve the list as a record and as a museum. The income tax specialist got the prize.

The Latest Assault on the Catholic Church in France.

The income tax demanded by the Socialists is favored by a great many members, if not by a majority, of the Budget Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies, but it is strenuously opposed by Prime Minister RIBOT on the ground that it is alien and dangerous to republican institutions to single out a class of citizens for special taxation. The argument ought to be conclusive, but it would have more weight from the lips of M. RIBOT if he had not himself done the very thing which he denounces. We refer to the new tax on the religious orders, the effect of which will be to deprive them of nearly a tenth of their revenues.

How came M. RIBOT, the professed enemy of class legislation, to establish this vicious precedent, which is already invoked to plague him? He sympathizes with the Moderates in most matters, but when he took office as the head of what was termed a Cabinet of republican concentration, it was with the promise to make certain concessions to the Socialists and to the Radicals. He kept his pledge to the Socialists by offering amnesty to a large number of political offenders, and he consented to slake Radical animosities by an anti-clerical demonstration, regardless of the danger of undoing all that the Pope had effected for the reconciliation of French Catholics to the Republican régime.

The effect of the so-called "radical" proposals, he carried, without much difficulty through the Chamber, but through the Senate only by a majority of 80, a bill levying on the property of the religious congregations a special impost amounting, as we have said, to almost ten per cent of their incomes. The congregations cannot pay this tax even for one year without running in debt, for as it is their resources fall short of their necessities; it follows that, should the impost continue to be exacted for some years, the practical result will be the confiscation of their property, which is undoubtedly the end desired by their Radical opponents. There is, apparently, no loophole of escape for any of the religious orders, or should it turn out that some of them are by research able to pay the present tax without borrowing, the tax undoubtedly would be increased by their implacable enemies.

If M. RIBOT dreamed that French Catholics would bear meekly the stigma and the burden of discriminatory taxation, he was rudely awakened. The Catholic newspapers are unanimous in advocating passive resistance to the last extremity. Sixty members of the French episcopate have given the same advice. Only one prelate, the Bishop of Beauvais, has counseled unconditional submission. He argues that "the advice given to 150,000 monks and nuns, backed by 50,000 priests and millions of Catholics, not to pay the special tax, constitutes a veritable declaration of war against the State." That may be true, but the contest is faced boldly in a document addressed by two French Cardinals to the Superiors-General of the religious congregations and universally circulated in the press. According to the writers of this note, the law of March 19, levying the new tax, must be regarded as involving not only a fact, but a principle, and under both aspects imposing the same duty of resistance. "The fact," they say, "is patent that the exorbitant imposts proposed mean the immediate or ultimate ruin of the congregations." No less clearly defined is the question of principle. "The law is arbitrary, it is unjust, it directly infringes the equality of all citizens in regard to taxation." The Cardinals conclude that, "instead of struggling for years to support a burden which must crush them in the end, the congregations should unanimously and from the beginning interpose themselves behind the material impossibility of paying the special tax." If this advice be followed the civil authorities will have to resort to the expropriation and sale of the monasteries or of

their furniture, a course certain to provoke extreme irritation in the provinces where those institutions are popular. The advocates of this attempt to subject the property of religious orders to an extra fiscal burden seem to have omitted, strangely enough, on the convenience of the Vatican. They supposed themselves, indeed, to have detected a counsel of surrender in the letter of Cardinal RAMPOLLA to the Archbishop of Tours, a letter which gives expression to the Pope's views upon the subject. It turns out that the letter, fairly read, can bear no such construction. The Pope advises calm consideration of the matter and the avoidance of sudden and rash resolutions, on the ground that some twelve months must elapse before the collection of the new tax for the current year. But he explicitly declares the French Bishops and Superiors-General best qualified to decide for themselves, from their intimate knowledge of the circumstances of the case, on the nature of the common action to be taken. The Bishops have already decided. As we have pointed out, only one of them recommends submission to the unjust impost, while sixty advocate passive resistance to the last extremity.

