

The Oregonian.

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TO-day's WEATHER.—Fair, becoming cloudy and cool; winds east to southeast.

PORTLAND, FRIDAY, MARCH 16.

YET ONCE MORE.

At Goldendale, Wash., there is a citizen named Enos, who is full of cantankerous phantasms. Such person is naturally expected to be contentious and disputatious. This particular individual has special piques and animosities against The Oregonian, no doubt because it talks sense, with which his cranky opinion of the Oregonian naturally and violently in conflict; but it is evident that he constantly reads every line it prints. Hence he deluges The Oregonian with letters, meant to be sarcastic and severe, some of which it has printed, others not. A while ago The Oregonian remarked that the so-called Monroe Doctrine was suggested to the United States by George Canning, Prime Minister of England, in 1823. This has greatly ruffled the temper of our unhappy friend, and he has written several letters about it.

He thinks he finds the Monroe Doctrine in Washington's Farewell Address, in which our country was urged to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all nations, free from entangling alliances with any. Certainly, if this cantankerous despot thinks he finds the Monroe Doctrine there, he is welcome to the enjoyment of the discovery. Of course, however, he must misquote The Oregonian, which, he says, after attributing the "doctrine" to Canning, cited Charles Francis Adams as authority to prove that his father, John Quincy Adams, was the author of it. The Oregonian simply said that Charles Francis Adams "claimed" for his father the authorship of it; and then it proceeded to state briefly certain historical facts that the suggestion, used by President Monroe in his message of December 2, 1823, came from Canning. Of this no person of competent information entertains a doubt, and the quotation from Washington's Farewell Address is about as much to the purpose of proof in this case as it would be to quote from Euclid's Elements. For there are proofs as to the origin of the Monroe Doctrine something more relative than generalizations gathered from the expressions of those who lived and died long before the conditions arose which called it forth.

The literature of the so-called Monroe Doctrine is so large that no newspaper article can contain even an outline of it. Results only can be summed up. It is not necessary to assume that Great Britain's action was wholly disinterested. Ever since 1810 the Spanish colonies of America had been successively drifting into open revolt. These colonies had freed themselves from the colonial bondage which fettered their trade with the outside world, and Great Britain had profited largely by their independence. Here doubtless was one reason why the English nation looked with disfavor on the proceedings of the European Holy Alliance and its manifest disposition to apply the principle of maintaining the legitimacy of existing dynasties against revolutions to reduction of the American colonies to Spain to their former submission. Canning had reason to believe this would be attempted; he mentioned his suspicions to Richard Rush, the American Minister in London, and expressed his great desire to have the United States join with him in endeavoring to thwart the object of the allied powers. The original document is in "The Court of London, 1819-25," by Richard Rush, and in the "Memoirs of John Q. Adams."

It would appear that Adams thought lightly of the matter; but other members of the Cabinet, particularly Calhoun, and the President himself, were, as Adams says, "very much in fear that the Holy Alliance would restore all South America to Spain." It was Canning's communications to Rush which awakened this interest and solicitude, and these were the circumstances that caused the formulation of the celebrated passage in the President's message the following December.

There is no kind of doubt about it. No incident or episode in our history is clearer, and it is necessary for no one to rummage the dark closets of his imagination for sources or reasons when the written history is so plain. But for Canning's communications to Rush there would have been no such passage in President Monroe's message as that known as embodying the "Doctrine" which bears his name.

Striking confirmation of Canning's position is furnished in the "Memoirs of Prince Metternich," published only a few years ago. It is therein recorded that in the summer of 1823 several months after President Monroe's message became known in Europe, a note was addressed to the allied powers by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposing a conference to be held at Paris, to take into consideration the regulation of Spanish-American affairs, to which England should be invited, France, Austria, Prussia and Prussia adhered to the plan, but the invitation was met by Canning, Metternich says, with an "almost brutal" refusal.

