## FOR NICARAGUA CANAL ROUTE

SENATOR MITCHELL'S ABLE ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF IT AS A NATIONAL ENTERPRISE

most comprehensive and forceful argument made in the Senate so far in support of the Nicaragua Canal has been the speech of Senator Mitchell, which, at great length, discussed every conceivable feature of the proposition which has any important bearing. The following liberal extracts are here quoted:

The speedy construction of an isthmian canal by and under the control of the ernment of the United States is one of the pressing demands of the age, is demanded by National and international commerce; by internal and foreign trade; by the necessities of our military and naval service; by the spirit and progress of the times in which we live; by the material and physical development of a century stupendous in results and marked by achievements incomparable in charac-ter and unequaled by that of any that has

receded it.

It is demanded by a united voice coming from the people of the country, emphatic in character and in a tone which cannot be misunderstood. Indeed, so pronounced is this demand on the part of the people of this country that both the great poiltions have not dared to ignore it, and hence they have earnestly demanded of Congress that provision be made, without for the commencement of this great National and International work, Indeed, so universal, so defermined, so insistent has been the demand of the people for an isthmian canal that the few who are opposed to legislation looking to its early construction do not dare openly oppose such legislation, but, while fessing to be in favor of a canal, compelled to resort to all manner of devices for the purpose of defeating, by in-direction, that which they dare not di-

every member of this Senate who says he is favorable to legislation which will re-sult in the early construction of the canal is absolutely honest in that profession, and while I know it is a fact that there is in this body an honest difference of opinion as to which route, the Nicara gua or the Panama, should be adopted, and also an honest difference of opinion as to the proposition or expediency of purchasing the Panama concern for \$40,-000,000, I give it as my deliberate judgment, after as thorough an investigation as I have been able to make, that a failure upon the part of the Senate to accept the House bill will simply mean an indefinite postponement, if not, indeed, the ultimate defeat of the care.

the ultimate defeat of the canal. But, further, it is my settled convic-tion that the purchase of the French plant and the adoption of the Panama route, although it might eventually re-sult in getting the canal, will involve us ications with the French Governent and the French people that will series of entanglement and irritation for the next 100 years. It will be another series of French spoliation claims, simi-lar to those growing out of our treaty with France 100 years ago, and which have annoyed us ever since, and whose claims are even yet lifting their undying head before the committees of this body at every session of Congress.

The Nicaragua Route Is Feasible. As the House bill provides for the con struction of a canal over the Nicaragua route, the inquiry is pertinent, Is that route practicable? Is it feasible? And, if so, what if any are its advantages over the Panama route?

In view of the numerous surveys and thorough investigations of this route, not only by one, but by many commission and engineering expeditions, always com posed of men in all respects thoroughly equipped by their scientific and other attainments for the proper performance of the important work, the question of the absolute feasibility, the entire practica-bility of this route is no longer an open question. So thoroughly well has this been established that even its enemies and the friends of other routes, I believe

Without referring to the many earlier surveys, all of which establish the feastbility of this route, it is sufficient to at-

For two years, lacking about two months, the Walker commission was en-gaged in the prosecution of this great Their report leaves nothing ubt, no element of uncertainty as to any material factor involved, as to the entire feasibility of this route.

now propose, Mr. President, to give 17 reasons why, in my judgment, it is the duty of the Congress to select the Nica-ragua route. The advantages of this route over the Panama route may be summa

rized as follows: First-Because for the commerce in which the United States is mostly inter ested, that between our Pacific Coast and Atlantic ports and European and Ameri-can, the Nicaragau route is shorter by 600 miles, or one full day in going and coming by steamers, and the same advantages exist between our Atlantic ports and ports of the Orient. This is a statement of the the Orient. This is a statement of the Isthmian Canal Commission in their report of November, 1909.

