

tendencies would be incomplete without some reference to the influence in promoting them of the belief that by this means civilization is spread over the world.

That the feeling that imperialism, conquest, subjugation, or by whatever term one may choose to distinguish the policy of government of "inferior" by "superior" peoples, does extend civilization contributes largely to its acceptance, we are well assured. Nor do we doubt that in this feeling there is the germ of a true conception of progress. Why then should we oppose imperialism? Why not encourage the extension of superior civilization, even by means of conquest and slaughter?

If for no other reason, for the simple one that all the possible benefits of imperialism in this and every other respect can be secured in greater degree without it. The great promoter of true civilization is not military conquest. It is not conquest of any kind by means of force. The great promoter of civilization is trade. Not the trade that is said to follow the flag. Not the trade that consists in exporting without importing. Not any kind of strangulated trade. But free trade.

Left to itself, in obedience to a natural law as obvious and persistent as it is beneficent, trade penetrates from every center into every nook and corner and cranny of the inhabited globe. And as it extends, it carries with it a knowledge of the best customs and the best ideals, as well as the best goods, that the world has to offer the world. And with knowledge of what is best, comes voluntary selection of the best. Thus the best in all things conquers when trade is free to stimulate peaceful intercourse and exchange.

But this natural and peaceful and serviceable conquest of inferiors by superiors is artfully checked. With deceptive phrases about protecting trade, trade is obstructed. Nor are the "inferior" peoples the great sinners in this particular. They always give the warmest welcome to foreigners until they find that foreigners are bent upon plunder. China, for instance, did not shut herself in commercially for commercial reasons. It was because the civilized barbarian

began to lord it over her. We must turn for the worst attacks upon freedom of trade, to the statutes of civilized countries, including our own. The extent to which the spread of civilization is prevented by the deliberate policies of checking trade, can only be conjectured. But it is certain that if conquest, subjugation, imperialism, contributes at all to the spread of civilization, it does so only in so far as it breaks down the barriers to trade that our barbarous protection policies set up.

Let us drop our policy of obstructing trade, let us make bargaining as free as breathing, let us hold out this policy as an example of civilized ideals—let us do these things, and long before imperialism could slaughter enough crown colony natives to make the survivors tractable, peaceful trade will carry what is best in our civilization to the uttermost parts of the earth; and what may prove to be of more moment, will bring to us what is best in civilizations that we in our ignorant pride hold in contempt as "inferior."

By this means, too, we should make alliances for peace instead of alliances for war.

There have been dreams of annexing Canada to the United States. But Canada could be more firmly annexed by free trade than by political bonds. It is not the political federation of our states that benefits them as units in the American union; it is the free trade which that union maintains between them. Abolish our domestic trade-freedom, and there would be chaos here though the political union were preserved. Abolish the political union but preserve the trade-freedom and we should hardly be conscious of the change. Free trade between the states is the real substance of the American union. This is the alliance that makes the states one.

Such an alliance would unite us to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand, to Great Britain, to all the civilized and all the uncivilized peoples of the world, in bonds of perpetual friendship and mutual service. It would not require annexation. It would not require subjugation. It would not require even treaties. Nothing is necessary but to abolish the trade

barriers which we ourselves have erected and maintain.

It is highly significant that this normal method of extending civilization, this Christian kind of alliance, finds no favor in the minds of imperialists. The more ardent they are for extending trade at the point of the sword the more determined are they to suppress trade by protection statutes. Though they are solicitous for military alliances, they are fearful of trade friendships. When in this country we were pleading for free trade and friendship with England, we were taught to hate the English. But now that England offers us a barbaric imperial alliance for the subjugation of inferior races, the same teachers tell us of the masterful character and the glorious future of Anglo-Saxon dominion. And to give moral color to the infamy they discourse upon the duty of extending civilization.

If it is civilization that we wish to spread, if the progress of the world is our object, we have only to become universal free traders instead of imperialistic free booters. Here is the choice. Free trade with the olive branch of peace and the horn of general plenty, or imperialism with the destructive implements and the demoralizing influences of war.

Which shall it be?

NEWS

Alarm over the Russian occupation of Manchuria, the circumstances of which we reported last week, has been superseded for the moment by excitement over the lining up at Tientsin of a British against a Russian force of troops. The Russians claim a territorial concession at Tientsin from the Chinese government, which, about the middle of the month, was entered by British railroad builders for the purpose of constructing a siding. The Russian military authorities ordered them off. The British military authorities, with a force at this point outnumbering the Russians ten to one, ordered the construction to proceed. Thereupon both parties entrenched, within 50 yards of each other, the British flying their flag over ground claimed by the Russians, after having removed the Russian flag. Gen. Waldersee, the German commander of the allied forces in China, made

earnest efforts to adjust the quarrel, but without success. The Russians refused to listen to any proposition short of the unconditional withdrawal of the British from the Russian concession, and the British refused to withdraw. Until the 20th each commander held this position upon his own responsibility; but since then both have been acting upon instructions from home. On that day the Russian general, Wogack, made a formal demand upon the British for the withdrawal of their force and an apology for removing the Russian flag, and the British returned a negative reply.

