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A DILEMMA FOR MR. BRYAN.

A good deal has been said about Mr. Bryan's moral responsibility in the matter of the treaty with Spain for the Philippine islands. He advised the ratification of that treaty. Without the democratic votes which he influenced in its favor, the treaty could not have been made. He is therefore morally bound to help execute it in good faith and can not escape such responsibility.

But leaving that aspect of the matter wholly out of consideration, it would seem that Mr. Bryan, as president, would be legally barred from executing his proposed policy in the Philippines.

The constitution of the United States says that "all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land."

The supreme court has upheld that provision unflinchingly. Acts of state legislation or acts of congress which conflict with treaties are always treated as nullities. The obligation which the constitution puts upon the president to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" binds him to the execution of all treaties.

How then would Mr. Bryan have to deal with the Philippines under the treaty?

Section four of the treaty under which we acquired the Philippines pledges the United States to give Spanish ships and merchandise access to the ports of the Philippine islands on the same terms as those of the United States for the period of ten years. That is part of our "supreme law" which the president is to see faithfully executed.

Plainly then for ten years at least our authority must be maintained in those islands. Mr. Bryan could not withdraw American authority within that time without violating our supreme law. Yet, according to his theory, he would have the United States leave the islands as soon as possible after his election and throw our treaty obligations to the winds. On the other hand, if he would recognize the obligations of the treaty, there would have to be at least ten years of government without the "consent of the governed." There is no escape from it.

A GEM FROM THE SARATOGA PLATFORM.

This sparkling passage redeems and renders memorable the New York state democratic platform of 1900, says the New York Sun:

"We maintain that the constitution follows the flag over every integral part of the United States."

If the makers of the Saratoga platform had maintained that the constitution follows the flag over every part and possession of the United States, they would have said something that meant something, even though their proposition was unsound.

But in declaring that the constitution, with its requirements of uniform taxation, follows the flag over every "integral" part of the United States, they simply affirm a truth which nobody denies, and which it is unnecessary to state.

An integral part of the United States is a state of the Union.

Alaska is not an integral part of the United States, although it is a territory of the United States.

Perhaps the Saratoga platform, however, is merely muddled in its language and intends to maintain that Alaska is an integral part of the United States, over which the constitution, with its requirement of uniform taxation, follows the flag.

How, then, do the statesmen and juriconsults at Saratoga explain the circumstance that when the Alaska bill passed the house on the 28th of last May, imposing excise duties in Alaska which are as far from being

uniform throughout the United States as is the Porto Rico tariff, not a single democratic congressman from New York recorded his vote against it?

DOLLAR AND MAN.

The Bryan talk about greed and commercialism and putting the dollar above the man might seem appropriate enough in the mouth of a college professor, sure of his job for life and addressing an audience of well-to-do mugwumps who find their chief pleasure and business in assuming an air of superiority to the work-a-day world. There are gentlemen who have no command of facts but take great delight in insisting upon their principles. The facts are liable to be more effective.

Here are Bryan and the other tenants of the democratic cave of the winds, going up and down in the land and warning the farmers, the laborers, the mechanics, the clerks, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker not to put the dollar above the man. Meanwhile, must not a clear-headed man think something like this, perhaps, says the New York Sun:

"I do put the dollar above any man who will make it harder for me to earn one. Your friend Aguinaldo may be a great and good man, but I'd rather hurt him than hurt myself. The country is well off and I'm well off. I want them both to stay so. I am a base commercialist myself. I prefer good times to bad and a panic among the Tagalogs to a panic in the United States. As for imperialism, I tell you frankly that I don't care a plugged penny for it. You say it's paramount; I say it's no account. You can't scare me with it. Remember all the terrible things you said were going to happen if you were not elected in 1896. It was money in my pocket to have you beaten then. It will be money in my pocket to have you beaten next November, and I'm going to help do it."

We fear that Mr. Bryan will come to think that this is a selfish sordid country. It will not injure itself for the sake of boosting him and Aguinaldo. Altruria is the place for him.

"At what price will the ultimate result be gained in case of Mr. Bryan's election?" asked Carl Schurz in a speech made in 1896. "At the price of the most violent and destructive crisis on record, such a crisis as can only be brought on by a sudden subversion of the standard of values and of the whole business credit. At the price of indefinite business paralysis and distress. At the price of the ruthless spoliation of the savings accumulated by the toiling masses. At the price of robbing our war veterans of half the value of their pensions. At the price of greatly increasing the number of unemployed by discouraging enterprise, and of curtailing the value of wages of those remaining at work. At the price of the respect of the world for our intelligence and practical sense. And, worse, far worse, than all this, at the price of something that has never been forfeited since this republic was born—at the price of the greatest good a nation can possess and for the preservation of which it should shed its last drop of blood—at the price of our national honor. For this nation, so rich and powerful, would stand before the world as a wanton, reckless repudiator, as nothing better than a fraudulent bankrupt. This will be the cost of the experiment. Are you willing to pay this price?"