Second-The construction of the canal

on "the Panama route will," as stated by the Isthmian Canal Commission, "be sim-ply a means of communication between the two oceans, . . . and the natural features of the country through which the route passes are such that no considerable development is likely to occur as a result canal"; while, as stated by the commis sion, "in addition to this use as a mean of communication between the two oceans a canal by the Nicaragua route would bring Nicaragua and a large portion of Costa Rica, and other Central American States into close use and communication with the United States and that of Eu The intimate business relations continue the commission, "that would be established with the people of the United States during the period of construction, by the expenditure of rast sums of mone in those states, and the use of American products and manufactures, would be likely to continue after the completion of the work, to the benefit of our manufacturing, agricultural and other interests."

Third-The freedom from epidemics, the general condition of health, the hygienic advantages, generally, are largely in favor of the Nicaragua route. This is fully and completely demonstrated, not only by the report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, but by overwhelming testimony from

various other sources,

Fourth-The engineering problems on the Nicaragua route are susceptible of com-plete and satisfactory solution. In no particular is there any element of doubt re maining, while route are clearly in the experimental re-gion. There is, as to certain difficulties to be overcome on the Panama route, nothing in the past history of engineering experience which can be invoked to render the solution of the problems an absolute certainty. These relate mainly to the power to successfully control the waters of the Chagres River, and to the pos

of maintaining a dam at Bohlo.

The construction of the canal on the Panama route excludes sailing vess from trans-isthmian navigation, while the Nicaragua would not, the reason being on account of the calms or doldrums extend-ing through many months for long distances on the Pacific side of the Panams route, while good sailing winds at each end of the Nicaragua route are experienced the whole year.

To select the Panama route is to aller that shall traverse the canal, all salling ssels, while to select the Nicaragus ate is to bring into close and acute competition the vessels driven by steam and electricity with those driven by the everlesting winds of heaven. It is demonstrat-

WASHINGTON, June 10 .- Perhaps the , ed beyond any question that for many months of each year the calms or dol-drums extend out on the Pacific Coast a distance of more than 400 miles from Panama, and no saflor can make, any progress through these long distances of from 400 to 600 miles, and through which calm ships must necessarily go in order to enter and pass through a canal on the proposed Panama route, except by steam or other motive power than wind. But the advocates of the Panama route,

while compelled to accept these facts, respond in substance and effect, by way answer, "Oh! the day of the sailer past," and they point to the fact that n sailing craft pass through the Sues Canal as an argument to support the assertion. But the assertion that the day of the saller is past is an unwarranted one, and it is to be hoped, in the interest of the world's commerce, the day will never come cent of the marine tonnage of the United States is today composed of sailing ves-sels. According to the flatest official reports the total tonnage of the United States at present is 2,006,000 tons, while but \$19,000 tons of this tonnage is steam, while 1.2%,000 tons is salling craft. Some other scataring nations have a still larger percentage of salling vessels. Norway and Sweden have a total tonnage of 1,770,000, of which but 726,000 tons, or less than 40

per cent, is steam.

Nor is it true, as is sometimes contended, that the use of sail vessels is on the downgrade. This statement is either a misconception or a misrepresentation of existing facts. The very reverse of this is true. Improvements are constantly being made in not only the construction but the manner of controlling sail vessels. is true that some of the old square-rigged two or three-mast sailers are going out of use, but in their stead are being placed tron sallers of different build and of

The necessities of the American coastwise traffic are rapidly developing a great fleet of four, five, six and seven-masted schooners of American register. These are rapidly increasing in number. Numerous vessels of this character of from 2000 to 5000 tons' burden are being built in the shippards of this country, notably in those of Maine and Massachusetts-15 were constructed in Maine last year.