Another matter of concern to the allies in China is the action of the Russian representative in the meeting of foreign ministers at Peking on the 13th. He opposed any further punishment of Chinese officials for participation in the Boxer uprising. This merciful policy on the part of Russia is suspected to be in part consideration for further Chinese concessions.

The United States is discreetly retreating from this inflammable neighborhood. Formal orders were issued on the 15th for the withdrawal from China by the end of April, of all American troops except a legation guard of 150 men.

The American troops as withdrawn from China are to go to the Philippines, where the American force is weakened by the expiration of enlistments and the scarcity of recruits. Of the operations there, but little is now reported. The week's event that is made most of is the surrender of the Filipino General Mariano Trias, of whom Gen. MacArthur says that his prestige in southern Luzon "is equal to that of Aguinaldo's." Gen. Trias immediately took the oath of allegiance. "This indicates," reports Gen. MacArthur, "the final stage of the armed insurrection." It appears that during Gen. Otis's regime, Trias was offered the American governorship of the province of Cavite as a bribe to desert his countrymen, but at that time he refused all overtures. Another important capture is that of Gen. Diocino, whom MacArthur describes as "the most troublesome insurgent general in Panay." Havoc has been raised with Philippine shipping by the wholesale destruction of vessels under American military or-

ders, 300 vessels of various sizes having been recently seized and destroyed. Most of them are native craft, but leading Manila firms also are among the sufferers. One of the Philippine dispatches is peculiarly significant. It tells of the reconcentration, in imitation of Weyler in Cuba, of the inhabitants of the Island of Marinduque. After closing the ports and confining the inhabitants to six towns, the Americans, says this dispatch, published in the Chicago Tribune of the 1th, "devastated the interior." The result, adds the dispatch "is that every one" except 200 armed Filipinos, "is now begging for peace."

Some further progress appears to have been made in setting up American local governments in the Philippines, and the war department at Washington has defined the standard flag for the division headquarters in the archipelago. This flag is to be made of—

khaki colored silk or bunting, measuring three feet on the staff and four feet six inches fly, cut swallow-tailed 12 inches to the fork, bearing in the center two circles overlapping each other, one-third radius, resembling the figure eight, one foot six inches high, and of corresponding width. The symbol to be in red, bordered in white one and one-half inches, and edged in blue three-quarters of an inch, surmounted by a red scroll bearing the device, 'Division of the Philippines,' embroidered in blue letters. Total length of lance to be nine feet, including spearhead and ferrule.

Our Cuban relations are still in suspense, the special committee of the constitutional convention not having reported on the American demands. Intense feeling, however, has been stirred up in Cuba by these demands. Correspondents who insist upon the importance of making the adjustment in accordance with them, nevertheless admit the bitterness of Cuban feeling, and blame the American authorities at Washington for lack of tact.

Recurring to the difficulty between Great Britain and Russia, the irritating incident over the British occupation of Chinese land claimed by Russia, comes doubtless at an awkward time for Great Britain; and hints from responsible quarters are not lacking that Russia appreciates it. For while the Boers continue to worry the British army in South Af-

rica, the British ministry is obviously in no condition to deal decisively with any first-class power. Great expectations, therefore, were raised in London, as we reported last week, over the rumor that Gen. Botha wished to surrender. At the time of that report it was known that Lord Kitchener had granted Botha an armistice until the 14th to enable him to confer with other Boer generals. Nothing was known then, nor is anything known yet, of the details of the Kitchener Botha negotiations. The British authorities have made public only the fact that negotiations were in progress and that they have collapsed. Their collapse was divulged by a statement that Mr. Chamberlain, secretary for the colonies, made on the floor of the house of commons on the 20th, from which it appeared also that the negotiations for surrender had been initiated not by Botha, as had theretofore been implied, but by Lord Kitchener, and pursuant to instructions from the British ministry. Mr. Chamberlain explained that Botha had informed Kitchener that he did not feel disposed to recommend the British terms of surrender to the consideration of the Boer government, and that through its chief officers the Boer government agreed with his views.

NEWS NOTES.

—Frederick E. Coyne has been appointed postmaster of Chicago to succeed Charles U. Gordon.

—An act of the Tennessee legislature, signed on the 14th by the governor, forbids coeducation of the white and negro races in that state.

—By a vote of 250 to 163 the British house of commons on the 13th defeated a bill for the relief of congested districts in Ireland by means of compulsory land purchases.

—Mayor Samuel M. Jones, who is the no-party candidate for reelection as mayor of Toledo, was indorsed on the 16th by the democratic convention by a vote of 193 to 139.

—The Chase, Robeson, Merchants', American Linen, and Metacomet cotton mills, of Fall River, operating 350,000 spindles, closed down on the 18th pursuant to a mutual agreement to curtail production.

—There are reports of rioting in many cities of Russia, under circumstances which suggest the possibility of a premeditated revolt; but the cabled details give no satisfactory account of the matter.

—Wu Ting-Fang, the Chinese minister to the United States, delivered a