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WHAT DOES "UNITED STATES" MEAN?

"What is meant by the term 'United States?'" asks a Bryanite contemporary, in an effort to reaffirm the old, rebel, ante-civil war doctrine that the constitution follows the flag. The CHRONICLE would modestly suggest that it means what it says, the United States or the states united. There is, of course, an everyday, geographical sense in which the term includes all the territory of the nation. But in the stricter constitutional sense, it applies only, as we have said, to the states united. How do we know this? By the language of the constitution itself. It was "We, the people of the United States," who "ordained and established" the constitution. Who were "we"? It was only the people of the states who were privileged to vote on the adoption of the constitution.

At the time of the adoption of the constitution, in 1788, we had, outside the states themselves, the vast national domain between the Allegheny mountains and the Mississippi river. A year before the adoption of the constitution the part of this domain lying north of the Ohio river, and comprising the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, had been organized by the famous ordinance of 1787 into the Northwest Territory with a regular territorial government. But no resident of that Territory or of the territory south of the Ohio had any voice in "ordaining and establishing" the constitution.

By the constitution all legislative powers therein granted are vested in a congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. Only states choose senators and representatives. So that here is a palpable case where the constitution does not follow the flag.

The executive power, under the constitution, is vested in the president. He is chosen by the people of the states, no resident of a territory having any voice in the matter. Here again the constitution does not follow the flag.

The judicial power of the United States is vested by the constitution in "one supreme court and in such inferior courts as congress may from time to time establish."

It is still further provided that the judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior." But the judges of the territories, though appointed by the president, serve only for a term of four years. In this respect also the constitution does not follow the flag. The thirteenth amendment clearly shows the constitutional meaning of the term "United States." It says: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Here, as well as elsewhere in the constitution, "United States" means the states united; hence the necessity of adding the words, or any place subject to their jurisdiction, in order to exclude slavery from the territories.

And, lastly, when the constitution says (Article IV, Sec. 3) "the congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States," it distinctly separates the "territory" belonging to the United States from the union itself and gives congress full and unlimited power over such territory.

Bryanites prate about the "consent of the governed." The phrase, they will admit, never meant more than the will of the majority. But if the testimony of the Filipino commissioners is to be believed, American rule in the Philippine islands is by the consent of the governed. Not by the consent of all of the inhabitants, for government by universal consent does not exist even in the states nor anywhere outside the paradise of God; but government by the will of the majority. The islands, it is claimed, are inhabited by eighty tribes, numbering about 10,000,000 souls. One tribe alone is in open rebellion and it numbers about a million. The other 9,000,000, it is claimed, are favorable to American rule. Bryanite would have one

tribe govern the other seventy-nine; one million tyrannize over the other nine millions, without a thought of asking the consent of any one of the latter. And all this in the name of liberty and the constitution of the United States! Gentlemen, gentlemen, you make one unspeakably weary.

COURTESY IS THE RULE.

Natives of China Think That Etiquette is the Source of All Virtues.

Courtesy and good feelings prevail more in China among the common people than in any other nation in the world. The people are naturally reserved, earnest and good-natured. Drunkards are not seen on the crowded streets. The children are docile, thoughtful, painstaking and persevering. Commonly speaking, the nation is enslaved to routine and tradition. Passive resistance is more relied upon to overcome difficulties than personal energy and daring. No other nation has fewer warlike songs or more enthusiastic encomiums of peace. The family group is solidified in China as it is nowhere else in the world. Filial piety is the foundation of Chinese society. The "five immutable laws" are the relations of father and children, of king and subjects, of man and wife, of age and youth, of friend and friend. The woman of the nation occupies a position of absolute inferiority to man. After venerating her parents she must venerate her husband.

"If I wed a bird," says the proverb. "I must fly after him; if a dog, I must follow him to the hunt; if a clod of earth, I must sit by its side and watch over it."

All of the symbolic acts of the betrothed remind her that submission is for the wife the virtue of virtues. There is a proverb:

"The wife must be a mere shadow, a simple echo."

One more word of China's inner life. Said Confucius:

"All virtues have their source in etiquette."

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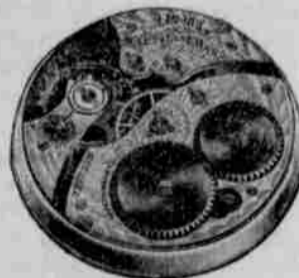
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