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TODAY'S WEATHER—Fair and warmer, northerly winds.

PORTLAND, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4.

GROWTH OF A "DOCTRINE."

The Congress of the United States never has made into law any distinct affirmation of the Monroe Doctrine. It has, in fact, avoided, declined or rejected proposals to define it. The meaning of the doctrine, therefore, has always been vague and indeterminate. Before the great tribunal of the world it has no standing, other than in the general right that belongs to every nation of self-protection and defense, in every case and under all circumstances that call for its exercise. Each nation is, of course, the judge for itself of the conditions under which it may affirm this right and endeavor to enforce it. But, if it would have that moral support which is necessary to final success, it must not affirm this right on trivial or insignificant grounds. In the American mind the Monroe Doctrine, we think, means that no European power can be permitted to increase its political influence in the Western hemisphere. Only the future can tell whether that assumption is to be maintained. There may at some time be a European combination of powers which it will not be possible for us to maintain.

But in the American mind the Monroe Doctrine has come to mean something more, and a good deal more than that. It means that the United States has the right to intervene in the affairs of any European nation which has achieved its independence. In the position we took we were backed by Great Britain, who deemed her own interests threatened by the concert of Continental Europe. Indeed, it was upon a direct suggestion of Great Britain that our action was taken. The policy that had, indeed, been intended before the Monroe doctrine, but it was vague, nebulous, undefined; and there is no probability that it would have been brought forward when it was, or would now have its present place in the American mind, but for Great Britain's suggestion. Through Congress has never affirmed or defined it, and men have tried to affirm or define it, the "doctrine" has grown in the American mind, because every living doctrine or policy must grow. It was one of those remarkable turns in affairs, not unusual in history, when the United States, through President Cleveland, affirmed the doctrine, in 1892, against Great Britain in the case of Venezuela.

It was in 1822 that George Canning, British Foreign Secretary, suggested that the United States should take a decided stand against interference of the Holy Alliance in Mexico and South America. It scarcely needs to be stated that the Holy Alliance was a union of Austria, France, Prussia and Russia for the maintenance of the European monarchies. It was formed soon after the Napoleonic wars, and was renewed and strengthened in 1820, when uprisings occurred in several countries of Europe. Great Britain had been asked to join the combination, and some steps had been taken in that direction under Lord Castlereagh. On his death by suicide Canning became Foreign Minister, and under his guidance Great Britain held aloof from the Continental alliance. The United States had recognized the independence of Mexico and the other revolted Spanish colonies, and Canning was inclined to pursue the same course. In 1823 he suggested to Richard Rush, United States Minister at London, that the Government should express in a forcible manner its opposition to intervention by the European powers in behalf of Spain against its colonies which had rejected allegiance. Prompted thus, President Monroe, in his message of December, 1823, said: "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects of colonialization by any European power." But he added: "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European government we have not interfered and shall not interfere."

Since that time the "doctrine" has, however, made considerable advance in the American mind. Nobody yet, indeed, attempts any precise definition; but the "doctrine" is supposed to embody in a general way an idea of some sort of control that may be or ought to be exerted by the United States over the relations between European governments and those of Latin America.

We are almost distinctly affirming this policy in regard to Cuba, in whose case, however, the subject is presented in a new way and a different one from any which hitherto has appeared. But this action marks the growth of the "doctrine," though in fact it had been repeatedly rejected hitherto by Congress, when resolutions were offered in attempts to obtain specific affirmations of the policy.

It is a selfish, not an altruistic, purpose, that lies behind our action. We are unwilling that any powerful European nation shall obtain increase of political influence and power in America. It is not the good of Mexico or of Venezuela that we seek to promote, but our own safety against the growth of powers that might threaten us. In the case of Venezuela it was really a very small matter, for the addition of a little more territory to British Guiana could have been no menace to us. It was merely on principle, only for precedent, that we had any kind of reason for the action taken so abruptly by President Cleveland.

"CONSTITUTION" AND "TYRANNY."

"MINNIVILLE, Or., June 3.—(To the Editor.)—In your issue of today there is an editorial under the caption 'The Power of Congress.' If Congress can legislate for our dependencies outside the Constitution, under the name of the 'power of Congress,' why do we need a written Constitution?"

In answering, remember that necessity has been the plea of all tyrants in all ages of the world, and that the tyrants of the present will benefit the people we arbitrarily govern as also the plea of every King and tyrant that has ever ruled any country.