Henceforth we are unlikely to hear anything more in France of a reconciliation between the Catholic Church and the republic. The Radicals have declared war upon religion. They have determined to tax it to death. Now let them go one step further, and by an inquisitorial and oppressive income tax levy upon the whole body of Frenchmen, who by skill, industry, and thrift have lifted themselves above the proletariat, and it is as certain as the rising of the sun that the days of the third republic will be numbered.

Mr. Herbert on the War in the East.

The conclusions which Secretary HERBERT draws, in the North American Review, from a study of the late war between China and Japan are, in the main, well founded and instructive. A shortcoming, in our opinion, is his failure to appreciate one source of the unprepared condition of China and one obstacle in the way of her improvement hereafter.

While admitting the uniform defeat of China in battle after battle on land and sea, except, perhaps, in her reported checking of a column that sought to go to Mukden by the land route, he insists that "the Chinese, when trained by American and European officers, have exhibited splendid qualities as soldiers." He cannot see, therefore, why China might not at once prepare with confidence for another struggle with Japan. "What if this giant nation should rouse herself, and through the influence of some great leader, shake together her loosely joined limbs, as BISMARCK, under WILLIAM, welded the disjointed German States into one?" He admits, however, that public opinion in China must experience a radical change before this can be accomplished.

In China now the civil service of the Government is held in the highest esteem; next in order come the occupations of the public opinion ranks the soldier. It must finally come to be understood in China, as elsewhere, that man can perform no higher office than the stern duty of defending with his life, if he be honest and patriotic.

There is truth in this, and to such an end should not be said of the corrupting and demoralizing influence of the Chinese civil service system, whose leading principles are so much admired by some of our own civil service reform cranks. But there is another element in the case which Mr. HERBERT does not mention. While the present dynasty, foreign in origin and unpopular, rules China, how can universal patriotism, like that which we see in Japan, be looked for? China's strength does indeed lie, as Mr. HERBERT says, "in 350,000,000 people, singularly patient, wonderfully industrious, and capable in a remarkable degree of enduring hunger and cold." But patience cannot take the place of patriotism, industry of enthusiasm, or the endurance of hunger and cold of the skill and foresight that provide the army with food and warmth. We cannot see how China can be expected to work out her redemption and place herself on a level with Japan while her present dynasty stands. Indeed, among the many parallels drawn between her case and that of France in 1870, it is only remarkable that another should not have been found, in the overthrow of the reigning family as a penalty for the ruin wrought by a foolish war.

Turning to the specific lessons taught by this war, Mr. HERBERT dwells very properly on the fact that, both by land and sea, Japan was ready and China was not, and that any superiority of the latter in potential resources was very greatly overbalanced by her having these resources at hand for use. It was the case of Germany against France in 1870 over the question of relative population and relative bank accounts or resources of food and great armies did not figure at all. Germany appeared on the early fields with an overwhelming superiority of numbers, and, winning these fields, acquired a momentum that France never afterward could check. This was exactly true of Japan, both by land and sea. On land, she was again and again numerically superior at the actual points of conflict, as in the decisive battle of Ping Yang, besides having far better drilled and better armed troops. It was really an example under the old rule set forth alike in the maxims of NAPOLÉON and in the Chinese home intelligence of PANG CLEBERNE, who might well have said before the war, "The victor is the man who 'gits there first, with the most fellows.'" As Mr. HERBERT remarks, the issue of the war between China and Japan was practically settled within three days in two battles, one on the land at Ping Yang, Sept. 15, and 16, and the other on the water, not far away, off the Yalu, Sept. 17.