It is very probable that, had not Castlereagh, Byron calls him—thus getting out of the way so that Canning could succeed him, to introduce more liberal principles into British policy, the general course of the world's history since that time would have been very different from what we have actually witnessed. At any rate, there is no need of further dispute about the actual origin of the Monroe Doctrine. The United States, then a weak power physically, would have been in no position, without the support of England, to take this stand against European intervention in American affairs; and, on the other hand, the action of the United States, called out by the British Government, strengthened the latter in opposition to the plans of the Holy Alliance. This is the nearest approach ever made to any important co-operation between the United States and Great Britain; and the history of it, fearful souls who frighten themselves with talk of "British alliance" now, Co-operation with Great Britain on the principles set forth in the Monroe Doctrine was the nearest approach also that we have ever made toward an "entangling alliance" with any Power. Had it been necessary at that time to enforce the principle of non-intervention of Europe in American affairs, Great Britain would have been our ally; or, if she had not, there could have been nothing but defeat and humiliation before us. But at that time we should not have thought of proclaiming the doctrine, except for the suggestion of Great Britain and the assurance of her support.

There is a most remarkable article in the Forum of March that should be read by every thinking man in America. It is from the pen of Ho Yow, Chinese Consul-General to the United States, and it puts before the eyes of a specimen of high economic thinking that puts to shame the tawdry contributions with which the Forum is wont to disgrace the blameless white of its pages. There are eternal principles of human development, written in the Chinese character, which are an undiscovered country to half the members of our Congress, and as unfamiliar to our magazines and politics as they are to the pages of the Forum. The article, as a whole is a fit introduction to the study of the practical political economy that awaits the Americans of the twentieth century.

The Consul-General is answering a recent argument made in the Forum by Mr. John P. Young, of San Francisco, who sought to establish that China's development bodes ill to the United States, because the Chinese will understand us as competitors and fall of increasing demands as buyers. Mr. Young's misconceptions have been abundantly refuted, but by none so admirably as by this article. Ho Yow takes up the errors one by one and puts them alongside the ascertained truth of experience in a way that leaves them without a shadow of support or excuse among thinking men. The assertion, for example, that China will only sell us increasing volume of wares for gold, overlooks the fact that China absorbs not gold at all, but silver, which she will take our silver in lieu of the precious metal which will profit. But suppose we could reverse the formula and sell everything we had, and could make, for mountains of gold from China; then would the very gold itself become so common that its purchasing power would depart and the volume of exports must perforce end, because of no returning value. Then we should learn, as Ho Yow says, "the great and universal truth that trade is barter, an exchange of goods for goods; as for the night follows the day, heavy imports into your country must be followed by heavy exports."

Then as to the Chinese lack of ambition and absence of desire to improve conditions and multiply wants. Here is a question of fact, and the evidence against the pessimist is overwhelming. "What does Mr. Young suppose to be the incentive which forces the lowest-born coolie to strive in salt mines or to pack burdens day by day over long and tedious roads, if it is not that he desires to better himself?" The only reason the Chinaman denies himself comforts and even luxuries is because he is unable to procure them. The moment his wealth allows, he expands. A wealthy Chinaman dresses more expensively than the American of equal income. The coolies wear as costly clothes as laborers of the same grade in our Southern States. As soon as a Chinaman can afford it, there spring up about his home elegancies of architecture, adornment and dress; courts and stables, vine-shaded corridors; rockeries, fountains, pavilions, and pavilions, libraries, conservatories and libraries, with materials, instruments and books of American and European manufacture. "The modern American house, with its conveniences and comforts," says Ho Yow, "will be the future house of China. Her cities will be sewered and paved, lighted with electric lamps, and thronged with electric cars. They will have waterworks and fire departments and spacious public edifices." To get these things the Chinese must have money to buy; and "the only things with which we or any other people have to buy are the products of our labor."

These are, after all, minor matters. The real achievement of the Consul-General is in showing the fundamental error underlying the whole hypothesis of the "Young school" of political economists. The fear is that China may grow so busy and prosperous trading with us that we shall become poor, and the hope is that China may continue isolated and poor, that we may continue prosperous. But Ho Yow wisely says: "It is to me a most painful circumstance that this idea of the success of one nation being dependent upon the non-success of another nation, and hence of the world, should be so widely diffused in the States; and it is remarkable too, that it should be not only in the teeth of philosophy, but in the very presence of facts incessantly proclaiming to the contrary." Look at the productiveness of England. It is that enormous output, directly across from our eastern seaboard, inimical to our interests? We know that it is not. European activity furnishes us the basis of trade, and in trade each side profits. Our Atlantic states face the competition of highly civilized, industrially advanced nations; our Pacific states only the masses of savage and uncivilized peoples. It is not until the Golden Gate is opened to the English Channel and New York becomes Hong Kong, would San Francisco be benefited or damaged by its contiguity to Europe?