1. "Why do we need a written Constitution?" The Constitution itself tells why. The Constitution was made for the purpose of the Union, constituting the United States, not for the purpose of acquiring by the United States. Acquisition of territory is an act of sovereign power, from which this Nation is not precluded by the Constitution.

2. "The tyrant's plea." We suppose we shall not oppress the people of the new possessions. It will be our duty to govern them as a liberty equal to our own. The part that may govern them will do this with the American people. And yet our people will conclude that what is good enough for themselves is good enough for the late subjects of Spain who have come under the flag of the United States. The condition to be brought about in the new possessions, as soon and as rapidly as possible, is local self-government, after our manner of territorial government, under supervision of Congress—a system familiar to us through the history of one hundred years. We think the Porto Ricans, the Hawaiians and the Filipinos can stand it. After a while, if we want to convert these territories into states, we can do it. Meantime we ask our government to do it. Outside the Constitution, just as we have governed our territories always—making laws for them not applicable to states. Yet our legislation for them must be liberal, generous and just, and it will be; for if the party now in power shall not satisfy the demands of the American people in this regard, another party will come in and do it. The United States is preparing to give territory to the United States. The right in one case is the same as in the other. It rests on the usage of nations, on the law of history and on the consent and custom of mankind. It is the way, chiefly, through which nations become great, through which nations become great, through which nations become great.

The flag of the United States there never can be tyranny, or arbitrary government, anywhere, so long as there is a National conscience among men, and a spirit that stands against tyranny and against arbitrary government. This spirit has descended to us from a remote past, through an ever broadening stream, and we believe the people of the United States will stand up to it. Protests against tyranny, arbitrary government and despotism, among people who speak English, are found mostly in the mouths of politicians and phrase-makers. It is a fashion among them to assume that all our rights were conferred by the Constitution and rest upon it. The truth is, when the body of the most valuable rights antedated it. These rights have come down from past ages; they are rights which belong to man, independent of constitutions, and the people of our new possessions will not be deprived of one of them. One good result of the acquisition of these new regions will be to broaden the minds of our own people, to enable them to see their own country in larger relations to the world and its movements. It is a great step toward the enlargement of our National horizon. Great as we are, we are yet subject to a spirit of provincialism which we shall outgrow only by looking beyond ourselves. We require contact and intercourse with the greater world. The events of the past years open the first path toward it.

TARIFF SOURCE OF TRUSTS.

A striking confirmation of the present drift of trust discussion is afforded by the latest article in the Atlantic Monthly, Mr. Charles J. Bullock's "Trusts and Public Policy." In an article in the Oregonian of March 28 we discussed Mr. Charles Beardsley's trust theory, as embodied in the Quarterly Journal of Economics (Harvard University), and sought to show that trust discussion tends more and more to gather about the protective tariff as its vital element in the problem. Beardsley contended, it will be remembered, that in tariff reform as applied to trust products we have not only a promising remedy, but perhaps the only one within reach; and that the removal of protection from trust products must be regarded not merely an experiment, but a solidifying principle of action, fundamental in theory and imperative from practical considerations.

Now comes Mr. Bullock, in the Atlantic, and goes a step further. He undertakes to show that to a great extent the trust is the product of the protective system, and he is very sure that there is absolutely no excuse to bewail the trust, or to herald the failure of the competitive system, so long as tariff laws resolutely forbid any fair application of that system. We talk about competition, he says, but we don't have competition. The only effective bulwark against domestic monopoly is the tariff. Competition, and this we liberally shut out. Then we foolishly say that competition has

failed and combination must be taken up.

Take, for example, the depression from which trusts have rescued certain of our manufacturing industries. What caused the depression—free scope of competition? No, says Mr. Bullock, but its absence. Overinvestment and collapse arose out of Governmental interference, misallocated protection. The whiskey trust was formed because the Federal duties on distilled spirits had been so manipulated and administered that enormous amounts of capital had been called into the industry, producing conditions for which mere competition was in no wise responsible. And the same thing was true of the sugar and tin-plate industries.