The selection of the Panama route is to call a halt in the shipbuilding industry of this country, insofar as it hnight otherwise relate to the construction of sailers for trans-isthmian trade; and at the same time strike down all competition between sailers and steam vessels in/use, so far as The whole country, and in fact all com-mercial nations, but especially and particu-larly the Pacific Coast states of our own country, are vitally interested in the que tion of the construction of an Isthman Canal on a route which will make it possible for sailing vessels to enter and com-pete with steamers in the carrying trade of our own and other countries. The great timber interests of the Pacific Coast, a market for which is gradually opening on the Atlantic seaboard and in the South American states, as well as in the interior, must, as a rule, be carried in saliers, as their construction enable them to stow timbers of unusual lengths, which is the leading desirable quality of the Pacific Coast product. Peculiarity of construe tion precludes, in a great measure, the or dinary steamer from carrying this class of products.

Question of Coal Supply. Another vital objection to the Panam

route which will affect adversely those interested in the two great products, wheat and coal, is this fact: Possibly future de velopment may demonstrate a sufficient supply of bituminous coal on the Pacific Coast to meet the demands of that section. At present this is not so, and as the population increases and business dethe population increases and business de-velopes the quantity required will largely increase. At present the import supply comes largely from Canada and England chiefly from the latter as ballast, at a low rate of freight, in steamers calling for wheat. American coal from the Atlantic Coast cannot now compete with this supply. Our wheat is now ehipped to Liver-pool mostly by steamers thying the Brit-They reach the Parific norts mainly in ballast; sometimes they ballast with English bituminous coal, coke and pig fron, placing them on the market at ominal freight charge. On account of detriment caused by heat and moisture in the calm belts of the tropics, this wheat goes mostly in steamers. These wheat goes mostly in steamers. These are known as the English tramp steamers and are the all-around carriers of the world-ships that can enter the average ports of the world and pick up traffic anywhere and take it anywhere. They are from 2000 to 3000 tons, burden, drawing, as a rule, from 18 to 25 feet of water. Now, if this wheat traffic should be carried through an fishmian canal by sallers, there can be but little doubt that a very large proportion of the wheat traffic between the Pacific Coast ports and Liverpool would be controlled by sailing vessels. And if this call marine can be introduced as a factor in the proposi-tion, it would surely result in a very large reduction of freight charges to the people of the United States and es-

pecially to those of the Pacific Coast But, aside from the fact that it will be physical and marine impossibility for sailing versels to engage in trans-isthmia trade through a canal located on the Panama route, for the reasons just added. another insurmountable objection attache to the traffic of the two important prod-ucts, wheat and coal. Wheat, on either steam or sailing vessels, can never sur-vive the terrible heat and doldrums, if compelled to pass through a Panama canal, while there is a constant liability of spontaneous combustion of bituminous coal in passing through the tropics. Underwriters are now throwing many ob-structions in the way of obtaining marine insurance on vessels carrying coal into

the tropics. Are not, then, the production and con sumption of coal tremendous factors in the world's commerce? Does it require any prescience or superior knowledge to determine as to the incomparable import ance of the United States in this connec-tion with this one item of the world's commerce, of the speedy construction of the Nicaragua Canal? And to no section of our common country will the benefits be so incalculable as to the Pacific Coast states. Our immense products of wheat, lumber, fish, fruits, wool and grains, beyond our demands for home consumption, will find a safe and speedy market, not only along the Eastern coast of the United

States, but in Europe, South and Central America, and elsewhere. The demant for lumber in all its varieties gradually and rapidly increasing all ong the Eastern portions of the United States and also in South America. 'forests are being rapidly exhausted. turning to the Pacific States we find for ests almost inexhaustible of the finest tim her that ever grew. In the states of Oregon and Washington alone there is today standing, according to the latest statistical reports, more than 430 billion feet of magnificent timber. The major portion of this timber in Oregon and nine-tenths of it in Washington, is located west of the Cascade Mountains and in close proximity to the shipping ports of the Pacific ocean. Sixty percent or more of this timber wes, of the Cascade Range is red or yellow fir For single-stick, top-masts or rigged vessels, and the masts fore and aft, no timber, in the world equals this fir, or as it is sometimes called "Oregon Pine." In Oregon and Washington clear, straight-grained decking, free from map can be had in any desired length. This timber is now largely used for absorbing bettern is now largely used for sheathing bottoms of steel ships. The supply in Eastern States for long lengths and large sections in dimension timber is rapidly decreasing.

increasing. Clear cedar for building small boals is almost exhausted in the East, and cypress and white pine are being substituted. The Oregon and Washington cedar and fir have straight, clear lumber of any width and length desired. This production -with the Nicaragua Canal completed-Eastern ports at reasonable rates, where it would soon take the place of white pine and cypress and be used in a great

variety of structures.

