

The Sun

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LOCAL NEWS - The City and Suburban News Bureau of the United Press and New York Associated Press is at 21 to 23 Ann street. All copy and correspondence for publication should be sent to the press of the whole country.

A Bane Witness on International Arbitration.

Mr. RICHARD OLNEY will go before the Committee on Foreign Relations to-day to urge the Senate to rush through the general treaty of arbitration, which he has negotiated with the British Government.

Let us call another witness to-day also. Mr. OLNEY's superior in diplomatic experience and knowledge of the practical workings of arbitration, and at least his equal in ability, candor, and the true patriotism which desires peace with all the world.

The Hon. EDWARD J. PHILLIPS of Vermont has studied British sentiment and British diplomatic methods as Minister of the United States at London. He has participated actively in the proceedings of the most recent of the great tribunals of arbitration, the case being one in which Great Britain and the United States were the parties concerned.

His profound knowledge of the principles governing the relations of nations, not less than his calm, sane judgment distinguishing his statesmanship and the habit of mind inclining him to orderly procedure in the adjustment of disputes between peoples, as between individuals, give extraordinary weight to his conclusions on this subject.

Briefly stated, they are these: That a general system of international arbitration is impracticable; that it would be undesirable even if it were practicable; that even on special occasions international arbitration is an imperfect substitute for the ordinary machinery of statesmanship and diplomacy in the settlement of disputes; that it cannot make international law or deal authoritatively with questions of international law; and that it is useful, or necessary, only in rare cases for the ascertainment of facts, when the so-called tribunal amounts to scarcely more than a commission to take testimony.

Writing on this subject six months ago in the Atlantic Monthly, Mr. PHILLIPS expressed in carefully measured language the opinions which we have summarized above. We quote from his article on "Arbitration and Arbitration in England," printed in that magazine last July:

"Compulsory arbitration in its true sense, that is to say, a compulsory arbitration in which the parties to a dispute are bound to submit to the decision of a tribunal, is a thing which has never been done in the history of the world. It is a thing which is not likely to be done in the future."

Very naturally, religious papers seek to avoid partisanship in their discussions of politics, for however harmonious their readers may be in religious sentiment, they are discordant in political partisanship. Accordingly, these papers usually undertake to treat politics as apart from parties, and in the effort thus to separate the inseparable they distort and violate the principles upon which this Government and all representative government is founded.

The Outlook, edited by Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT, is one of these papers which most frequently and most largely enter into the field of politics; and its method of treating the subject is indicated by this remark:

"Elections are idle forms unless the electors know, or can easily ascertain, something of the personal character of the candidates for whom they are voting. Because to many electors it is not the vote they vote the regular ticket which unscrupulous managers have prepared for them."

But beyond cases turning on questions where arbitration on special occasions may be partially and imperfectly useful, it is impracticable, however plausible in theory:

While not hearing directly on the main question, these concluding words from this distinguished friend of peace, who distrusts and rejects arbitration as a safeguard of peace, ought to be read by every American Senator and every American citizen:

"But after all means have been exhausted for the prevention of peace, the greatest of national blessings and the most earnestly to be sought, it still remains to be remembered that this side of the millennium it cannot always be attained. At any time may come to any country when it is necessary to fight. Self-defense is the highest duty, when unhappily necessary to resort to it. And when the vindication of national honor or the protection of the essential interests of the country shall be really required, that people is not worthy to be free who shrinks from the duty, or stops to count its cost."

We believe that these remarks on arbitration, and the utility of any general scheme of arbitration, coming, as they do, from one of the ablest and loftiest minded of our living statesmen, will serve as an antidote to the dangerous and effusive sentimentalism which will be marshalled at Washington in support of Mr. OLNEY's demand for an immediate ratification of the treaty.

Mr. PHILLIPS has no motive whatever except to promote the welfare and true interests of his country. Mr. OLNEY may have the motive of personal vanity, or the fulfillment of some unwritten bargain with Downing street, to push through in the concluding days of the Cleveland Administration, and without sufficient consideration, the treaty which he offers to the Senate.