We have countless statesmen and scholars in the United States who could with profit be sent to school to this

sagacious Chinaman. In the mind of every man who reads his article, the name of China must hereafter stand for something higher and better than before. We are getting familiar, these days, with the evils that flow from the pernicious activity of the half-educated. They muddle our finances, they distort and encumber our trade, they block out the pathway to a high place among the nations. But it is little short of humiliating to receive a lesson in liberality and clear thinking from a representative of the very people we aspire to teach and elevate.

THE FAIR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES OF WAR.

When our Civil War broke out, Wendell Phillips said: "Nobody can tell today what this war will bring forth; for war, like Niagara, thunders to a music of its own." The sequel of our war proved that Mr. Phillips was right, for it endured longer and produced more radical results than the most far-sighted statesman could have predicted. So of this little Boer war; its consequences are sure to be far-reaching beyond the wildest dreams of any of its initial critics.

First, as to Great Britain, this war has been a severe but valuable teacher of the necessity for shaping her battle tactics to meet successfully an enemy armed with modern magazine rifles and quick-firing cannon of long range; the necessity of preparation for war in time of peace; and that, while a man of bulldog courage and resolution makes a good soldier, he needs a highly educated brain to make him a scientific, successful general. There is little doubt that England hereafter will maintain her army and navy in a high state of military efficiency, and it is not unlikely that she will complete her Indian railway to Candahar in Afghanistan. It is probable, too, that the British squadron will be made stronger, not only on the Mediterranean, but in the Chinese Pacific.

In other words, the Boer war has exposed to England the weak places in her armor, and has opened her eyes to the fact, that outside of Germany, Italy and Austria, she had no friends in Continental Europe, while even in Germany public sentiment was hostile to the friendly neutrality of Emperor William. The warning will not be lost on England. There will be no Gladstonian statesmen hereafter placed at the head of the Government; there is every probability of a return to the Indian policy of Beaconsfield, which Gladstone reversed. Great Britain will proceed to arm all her Indian army, with European and loyal natives, with the most approved weapons of modern warfare, and will place her Indian frontier in a condition impregnable to assault. Great Britain is likely to have a very plain understanding with Russia, both as to her encroachment from Persia upon the frontier of Afghanistan and as to her future designs in China. The Boer war will leave England stronger than she has been for many years, and she is therefore likely to be more peremptory with Russia and France on provocation than she has heretofore been. She is likely to be more aggressive, because the Boer war will leave her full of confidence in herself and in her colonial children.

The far-reaching effect of the Boer war will be in Canada, binding as it will the Dominion more closely to the British Empire. French Canada will be sure to have a larger standing army, if she expects to be always ready to send troops to any part of the earth to fight the battles of the Empire. The military spirit will increase in Canada; her people will grow more pugnacious, and are likely henceforth to get more support from England in their diplomatic differences with America than they have had hitherto. There are other effects of the Boer war that are less obvious today, viz., the increased conservatism of both France and Russia in the matter of forcing a quarrel with England.

ENGLAND'S LATEST HERO.

Lord Roberts began his great turning movement in the annals of English military history since Wellington's Peninsular campaign equals in brilliancy the strategy and battle tactics of Lord Roberts. The nearest approach to Lord Roberts in skillful strategy is found in the masterly maneuvering performed by Lord Clyde in his famous campaign for the relief of Lucknow. Lord Roberts was a young artillery officer under Lord Clyde in the advance on Lucknow, and attracted the attention of that able commander by his general courage, his energy and his high intelligence. Lord Clyde was distinguished for courage, tempered with prudence, for courtesy mingled with dignity, for humanity toward his men, by whom he was idolized. Lord Roberts more than any other English officer of his day and generation has reproduced the high military talents and prudence, the courtesy and the humanity of Lord Clyde, his first great commander.