But not only so: On the coast alone, in the State of California; in the northern part of that state, there is according to statistical experts standing loday more than 5 billion feet of redwood. That this ood, so desirable, beautiful and easily manufactured, would-with the completion off the Nicaragua Canal—soon take the place of Eastern pine, and other woods. goes without saying. The construction of this canal will open to market the 500 billion feet of fir, cedar, redwood and also an almost incalculable amount of Hemthe products manufactured therefrom, and all of which are easily accessible to the seaports of the Pacific Ocean.

Products to Be Made Avnilable. Sixth: Because of the commercial adthose of the Panama route. Because of the prospective local development in the production of an infinite variety of valuable products indigenous to, that cour try, such as coffee, sugar, rice, rubbe bananas, indigo, cocoa, vegetables of all kinds, hard woods, mahogany, cedar-red and white several varieties, besides cattle In this respect the prospect for develop-ment is wonderful. Along the Panama route there could be no hope for any local amount to anything.

Seventh: The military and naval adlargely in favor of the Nicaragua route Eighth: If we cast our lot with the pe ple of Colombia on the Panama route we take up our abode with a revolution-ary, hostile and unfriendly people. More than 20,000 of these people are already oc-cupying the canal belt at Panama, and they must be dealt with, they must be expelled. While within the limits of the canal concession on the Nicaragua route there is not to exceed 2500 people, and they are not of an objectionable population.

Ninth: The opportunity afforded for the cleaning of ships' bottoms of barnacles and other accretions by going 190 miles through fresh water, averaging 200 feet in depth, of Lake Nicaragua is a great advantage in favor of the Nicaragua route and one not to be overlooked. On the Panama route the distance of fresh water navigation is but 12 miles in water not 40 feet

Tenth: On the Nicaragua route we encounter no trouble in securing the neces sary concessions from Nicaragus and Costa Rica for our great purpose of con-structing, maintaining and controlling an isthmian canal through those countries or restrictions; while with Colombia the very reverse of all this is true. The tocol of the proposed treaty presented to the Senate for its consideration, is in many respects so unjust and humiliating in its terms and hedged about by so many unreasonable and unjust restriction would seem quite impossible that any American, much less any American Sen ator, would think for a moment of ac cepting it. Eleventh-The selection of the Panam

route carries with it the necessity of paying the new Panama Canal Company \$40,000,000, and by which we become involved in all the conflicting claims of the share and bondholders of the old Pana-ma Canal Company, as well as of the new Panama Canal Company, and we become the beir and residuary legatee of controversies from which we are not like ly to become wholly extricated in the next century. And this is true, even on the assumption "that a satisfactory title the assumption 'inst a satisfactory this to said property can be obtained," and in this consection it might be proper to inquire just what we are to understand by a "satisfactory title"—this is the language used in the Spooner amendment, and I take it the distinguished Senator means that the title must be satisfactory to the President of the United Statesthe President very naturally, as would most men regarding a legal title as a 'eat-isfactory title,"—and in most cases a legal title ought to be very satisfactory; but there are exceptions, and this is one of the exceptions, and a most important Company may possibly, in of eminent lawyers, be able to make a good legal title to the property in question, this is a case where unquestionable innumerable claims, based on moral and equitable grounds, may and id all probe comes the beneficiary of that property, and these are claims against which no legal title will indemnify us. And I go further—even conceding for the sake of the argument that there may be no such equitable claims existing as could be rightfully enforced in a court of justice there is nothing to prevent these French stockholders and bondholders from coming to the Congress of the United States with such an appeal as to give them a stand-ing before Congress, and before the committees of Congress, to harass and anno

us for perhaps a century.
Twelfth-The Nicaragua route is preferable for the reason that the sea ap-proaches to Greytown on the Atlantic and to Brito on the Pacific, on the Nicaragua route, are infinitely more prefera-ble, being free from both calms and storms, than are the approaches to Color on the Atlantic and Panama on the Pacific, on the Panama route. proach to Colon as all agree to liable to quent and destructive storms, while the approach to Panama for a long distance for many months of each year is an almost perpetual calm.