The operation of the tariff adversely to our industries is two-fold in its direction. In time of rising prices and enlarged demand, the tariff, by forbidding free entrance of foreign wares, incites domestic expansion to inordinate lengths. Influx of imports would soon bring the market to its normal level, but their exclusion forces a feverish enlargement of domestic facilities. When the special demand has been satisfied and the market resumes its normal state, we are discovered with a swollen investment, superfluous plants and excess of capitalization, which invite the trust. Meanwhile, the foreigner, who might have improved his condition and increased his purchasing power by a temporary activity during our special demand, has been denied the natural participation in that trade which is mutually profitable. We have denied the competitive principle full sway. We are therefore estopped from questioning its efficacy.

Upon one other head, and one only, is Mr. Bullock's contribution noteworthy. He, for one, has heard that the trusts move in the direction of socialism. This is a contention that has long been maintained in these columns, and it is a pleasure to see it at length elsewhere. If the trust movement goes on unchallenged to the conquest of our industries, then, as Mr. Bullock pregnantly says: "Only two possible alternatives will present themselves—public monopoly or private monopoly; and those who are now occupied with the formation or justification of trusts will be forced to choose between the two. The balance finally swings in the direction of socialism."

THE INDEPENDENCE OF CANADA.

The vast extent of Canada and its enormous undeveloped wealth make it certain that at no very distant day she will be a powerful neighbor. The development of this latent wealth is proceeding with unwonted energy and rapidity, because it has attracted the attention of great American capitalists. A New England capitalist is at the head of the great Dominion Iron and Steel Works at Sydney, C. B. An American from Virginia has been appointed manager. Another American capitalist is developing New Ontario. American capital is pouring into Canada so rapidly that in fifty years the Dominion will have a population between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000. The Province of Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba are preparing to open a railway to James Bay, the southern extremity of Hudson's Bay. South and east of this bay is a tract of 35,000 miles, which within three years will have railway connection with the centers of Canadian commerce. The Province of Quebec is also pushing a railway to James Bay. The distance from the City of Quebec to James Bay is 500 miles, of which a track has already been made. A subsidy has been granted by the government for an extension of the line from Roberval to James Bay, and the construction of this extension is to be begun at once. The railway will run through a rich territory, well timbered and watered, with good farming lands and excellent water power. The last 200-mile stretch from the mountainous region to the shores of James Bay, is watered by large rivers and possesses a soil as fertile as that of Manitoba and extensive pine forests. The James Bay region possesses immense mineral resources of iron of the first quality for the production of iron and steel. The rich iron ore of the province from the inclement and comparatively inaccessible Kiondike region shows how easily the difficulties of nature are overcome when there is a promise of rich return on the investment of capital and labor. There is a vast area of country, amounting to one-third of the whole Dominion, that is unexplored and undeveloped. The rights to all practical purposes are blank. It is believed contains limitless resources and will ultimately furnish an immense field for American capital and enterprise.

The present extraordinary flow of capital and enterprise from the United States into Canada, which promises to continue, is introducing a colonizing influence into Canada, and establishing an industrial development by Americans that will tend to draw the two countries into bonds of closer commercial relations. The weakening of protectionist sentiment in the United States, due to our enormous export trade, will ultimately have its effect on Canada. When the day comes, say five years hence, that Canada Canada, with all her undeveloped accessible wealth in wheat, timber and minerals connected by railways with Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec, and possibly connected by freight steamers from James Bay with the British ports, will be Canada be disposed to remain the finest colony in the British coronet, or will she be disposed to set up for herself as an independent state? Today Canada is neither represented in the British Parliament nor in the British Cabinet, yet her British connection has its perils, since every war that Britain may be engaged in makes Canada an object of attack by Britain's foes. It is fairly argued that independence would bring to Canada the greatest safety from wars and would be the best guaranty for that perfect peace which she needs for her industrial development.

Absolute independence would be the ideal policy for the development and defense of Canada. She has the same geographical advantages that is enjoyed by the United States in remoteness from Europe. Her only neighbor is the United States, with whom there is scarcely a possibility of serious quarrel, and her frontier, with modern weapons in the hands of her intelligent and stalwart population, could probably successfully resist invasion, while conquest would be impossible. While independence would be the ideal policy for development of Canada, it is not likely that any separation from the Empire will take place. Blood is thicker than water, and sentiment is stronger than self-interest with the majority of the Canadian people. The same spirit which prompted Canada enthusiastically to offer a colonial volunteer con-

tingent for the Boer War will prevail for many years to come, and she will decline to become an independent state.

