

BRITISH VIEWS OF THE PANAMA TOLLS

CONTINUED OPPOSITION appears in the British papers against the proposal to favor, directly or indirectly, the American coasting vessels using the Panama Canal. It is claimed that to refund to American ships the tolls that they, in common with foreign vessels, are expected to pay, would be a direct violation of the spirit of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and they quote as a most enlightened view of the situation the words of Senator Burton, who stated that:

"The present time is one when the United States should be especially scrupulous with reference to treaty obligations into which she has entered. A general survey of American dealings with other countries demonstrates that the United States has demanded access to the waterways of other countries on terms of equality. There has been an understanding that, when opened to navigation, the Isthmian Canal should be free to all nationalities on equal terms."

This remark of Senator Burton did not meet with much favor, and the Senate decided to make the Panama Canal Bill "unfinished business," thus practically refusing, as the London papers take it, to consider the protest of the British Government against the proposal to exempt American ships from the toll exacted from foreign ships. On this subject *The Daily News* remarks:

"Apparently the United States Senate means to pass the Panama Tolls Bill without heed to the British Government's protest. Perhaps the Senators think that in its present form the bill makes no discrimination, and it is certainly obscure enough to stand very diverse interpretations. That, however, is not a very satisfactory attitude, for if the Senators do not wish to discriminate, surely they ought to make their intention as clear in the bill as possible. More probably they think that the American Congress has the right to discriminate under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty; that is not the British view, and we have a conflict of opinion as to the meaning of an international agreement. There is, of course, only one permissible way to dispose of this conflict—arbitration. Neither America nor Great Britain wishes to violate an engagement, and both countries are anxious to carry out the engagement in spirit and letter. Where there is a difference of opinion as to the true character of the engagement, the obvious solution is to submit the issue for determination to an impartial judge. That course should be taken if the Panama Bill as it leaves Congress turns out to conflict with the British view of the bearing of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty."

The Pall Mall Gazette looks upon the attitude taken by the Senate as merely one feature of Presidential election politics, observing:

"Altho the American Senate has agreed to hold over the Panama Canal Bill as 'unfinished business,' it is tolerably apparent from the message of President Taft and other indications that an effort is to be made to wrest the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in such a way as to make it possible to give preference to American coastwise shipping using the waterway. The British people will do well not to lose sight of the fact that a Presidential election is impending. 'Twisting the Lion's tail' for home consumption is a well-known electoral device in the United States, and it may very well be that Mr. Taft, forced into his last ditch, is about to resort to this well-known expedient. Our understanding of the exigencies of Presidential politics and real good-will toward the American people renders this process less dangerous to good relations than might be supposed. The interests of Canada, however, have to be considered, and the temper of the Canadian people reckoned with. It is pointed out that a method of retaliation lies open to the Dominion Government, which might meet unfair discrimination against its trade through the canal by rescinding the privileges now accorded to the trade of the United States in the internal waterways of Canada. That would be a serious matter for American trade, and a realization that such a course might be adopted will, perhaps, lead to a *modus vivendi* being found. We recognize the paramount claim of the United States to derive advantage from the mighty work achieved by American capital and skill; and we most strongly deprecate any hasty or provocative criticism. But our Government are, in some sort, trustees, not only for the

Empire, but for the world in this matter, and no one can complain of any action they may take for the purpose of upholding treaty right."

The London *Times* thinks that the idea of remitting tolls in favor of American shipping is "indistinguishable in practise from the creation of a general system of discrimination against all foreign shipping in the use of the canal." This great London organ finds that "many influential statesmen and publicists in the United States are in substantial agreement with our main contention." Like the paper quoted above, this newspaper thinks that the stormy waves of the Presidential election excitement may after all wreck what it considers to be the sober-minded and judicial project of American opinion. But—

"Even if proposals are adopted which we are unable to accept as fair and in accordance with the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, we can not suppose that American opinion will object to putting the whole subject to arbitration. We desire nothing that is not reasonable and just. Neither, we are confident, do the Americans. If we can not agree what that is, the plain course for us to adopt is to leave it to the decision of an international tribunal."

WHAT GERMANY WANTS

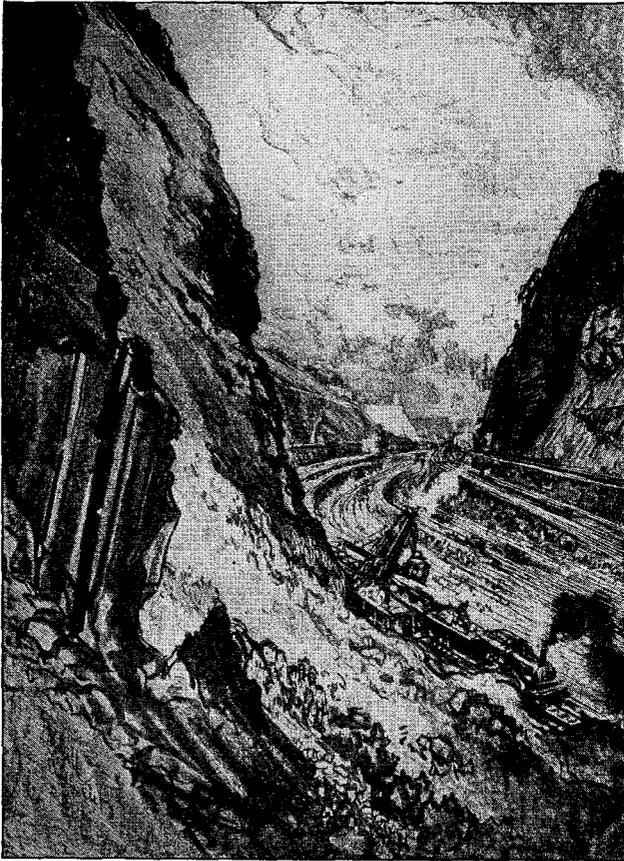
GERMANY'S UNREST and discontent have been a good deal of a puzzle to her French and English neighbors, who fear war may come of it almost any time. They see no real reason for Germany's feverish naval expansion, unless some wild dream of world-conquest is upon her. For the benefit of these wondering neighbors the learned historian, Professor Delbrueck, editor of the *Preussische Jahrbuecher*, has set out to explain Germany's motives. In an interesting article in this able review he tells us that Germany is beginning to feel her strength, and is longing for an expansion of her power in foreign lands. He says that the general uneasiness in Germany springs from the fact that the people are not willing to look idly on while a country like England controls about one-fourth of the human race, and while the subjects of Russia amount to one hundred and sixty-five millions of souls. Even France, which Germany has conquered, has two vast empires in Africa and Asia, while Germany, one of the greatest nations on the earth, has nothing comparable to such a dominion. Therefore,