Engineering Comparisons. Thirteenth-The Nicaragua route preferable for the reason that, as the strength of a chain is only equal to that of its weakest link, so it is true, if, on either or both of these routes there is any engineering obstacle to overcome, then the feasibility of the whole route must depend whelly upon the power of the en-gineer to overcome the particular obstruction, otherwise the whole scheme is failure, however feasible all other por-tions of the route may be. On each of these routes a great dam must be con structed. This is an essential on each route, and the entire eafety, practicability and efficiency of the canal in each case depends on the dam. This is agreed to by all engineers who have examined the two routes. In the case of Panama there is but a single place where the necessary dam can be constructed, if it can be constructed at all; this is at Bohio, on the Chagres River. While on the Nicaragua route there are several places where a dam might be constructed, but the place selected by the commission is at Conchuda, a point some three miles above the mouth of the San Carlos River. In this case—Conchuda on the Nicaragua route—the dam must be 25 feet below sea level at site of dam, where the surface of the river is about 50 feet above, making 78 feet under water. The construction of this dam involves no unusual or extraordinary engineering feat. It would involve the necessity of what I known as the pneumatic process. But pneumatic processes have frequently been used to a depth of 100 feet, and in one instance at least, but I believe this is the only one in this country, to the depth of 110 fect; this was at the east abutts of the St. Louis bridge. There is, there-fore, no great difficulty, from an engineering standpoint, or, in fact, from any other, in constructing a dam at Conchuda on the Nicaragua route.

But the case is wholly different in ref-

erence to the Bohlo dam on the Panama route. There is presented an engineering problem the like of which has never yet been solved by human science or human effort. The Isthmian Commission reports States for long lengths and large sections in dimension timber is rapidly decreasing, which is an absolute necessity for a dam and the demand at increased prices for at this point, they must go 120 feet below

sea level. This involves the sinking of calssons or pneumatic tubes 18 feet deeper than has ever been done before. Not only so; the French engineers have been proceeding upon the idea of erecting this dam on a clay foundation. The Panama preserves after booting down 32 feet engineers, after boring down 32 feet reached a stratum of hard clay some 35 feet thick, and upon this clay stratum they propose to erect and the American Commissioners, however, and the American engineers regard thie as wholly unsafe, and insist this 35-foot of the Panama route. But the answer to all this from the standpoint of American the calesons placed on solid rock. The the calesons placed on solid rock. The merce and indeed international trade and merce and indeed international trade and the fact that the same commerce, is found in the fact that the same commerce, is found in the fact that the that stream which in 1879, according to the report of the Panama Railroad Com-pany, raised 43 feet in 24 hours, is an en-gineering experiment. And as there is only one place for this dam on the whole Panama routs, should it fall the whole structure is a failure, while there is nothing experimental in the construction and maintenance of a dam at Conchude on the Nicaragua route. Should this dam at Conchuda give way there are several other places where the dam could be constructed that would meet the necessities of the case. Why, therefore, I inquire, should the United States deal in engineer. ing experiments which may or may not prove successful in entering upon the work of the construction of an isthmian Fourteenth-I favor the Nicaragua route

because it can be completed at an earlier date than can the Panama route. The maximum excavation at any one point on the Nicaragua route is, according to the Restimony of the engineers taken before your committee, but 18,000,000 yards, as compared with 43,000,000 yards at the Culebra cut on the Panama route. The New Panama Canal Company has been excavating there at the average rate in the last five years of 1,000,000 yards a year, At that rate it will require 43 years to complete the cut. And, sithough the com-mission figures on the ability, with suffi-cient force, to remove 5,000,000 yards a it is a question of considerable, inasmuch as the material must all be taken out at the ends of the cut, whether a sufficient force can be em-ployed with advantage to remove that amount, or anything like that amount in