The watch combination is said to be off. The American Company at Waltham has refused to go in, and other companies are also said to have announced that they would not go in. The \$75,000,000 watch trust, therefore, disappears from sight, for the present at least. There comes from Pittsburgh the announcement that James W. Brown, whose concern entered the Crucible Steel Company against his judgment, and who was made first vice-president of the combination, has withdrawn, bought a site and is about to establish an independent crucible-steel works. There is abundant precedent for him. There is a rather notable list of men whose concerns have been absorbed by combinations and who are so far from being intimidated by the immense capitalization of the combinations that they establish new concerns, enter the market in competition with the old, and with the aid of experience will probably demonstrate where combination is advantageous and where it is not, but there is already an interesting recognition, by the men who have every reason to know the facts of the fullness in most fields of efforts to corner production and manipulate prices. The New York Journal of Commerce predicts that in the course of a year or two we shall see most of the plants with old machinery included in combinations, and their former owners, with brand-new equipments, vigorously competing with them.

A lyddite shell recently exploded in the house occupied at Pretoria by Boer Commandant Schoeman. Schoeman's daughter and the father of Commandant Viljoen were killed, and Mrs. Schoeman and another were injured. The shell had been kept as a curio, a cap having been screwed off. Schoeman, after lighting his pipe, threw the match away. It fell on the shell, and a terrific explosion followed. The house was completely destroyed, and the windows in other houses at a considerable distance broken. Sir Alfred Milner lately said that the British Government had been confronted in the Boer war by 'ferocity, race hatred and extreme ignorance.' That 'extreme ignorance' is present, the above statement of the terrible death of Commandant Schoeman, his daughter and friend, and the destruction of his house, would seem to be conclusive evidence. If a man fit to be a Boer General does not know any better than to keep a loaded lyddite shell as a parlor plant, but treats it as a harmless curio, what must be the grade of intelligence among the rank and file of the Boers?

It is a noteworthy fact that Justice White, a Democrat, appointed to the bench by President Cleveland, could have transformed the majority of the United States Supreme Court in favor of the policy of the Administration into a majority against the Administration. With the concurrence and by the vote of this Democratic member of the court, the majority of the court overruled Mr. Bryan and the Democratic National platform of 1900, framed at Kansas City, which declared: "We hold that the Constitution follows the flag," and further declared:

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rican law, enacted by the Congress of the United States, and the opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the Nation's honor.

In his speech of acceptance at Indianapolis, Mr. Bryan hooted down the proposition that the Constitution does not necessarily follow the flag. It is clear that as a jurist Justice White is not a Bryanite Democrat.

A New York paper, which pretends to cater to commercial interests, and which recently had an agent trying to get large chunks in Northwestern cities, is now with a long attack on Portland's shipping facilities. It is largely a reiteration of the statements made in letters that appeared in The Oregonian some time ago in the interest of a common rate to Astoria. The New York paper, poor as its standing is and insignificant as its influence, makes much of the fact that the city is a very poor port when it does this. The map which accompanies the widely untrue article is in itself a pretty clear refutation of the statements made, for it shows how the whole Northwest naturally gravitates to Portland and how admirably situated Portland is for handling large foreign and domestic trade.

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer says it "has practically driven The Oregonian out of the State of Washington." That will be news to readers of The Oregonian north of the Columbia River. The fact is, the circulation of The Oregonian in the State of Washington was before was great, and it is today, and The Oregonian sells one hundred copies in the State of Washington where the Post-Intelligencer sells one in the State of Oregon. Moreover, Seattle's paper of largest circulation is the Seattle Times, as it is Seattle's paper of highest character, recognized at home and abroad. The P.-I., as the paper is called, is a newspaper of a political clique, actuated by the same purposes of preying on its city and state, as is recognized in its title character, wherever it is known at all.

It is not exactly an edifying spectacle that Mr. Moyer presents in having his name and Dr. Woodrow Wilson's name and the name of the Queen Alexandra, up to the present, has not selected her official monogram. The late Queen's choice in Napoleon, by the way, was King Edward's.

London Free Lance.

King Edward has a pretty taste in note-paper. The monogram, which appears in the left hand corner of the new stationery, consists of the letters E. D. and the top portion of the E the crown is worked in, and in the lower part the Roman figures VII. The E is silver in color, with a black ink outline, and both the crown and the figure VII. in black. "Windor Castle" is stamped in black at the head of the paper. King Edward's favorite paper is hand made, and is called "Queen Alexandra," up to the present, has not selected her official monogram. The late Queen's choice in Napoleon, by the way, was King Edward's.

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