The Japanese, by greater energy and better means of transportation, had beaten their enemy in putting troops into Korea, and by strategic movements, which will always be admired, conquered three columns, composed altogether of 50,000 men, upon the 24,000 of the Chinese at Ping Yang, all the several columns striking from different directions at the same time. There could be but one result. The flower of the Chinese army was destroyed, and when a day or two later the news came that their fleet had been beaten off the Yalu, their loss had been complete. They were never able to raise another army that could stand before the victorious columns of the Japanese in the open field.

The victory of the Yalu, which gave Japan control of the sea, was due largely to the fact that, while the fleets were fairly well matched in displacements and total weights of battery, the Japanese had far better gunners, and, secondly, a far better supply of rapid-fire guns. These last shot away even the halyards on the Chinese ships, so that signals could not be made, and knocked their wayward to pieces, setting it adrift. But China's misfortune on the sea had begun earlier. Mr. HERBERT is no doubt correct in holding that if she had determined to risk war with Japan, she ought to have taken the initiative on the ocean, as her one chance of winning was with her fleet. The field of contest was on the mainland, and Japan could not land troops there without commanding the sea. China started with a fleet considered to be superior to Japan's, but instead of concentrating it against the latter in a decisive naval battle, she began to use it in conveying troops to Korea and in other scattered ways. She allowed two of her vessels to be wrecked by three of Japan's at Asan, giving a success at the outset to her adversary in the sea fighting. When at last she risked a fleet battle off the Yalu, Asan and the loss of the transport Kow-Shing had injured her prestige. At the Yalu, besides her inferiority in marksmanship, China suffered, as Mr. HERBERT says, from a lack of common shell which explodes on striking, being mostly supplied with armor-piercing shell which could pass through the unarmored Japanese vessels without exploding.

Mr. HERBERT, however, is as firm as ever, and we think with reason, in the belief that the battle of the Yalu did not discredit the efficiency of battle ships. The Chinese vessels of that type practically saved the whole fleet from destruction, and Japan herself has shown her appreciation of such vessels by ordering two first-class battleships in England. As to West-Hall-Vel, its chief naval lesson was as to the two torpedo boats when skillfully and daringly handled, as they were by Japan. That conclusion, and the conclusions as to the value of battle ships, the importance of a good supply of rapid-fire guns, and the banishing of woodwork and other combustible material, as far as possible, from war ships, are lessons for our own service.

The City Magistrate. Mayor STRONG'S appointments of Special Sessions Justices and City Magistrates are respectable. It may be said, however, if he will serve the interests of the people as well as these have been guarded by the magistrates whom he has displaced.

A Judge of a police court needs to be, first of all, a man who is a keen judge of human nature and who understands the many varieties of it which are manifested in this cosmopolitan town. He should be, next, a humane man, for in the great majority of cases the men and women brought before him are not ingrained malefactors. An honest workman may get drunk, and possibly in the frenzy of his intoxication he may make a disturbance in the streets. He may lie prone on the sidewalk and present an appearance which is repulsive; yet this miserable fellow may have a wife and family dependent on the daily wages. He may be usually a kind father and a faithful husband, industrious, and deserving of the respect of his employer and his neighbors and associates. There is no question that by his disorderly conduct he has made himself liable to the penalties of the law. The magistrate can fine him, but he has no money to pay the fine. He has spent it all on drink. The quick way of dealing with such a case is to commit the man, and have him looked up as a criminal.

Who does that involve? Who are the sufferers from the punishment thus inflicted on this wretched creature? Probably the immediate confinement is a good thing for him personally. It enables him to get sober; but in the process he loses the self-respect which makes him a decent member of the community, a contributor to its welfare when he is not suffering by weakness. The great sufferers by his vice are his wife and his family. If he is sent to the island, they are left without means of support, and they may become charges on the public. He also returns to his neighbors tainted by the experience. He has lost his character; and thereafter he is likely to get into the downward road whose ending is in the professional criminality which is so costly for society.