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But beyond cases turning on questions where arbitration on special occasions may be partially and imperfectly useful, it is impracticable, however plausible in theory:

In cases involving questions of law, which, of course, means international law, it is not realistic to suppose that a tribunal of arbitration can be set up to decide between nations those points in respect to which a law is already settled. Unlike a court of justice, which deals with municipal law, and which has an extended jurisdiction, a tribunal of arbitration is not a court of justice, which is only the creation of the parties litigant."

in the history of the Senate did its leaders throw off their representative character as parliament? The constituencies of the parties, in a large sense, are their parties; and if they do not accept the policies of their parties they misrepresent them; they are false to those who elected them. It is the party that rules, and the elect are only the instruments it chooses to carry out its doctrines and purposes. If they "are afraid neither of their constituencies nor of their associates," but do as they think best, without regard to the parties which elected them, they outrage the essential principle of a representative government. They are not elected because of themselves and to be governed solely by their own notions, but because they are pledged to the policy and principles of a party. Otherwise representative government would be destroyed.

The Outlook is a mischievous political adviser so far as its influences extends; but, happily, it can affect neither the opinions nor the conduct of sensible people. We have only to add that actually there has been no decadence in the United States Senate. The character of the Senate was never better than it is now, its ability never greater, and it was never more deserving of consideration as a deliberative and conservative body. Read the political history of America, plous friend.

The Ascent of Aconcagua. A young man named FITZ GERALD has recently made himself known among mountaineers by his scrambles among the New Zealand Alps. Having ascended some of the highest peaks, discovered a pass which he declares, will become a highway between the north and south coasts, and written a book on his feats of climbing, he determined to attempt the loftiest of American summits, the still unconquered Aconcagua. He organized his expedition in England, secured the inevitable Swiss guide, without which few enterprises of this sort, from New Zealand to the Caucasus, are regarded as well equipped, and set out for the great mountain on the Chilean border by way of Buenos Ayres. The cable tells us that on Thursday last ZURBRUGGER, the Swiss guide, reached the summit.

So little has been known about Aconcagua that even its origin has been a matter of controversy. Some writers speak of it as a volcanic mountain and others look on it as the result of uplift like the European Alps. It was first reached by Fitz Gerald, and, in fact, the highest peak of the merics was one of the least known. The inference from these facts would seem to be that the mountain is difficult of both ascent and descent. Nevertheless, three days after ZURBRUGGER stood on the summit snows the whole civilized world knew of it. The explanation is that the telegraph line between the capitals of Argentina and Chile crosses one of the Andes chains through a pass at the foot of Aconcagua, and the news reached the sea from a station at no great distance from it. Through this same narrow valley it is expected that the transcontinental railroad will, some day, pass, and then anybody may have a near view of the culminating point of the Western World. When that day comes, the tourist may not be very greatly impressed. The valleys around Aconcagua, from which the mountain is to be seen, are so high above the sea that the peak itself does not appear to be the towering mass it really is. But all the same it rises gloriously above the surrounding summits, and its comparatively flat, broad top looking down upon the jagged peaks around it, gives the mountain an aspect of peculiar grandeur.

Fourteen years ago Garrettsfield elambered up the steep slopes to within about 8,000 feet of the top, and since then a few Chileans have added something to our knowledge of the region, though none of them were able to gain the summit. Such achievements are reserved for the trained mountain climber. Only three years ago the German geographer SIEVERS wrote that it was still doubtful whether this snow-crowned summit was of volcanic origin. The geological specimens, however, that have been brought from the mountain, and the reports of its visitors have led to the conclusion, perhaps universally accepted at this day, that Aconcagua is a long extinct volcano.