The exploit which gave Lord Roberts his first great fame, his march from Cabul to the relief of the English army before Candahar, afforded no opportunity for the display of the brilliant strategy he has executed against the Boers. The march to Candahar was a bold undertaking, and could only have been rapidly executed by a soldier like Roberts, whose experience as a Quartermaster-General of the Indian Army, and whose service as Quartermaster-General of General Napier's Abyssinian expedition, had taught him how to strip an army for passage through difficult mountain defiles. The march to Candahar was a memorable bit of military work of his kind, but a strategic performance it was not equal to the sudden stroke by which Roberts has hamstringed the Boer military elephant. Lord Roberts is not only a great soldier, but his book, "Forty-three Years in India," proves him to be a man of statesmanlike quality. The chapters explaining the cause of the Indian Mu-

lity of 1857 and setting forth the true policy of government for India are worthy of the highest praise. Not only does his book reveal Lord Roberts as a man of statesmanlike quality, but he is always tolerant and humane. The personal welfare of the English soldier engages his attention; the abatement of intemperance in the army greatly interests him, and altogether his book reveals the man as an exceedingly able soldier, with a marked capacity for civil government as well as military administration.

This was the impression that Lord Roberts made upon General Grant, who, on his return from his journey around the world, said that Sir Frederick Roberts impressed him as by far the ablest general in the English Army. Lord Roberts is like Grant in his simplicity of character, his modesty, his humanity, his professional self-confidence and energy; and no wonder they were pleased with each other and became warm friends at their first meeting.

It is a curious fate that has permitted him to pluck the brightest roses of his military career at 68 years of age. Sir Garnet Wolseley and his faction in the British Army did not mean that Lord Roberts should have a chance to win any fame in the Boer war. Sir Redvers Buller, it was confidently expected, would have a walkover from the Orange River to Pretoria, but disaster befell the general in such quick succession that public sentiment forced the Government to send out Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. It was not unlike the situation before Santiago, which looked so doubtful that Secretary Alger and President McKinley hurried Miles to the scene to stiffen the spine of Shafter. Lord Roberts has saved the British people from severe humiliation at the expense of wrecking the reputation of a number of English Generals, from Buller down to Methuen.

Bloemfontein, where Lord Roberts will rest his army until railway communication is restored between the Bethulie Bridge and Norval's Pont across the Orange River, is about 122 miles south of Kroonstad, the new capital of the Orange Free State. The new Boer line of defense, probably on the line of the Vet River, about sixty miles north of Bloemfontein. An important bit of news is the announcement that Sir Charles Warren, with his division of 10,000 men, has been ordered back to General Buller, which indicates Lord Roberts' purpose to threaten the left flank of the Boer army through Van Reenen's Pass, from Bloemfontein to Kroonstad. This would be the natural way for Lord Roberts and General Buller to cooperate. The return of Sir Charles Warren's division would give General Buller at least 25,000 men, with plenty of artillery. With the railway from Lady-smith intact, General Buller could bring all his supplies up to the point of attack, and an army of 25,000 men with plenty of food, and a good supply of that would at least compel the Boers to weaken their main army by a considerable force to defend it. If the pass should be forced by Buller, the Boer left would be turned, for Van Reenen's Pass commands the railway via Harrismith and Bethlehem to Kroonstad. Lord Roberts has secured Bloemfontein and the railway crossings of the Orange River in good time, for the rainy season is at hand, and wagon transportation would be most difficult.

Adjutant-General Corbin, who is urged by the Secretary of War for promotion to a Major-Generalship, is charged by a correspondent of the New York Evening Post with having debauched the Army in the matter of appointments. The Army Examining Board that met in New York City to examine candidates for second-lieutenancies in the summer of 1898 reported twenty-four candidates out of forty-nine disqualified for physical disabilities, but, to quote literally from a letter of the Adjutant-General, "the disqualification was waived by the President," and, after an easy mental examination, commissions were issued to almost all the relatives or protégés of influential politicians. The Post confirms the statements of this correspondent, and says that at this examination all but a few of the candidates failed either mentally or physically; that two were caught in the act of cheating, and that one appeared in a state of gross intoxication. Yet every one of these men, whose cases were duly reported to the Adjutant-General's office by the officer in charge, received commissions as an "officer and a gentleman," and is in the service today, some of them certain to be added to the Government pension rolls before many years have elapsed.

A striking coincidence was the death at Elmira, N. Y., and Hartford, Conn., on the 14th inst., of the two oldest surviving members of the famous Beecher family—Mrs. Mary Foote Beecher Perkins, at the age of 94, and the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, at the age of 81 years. Of sturdy fiber mentally and physically, many of the numerous children of Rev. Lyman Beecher lived to extreme old age. Thomas K. was the last of the sons, and, with Isabella Beecher Hooker, of Hartford, the sole survivor of the family. These two are, therefore, half-brother and sister to Henry Ward Beecher, whose name and energies represented the independent, progressive thought of the family, more than any other member, with the possible exception of Harriet Beecher Stowe. The family originally numbered fifteen children, of whom, however, several died in early life. They have all now, with the single exception referred to, passed away, having left the stamp of their energy and intelligence upon the generation in which they lived.