Fifteenth-Another very strong reason why the Senate should select the Nica ragua route is because it is perfectly ap-parent that to fall to do so, and to adopt an amendment to the House bill, either adopting the Panama route or leaving it to the President to select either route, will create an unnecessary Issue between the cause unnecessary delay, and in all probability will result in defeating all legis-lation on the subject in this Congress. The House of Representatives, direct from the people, has in the present and pre-ceding Congresses, by a practically unani-mous vote, selected the Niesragua route. This has been done after a most careful and thorough investigation by one of the leading committees, and after thorough discussion. Congress has all the evidence before it bearing upon the question necessary to a determination of the question as to which is the better route, and is better able, I submit, to make an intelligen selection, than either the President of the United States, or the President and his whole Cabinet combined, or any other person or tribunal or jurisdiction what-ever. The Senate is competent, as is the Congress, to make the selection. It is its duty to make such selection, and to shirk such duty, whatever may be the motive or the pretense, however patriotic, honest and sincere the purpose—and honesty and sincerity of purpose must be accorded to every Senator—the effect of such action, I respectfully submit, will not tend to an early construction of an Isthmian Canal. but, on the contrary, will be sure to result in delay, and in all probability will de-

feat the construction of the same.
Sixteenth-But an insurmountable ob jection to the selection of the Panama route rests in the fact, in my judgment, and in the judgment of a majority of the enate Committee on Interoceanic Canals. that it is, as described by the testimony taken before your committee, absoluted, impossible for the New Panama Canal Company, eitner with or without the con-sent of the Republic of Colombia, or either with or without the consent of the old Panama Canal Company, or either with or without the consent of the French or without the consent of the Without the Consent of the New Panama Canal Company, to vest a title in the United Company, to vest a title in the United States to the Panama property that will not be eternally and forever clouded by an infinitude of claims and charges, arising, if not on strictly legal grounds, upon moral and equitable grounds, upon the part of the share and bondholders, both of the old and the New Panama Cana Company, to say nothing of the outstand ing shares in the hands of numerous persons of about 1100 shares in the Panama Rallroad Company, Seventeenth-Another formidable object-

tion to the selection of the Panama route arises from the fact that a part of the property owned by the New Panama Ca. nal Company is 68,900 shares of the 70,000 shares of the Panama Railroad Company. These shares in the Panama Railroad Company are a part of the property of the New Panama Canal Company, for which we are called upon to pay the New Pan-ama Canal Company \$40,000,000. This Pan-ama Railroad Company is a private corporation, organized under a special char-ter granted by the Legislature of the State of New York many years ago. The New Panama Canal Company is not the owner of the Panama Railroad, or any part of its steamships or other property. It has no power to transfer or sell this property to the United States. This property is under the management and control of the Panama Railroad Company, having its place of business, its offices and its offi-cers in the City of New York. The United States, moreover, has no authority or power, as I insist, to hold stock in this corporation. Certainly the New Panama Canal Company has no power to sell or in any way dispose of or control any of the property of this railroad company, outside of such control as it might exercise by reason of being a stockholder in the company controlling a majority of the stock. Certainly as to the 1100 shares of stock-which it is admitted by all hands it does not own—it has no control what-ever. The construction of the proposed canal on the Panama route, mor canal on the Panama route, moreover, involves the necessity of a change in location, a virtual destruction, of a portion of the present Panama Railroad—this for quite a distance, as the route of the canal iles on the very track of the present railroad. Will any lawyer claim for a mo-ment that this can be done by the United States on the holding simply of a majority of the shares of the stock in the rail road company, against the protests of the outstanding shareholders? Does any lawyer doubt the power of the holders of the 1100 shares of stock in the Panama Railroad Company to prevent-not directly the United States, I admit, but indirectlyfrom tearing up the truck of the railroad, by obtaining an injunction against the men engaged in such spolintion of their property? Will the Congress of the United States assume such responsibilities as must thus necessarily come by reason of any attempt to ignore the rights of the minority shareholders in this railroad company?