Hence it often happens that wives who have caused the arrest of drunken husbands, appear in a police court to appeal for mercy to them at the hands of the magistrate. After sleeping over the matter they are pitiful. They beg the Judge not to deal harshly with PATRICK, or JOHN, or HANS, ascribing to them the same kind of occasional follies, but in this instance, and in this case, they are not to be pitied. They are left without means of support, and they may become charges on the public. He also returns to his neighbors tainted by the experience. He has lost his character; and thereafter he is likely to get into the downward road whose ending is in the professional criminality which is so costly for society.

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REPUBLICAN DISSATISFACTION.

WHAT IS GOING ON IN SOCIETY.

Mayor Strong Called to Account for Improbable by a District Leader. To the Editor of The Sun.—In view of the fact that the rank and file of the Republicans of this city are now practically without an organ, will you allow one of them to express his opinions in the columns of The Sun? Mayor Strong's action in depriving the Republicans of their share of the offices will go down as one of the most dishonorable ever perpetrated in the annals of politics, goes without saying. Never was there such ingratitude displayed by a public official. It amounts almost to insulting and the wronging of the Republicans are so acquiescent. This need not be said, though, that they will give vent to their feelings at the next election, for the party that does not stand by its supporters is unworthy of their support. The 100,000 Republicans who went to the polls last election did not vote for a new Mayor and a new set of Commissioners, but for an entirely new administration. The battle cry was, "Down with Tammany!" And on that issue the election was won. Strong's personality was of but small moment. John Doe or Richard Roe would have been elected by the same vote. Mayor Strong says he was elected "not by the Republicans, but by the people." Who are the people? Two years ago ex-Mayor Gilroy received 173,000 votes, while Grant's vote last year was 100,000, thus showing a falling off in Tammany's vote of 73,000, which, added in part to the 100,000 votes which elected the present administration by the vote given it. Where, then, do the "people"—Grace Democrats, O'Brienites, Steckerites, Independents, Mugwumps, "reformers," (Go Goo, do—come in!) Surely they cannot be included in the vote which elected Mayor Tammany, for they professed to have nothing in common with that organization. The fact is that the "people," "reformers," "Independents," and "Mugwumps" are so insignificant that they are hardly perceptible. It is in fact a matter of indifference to the Republicans clearly demonstrated that that party is not to be elected at the next election. The appointments which were given to Republicans thus far were nearly all distributed to the district of the Mayor and the Legislature. The Republicans of the city are now practically without an organ, will you allow one of them to express his opinions in the columns of The Sun? Mayor Strong's action in depriving the Republicans of their share of the offices will go down as one of the most dishonorable ever perpetrated in the annals of politics, goes without saying. Never was there such ingratitude displayed by a public official. It amounts almost to insulting and the wronging of the Republicans are so acquiescent. This need not be said, though, that they will give vent to their feelings at the next election, for the party that does not stand by its supporters is unworthy of their support. The 100,000 Republicans who went to the polls last election did not vote for a new Mayor and a new set of Commissioners, but for an entirely new administration. The battle cry was, "Down with Tammany!" And on that issue the election was won. Strong's personality was of but small moment. John Doe or Richard Roe would have been elected by the same vote. Mayor Strong says he was elected "not by the Republicans, but by the people." Who are the people? Two years ago ex-Mayor Gilroy received 173,000 votes, while Grant's vote last year was 100,000, thus showing a falling off in Tammany's vote of 73,000, which, added in part to the 100,000 votes which elected the present administration by the vote given it. Where, then, do the "people"—Grace Democrats, O'Brienites, Steckerites, Independents, Mugwumps, "reformers," (Go Goo, do—come in!) Surely they cannot be included in the vote which elected Mayor Tammany, for they professed to have nothing in common with that organization. The fact is that the "people," "reformers," "Independents," and "Mugwumps" are so insignificant that they are hardly perceptible. It is in fact a matter of indifference to the Republicans clearly demonstrated that that party is not to be elected at the next election. The appointments which were given to Republicans thus far were nearly all distributed to the district of the Mayor and the Legislature.

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