The New York Times' London financial correspondent points out the fact that the visible stocks of gold in all the reputedly wealthy countries, except France, are less than they were a year ago, though the new supply was over \$300,000,000. The Bank of France has gained about \$20,000,000. "Altogether the visible stock of these countries in the aggregate retains only about \$16,000,000 out of the \$260,000,000 to \$25,000,000 added to the world's supply last year." The stock in the United States increased about \$60,000,000. The amount stored in the arts may have been as much more. The Orient has been in some, and in all probability the small stocks of gold held in banks not issuing notes, and the amounts of gold actually in current use, taking all countries together, have increased. Wars and rumors of wars increase the disposition to

hold gold, and the enormous yield of last year afforded the means of accumulating supplies, especially in quarters not directly influenced by note issues and governmental necessities.

The needs of the cavalry service have fully demonstrated that it pays to raise good horses. The demand for animals of certain weight and grade for service in the Philippines, though an unexpected or at least a sudden one, has been met by horsebreeders of Eastern Oregon and Washington, to their substantial profit and to the satisfaction of the Government. The range horse may be without commercial value except as he is converted into a food product of doubtful relish, but the meat for good horses, carefully bred, is strong and steady, and likely to continue to be so indefinitely. When the Government pays from \$18 to \$28 per head for young horses of a certain grade, horsebreeders can hardly complain that there is no money in the business, especially since the demand shows no sign of weakening. Electrically supplied horsepower in many things, but the horse is factor in military operations that will remain invaluable as long as nations go to war.

THE SHIP SUBSIDY BILL.

What Can the Republican Leaders Be Driving At?

The House committee on merchant marine and fisheries, by vote 10 to 3, has ordered a favorable report on the ship subsidy bill. The Senate amendments and a few others were agreed to. Among the latter were two designed to prevent the organization of trusts among the shipbuilders or shipowners. We confess that we have not the remotest idea what the Republican leaders are driving at, sometimes it looks as though they really do not care about winning the approaching election. At a time when the Republican party is split in two on the Puerto Rican tariff bill, when people are openly charging that Grover Cleveland is a traitor that dictated that measure, and when they know that our tariff law is crowded with discriminating taxes in favor of trusts, it is certain to seem a net of mud for the Republican leaders to try to force through Congress a bill to tax the people \$9,000,000 a year for the benefit of private industries.

The President and the majority in Congress were warned about the Puerto Rican tariff bill, but they refused to listen. Now they see the deplorable consequences of the statement "no trusts" and they are not infrequently do what they please, without bringing disaster on themselves and their party. There is a strong opposition to this subsidy bill among Republicans. Senator McMillan has no difficulty in finding it. Governor Mount has declared himself against the bill, saying that it was an inopportune time to be voting public money to private interests. And the people, generally, are deeply convinced that the bill is not only wrong in itself, but that it is the product of a dangerous tendency.

If the Republican party can not be moved by a regard for the welfare of the people, the only thing left for us to appeal to is their fear. Within the past few weeks imperialism and trusts have developed into real issues. No political party can afford to go against the people on those issues. The bill is a direct attempt to sidestep the friends of the bill believe that its natural effect would be to create trusts. The bill is a direct attempt to create trusts, and the bill appropriates large sums of money out of the taxes paid by the people for the benefit of industries which are already rich and powerful. That is enough for the people to know. It is enough for the Republicans to know. Yet every Republican member of the committee yesterday voted for the bill, including the majority who did so much to get the party on the wrong side of the Puerto Rican tariff bill. Such is the leadership of the Republican party in the United States, that the influence of the subsidy bill, the people are pretty well informed. Some of the men that will profit most largely at the expense of the people, are already rich and powerful. That is enough for the people to know. It is enough for the Republicans to know. Yet every Republican member of the committee yesterday voted for the bill, including the majority who did so much to get the party on the wrong side of the Puerto Rican tariff bill. Such is the leadership of the Republican party in the United States, that the influence of the subsidy bill, the people are pretty well informed. Some of the men that will profit most largely at the expense of the people, are already rich and powerful. That is enough for the people to know. It is enough for the Republicans to know. 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