The Earthquake Argument.

But the opponents to an isthmian Canal, especially those opposed to the Nicaragua route and in favor of investing \$6,00,000 in the Panama fraud, ever on the lookout for new arguments to sustain their position, imagine Providence has furnished them with a new and unanswerable argument in the terrible catastrophe that has so recently come to the people of Mar-tinique by reason of the eruption of Mount Pelee, and this is seized upon with vigor and evident satisfaction as an argument against the construction of the canal on the Nicaragua route. But what is the conclusive answer to all this? It is found in the well-established facts, first, that all the history of the past fails to furnish any evidence to justify the con-clusion that the possibility of destruction from earthquakes is a factor of any importance whatever in opposition to the

two routes; and, second, that past his-tory shows a much larger percentage a percentage of about 100 per cent greater-of danger from agribusts. of danger from earthquakes on the Pana-ma route than on the Nicaragua route. It is urged that the fact that the Panama is the shorter route, requiring but 11 hours for the passage of an average ship through the same, while on the Nicaragua route 21 additional hours are required. distance from San Francisco to New York is 277 miles, to New Orleans 579 miles and to Liverpool 386 miles greater by the Panama route than by the Nicaragua route. The time it would take vessels to pass over even the shorter of these distances ly, as stated by the Isthmian Canal commission in their preliminary report of November 30, 1900, "much greater than the difference in time of transit through the canais," to say nothing of the infinitely greater commercial advantages that would come to the United States by the construction of the Nicaragua Canal than The difference in time of sathing vessels passing between the eastern and western coast ports of the United States by way of the Panama and Nicaragua routes respectively is, on an average, more than ib days, the route via Panama being that much longer, while at times, owing to the deadly calms on the Panama route the difference is as much as 30 or ven 40 days. I find that many have supposed that

what is known as the Spooner amend-ment, and which has been adopted by the minority of the committee, left the whole matter of the selection of a route to the President. This is not by any means the case. Upon the contrary, this substitute proposed by the minority directs the President to ascertain, in the first place, whether a satisfactory title to the property in question can be given by the New Panama Canal Company, and if he finds that such satisfactory title can be obtained, then the President is compelled, whatever may be his individual opinion as to which of the two routes is the better one, to pay over to the New Panama Canal Company \$40,000,000 and proceed with the construction of the canal on the Panama route. And in the meantime, that is, until it is settled whether a satisfactory title can be obtained or not, the President has no power whatever to proceed with negotiations with the Republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica for the purpose of obtaining the necessary concessions for the construction of a canal over that route; and it is only in the event that a point is reached where it is determined that a satisfactory title cannot be had from the New Panama Canal Company, that the Prosident has any authority whatever to take any steps, either by negotiations with the Republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica or in any other respect, looking to the construction of the canal over the Nicaragua route.

The Views of the Minority.

In the additional views of the minority of the Senate committee on interoceanic canals, presented to the Senate on May Il last, and in connection with which they propose as a substitute for the pending bill what is known as the Amendment," the minority say: "Spooner "The substitute which we advise in-

sures an isthmian canal, and in our judg-ment more surely, satisfactorily and speedily than by any other plan." This of course, is undoubtedly the sin-cere judgment and conviction of the mi-nority. But, if I desired to defent absolutely any legislation at this time look-ing to the early construction of an isth-mian canal, I do not know of any bet-

ter method I should adopt than to support the proposed substitute. The minority, while insisting strenuously that Congress should be guided by the report of the Isthmian Canal Commisinsist that the Nicaragua route is so liable to be disturbed by earthquakes and volcanoes that Congress should not, for this reason alone, adopt that route. and the minority enter into an extended argument in which they contrast the sels-

mic disturbances of the two routes to the great disadvantage, according to their views, of the Nicaragua route. Now, Mr. President, permit me to quote from the report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, submitted to the President May 9, 1899, in which, in discussing the aubject of earthquakes and volcanoes, the commission says this:

NICARAGUA ROUTE IS PRACTICALLY EXEMPT FROM ANY SEISMIC INFLU-ENCE OF SUFFICIENT FORCE TO CAUSE DESTRUCTION OR DANGER TO ANY PART OF THE CANAL ROUTE OR SUSPENSION OF ITS TRAFFIC. It is perfectly apparent to all that the change of the recommendation of the Isthmian Canal Commission from the Nicaragua to that of the Panama route is hared purely and a local control of the Panama route is

based purely and solely on what they con-ceive to be a saving in the expense of the construction of the canal of the amount of \$5,600,704.

Mr. President, there is danger in delay; there is a great commercial loss in delay. The best of the world's economists estimate the earnings of the world's commerce to be \$1,200,000,000 annually, and if an isthmian canal will save but one-fifth of the time and distance, it would represent about \$250,000,000 annually: so.

stated by one of the members of the Isth-mian Canal Commission, while this question is held in abeyance, awaiting the decision as to routes and policies, the commerce of the world is subjected to this enormous and useless waste, which would be sufficient to build the canal each Mr. Mitchell closed with the following quotation from Mr. Bennett's magazine

"When the old Panama Canal Company collapsed it owed its share and bondhold-ers over \$100,000,000. It had received over \$286,000,000 in cash. The value of the actual canal digging done by both the old and new companies is liberally estimated by the Walker Commission at not more than \$27,500,000. The existing plant is probably worth \$5,500,000 more. The Panama Rallway is worth nearly \$7,000,000 more, but for that the Frenchmen deserve no credit. They found it there and mere ly kept it going. Thus, the net results of the French efforts at Panama is worth about \$33,000,000-less than one-third of the boodle fund-provided somebody can be induced to finish the job, and otherwise WORTH ABSOLUTELY NOTHING. "Such is the Panama Canal as it was and is-conceived in fraud, born in de-ception, nourished in iniquity, living on

lies and corruption, perishing of its own rottenness; ruining the fortunes and lives of thousands, bringing infamy to practically every man who even remotely ap-proached it, nearly causing the patriotic Frenchmen to despair of the republic, hecoming a standing argument against the democratic principle and representative government, and still filling the world with the stench of its corrupt life and loathsome death.
"This is the sewer the American people

are asked to clean; this is the moral swamp they are asked to drain, and to whose dangers they are asked to expose their public men, and their whole citi-zenship. And for whose benefit? That a few speculative Frenchmen may sell their damaged merchandise, and a few of their American hirelings may earn the wages of shame. For that reason alone are the American people asked to risk the enormous physical loss and expose them selves to the certainty of moral defile ment. For the solemn fact is that the Panama Canal cannot be touched with favor by capitalist, by investor, by promoter, by journalist, or by statesman without certainty of deadly moral infec-tion. All the waters of the multitudi-nous seas cannot wash Panama clean, nor all the winds of heaven blow away its deadly miasmas. It is simply too rot-ten to be touched without defilement, or even to be looked at without nausca.
"Such are the facts about Panama, and these facts it behooves every American

public man, every American journalist-yes, every American citizen—carefully to

struction of the canal on either of the consider. When he considers them fairly and honesity, with due regard to his country's welfare, political and moral, he can reach but one conclusion. Panama cannot be touched with safety by the American people. It must be shupned as a place incurably affected with the most deadly moral plagues. It must remain what it was and is-a perpetual monument to human credulity and human villainy-a dung heap of crime and a sink of inlquity wherein no nation cay delve without certainty of irremediable pollution.

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