The Governor of Texas on New York Life Insurance Companies. In his message to the Legislature of Texas last week Governor CULBERSON made these remarkable observations about the various New York life insurance companies:

"Life insurance companies principally chartered by and doing business in this State, have for years done a large business in this State. The excess of premiums over losses paid these companies by the people of Texas for the year 1895 was \$2,471,192. The premiums which our people paid these New York companies for the year 1896 was \$1,800,000. The excess of premiums over losses paid these companies by the people of Texas for the year 1896 was \$1,800,000. The premiums which our people paid these New York companies for the year 1897 was \$1,800,000. The excess of premiums over losses paid these companies by the people of Texas for the year 1897 was \$1,800,000."

So the culture, brains, respectability, and majority of the Republican party of New York have only seven votes in the Legislature. The brains must be in bad order to do no better than that. The mythical "Broome county Assemblyman" would be a pigeon-livered creature to give his vote as a consideration for legislation which he wants. If there was any considerable opposition to Mr. PLATT, why did it not declare itself? The Republicans of New York could have brought about the election of Mr. CHOATE if they had wanted to. They had only to declare themselves, and the Republican Senators and Assemblymen would have had to obey. There was no such declaration. The opposition to Mr. PLATT was either purely personal or political merely in the sense that some of his opponents have long been trying to set up a political machine, and come to office and power thereby. They seem to have succeeded, some of the Massachusetts folks into believing that Mr. CHOATE represented the people and Mr. PLATT the machine. The truth is that Mr. CHOATE represented a few Republicans and Mugwumps, whereas Mr. PLATT represented the majority of the Republican party. The Springfield Republican, and the Boston Journal virtually assume that a majority of the Republicans of this State are such idiots that they permit a man to be elected Senator who they don't want elected, and that they don't even know enough to make a protest. It is a flattering assumption.

As for the remark about "corporate wealth," it is not unworthy of a Socialistic paper with a deep and abiding fondness for patriots of the type of BRYAN and WILLIAMS. If the remark means anything, it must mean that a majority of the Republican members of the present Legislature are dishonest; and that their constituents don't know enough to find it out. Or does the Springfield Republican use the expression "corporate wealth" as a synonym for every cause which produces an effect disagreeable to the Mugwump-Socialist bosom? At any rate, Mr. PLATT was elected Senator just as Mr. HENRY CABOT LODGE was. Both are satisfactory to the majority of the party in their respective States.

The Ludlow Street Horse. Here is a translation of the original Plattdeutsch communication, conveyed by Meindlerhersch STRASSNER to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, conveyed in the City Hall on the afternoon of Dec. 14, exactly one month before the escape of EGAN, POST, and POLYCRAMIS. The translation was prepared for the use of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment by RIMP, BEIRE, FINKELSTUMP, KATSE, BADER, FEIDLER, BENGERT, FRUENDLICH, HARTNAGEL, BÜTNER, SCHEIDMANN, KRULLMAN, HARKELING, SCHNEIDER, LUX, KULLMAN, KUTSCHER, VAN DEESTEN, MAIER, BENSCHLER, and STEMMER:

"GENTLEMEN: The credit of the remaining amount adhering to the appropriation of the prisoners maintaining the Ludlow Street horse, for the year 1897, is \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1896 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1895 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1894 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1893 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1892 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1891 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1890 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1889 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1888 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1887 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1886 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1885 was \$75,000.00. 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The amount of the appropriation for the year 1660 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1659 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1658 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1657 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1656 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1655 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1654 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1653 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1652 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1651 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1650 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1649 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1648 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1647 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1646 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1645 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1644 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1643 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1642 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1641 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1640 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1639 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1638 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1637 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1636 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1635 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1634 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1633 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1632 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1631 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1630 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1629 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1628 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1627 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1626 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1625 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1624 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1623 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1622 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1621 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1620 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1619 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1618 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1617 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1616 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1615 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1614 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1613 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1612 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1611 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1610 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1609 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1608 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1607 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1606 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1605 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1604 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1603 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1602 was \$75,000.00. The amount of the appropriation for the