"It is time to put an end to this condition of things. We must, really, make a better show in the foreign world. Whenever another Power increases its foreign dominion, we must immediately strike for some equitable compensation on parallel lines. We must not be afraid of having recourse to war for this purpose, if need be. We must not rest, but continue to arm ourselves as far as necessary. In regard to England, I do not think that matters will go to such an extreme as that, and I believe that a peaceable understanding will be arrived at eventually."

This writer goes on to say that Angola, in Africa, at present the possession of Portugal, may be ceded to Germany, and he thinks that Germany has a perfect right to increase its colonial possessions so as to equal those of other Powers. He remarks emphatically:

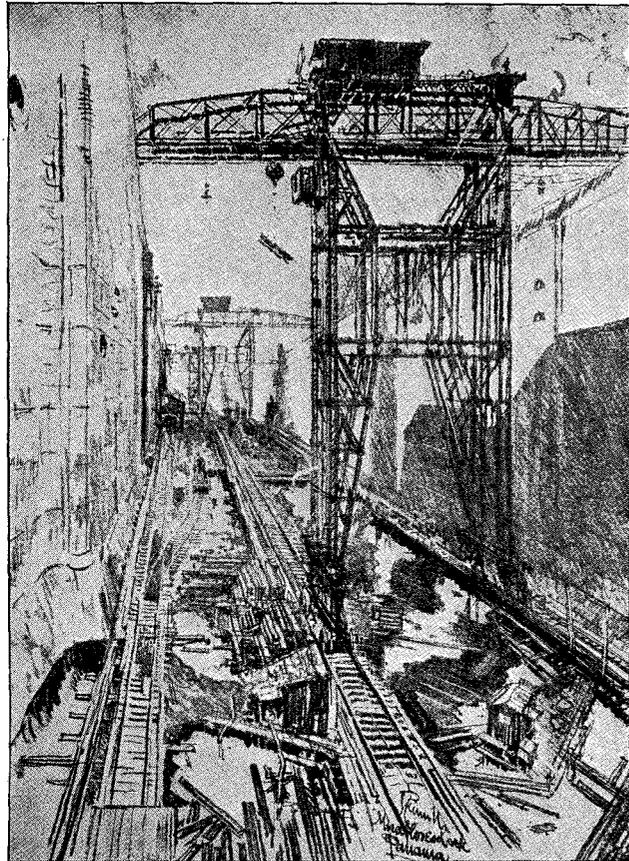
"I repeat it, we must win and possess a colonial empire. We must obtain, as England has done, a field for the careers of our young people. England has in India 80,000 offices for her colonial functionaries, while our youths have no opportunity for establishing themselves even in their mother country. Of course, we do not require fields of expansion for our working people, because, as a matter of fact, we have not at present enough working people in Germany, and we have actually to obtain our cultivators of the soil from abroad. While our people emigrate, but in small numbers, the immigrants to Germany are much more numerous."

Professor Delbrueck believes that in many respects Germany has great advantages over other colonial Powers, and he holds



From "The Illustrated London News."

IN THE CULEBRA CUT.



THE MIRAFLORES LOCK.

DRAWINGS OF THE GREAT WORK AT PANAMA, BY JOSEPH PENNELL.

that the plan of a colonial empire for Germany is not only inspired by economic motives, but is essential to the maintenance of national prestige.

EUROPE'S POOR OPINION OF THE NEW YORK POLICE

THE ASSASSINATION of Herman Rosenthal, the gambler, has given the German and English press an occasion for some variegated description of our police and our morals in general, and a brief quotation will show what is being said of us just now "behind our back" in London and Berlin. Thus the London *Daily Mail* believes that "of the fourteen police magistrates on the bench in New York, at least ten of them are corrupt and directly responsible for much of the corruption of the police." Tammany protection, it is convinced, is ample to shield any criminal, not only from conviction, but even from arrest. It goes on:

"It is in that sort of school that a New York policeman picks up his ideas of justice. He finds all around him an organized community of criminals and law-breakers, living under the protection of his official superiors and their political and legal allies. He finds a captain, for instance, in standing receipt of some \$1,000 a month over and above his salary. He finds the district inspector regularly making four or five times that amount. He finds the politicians, lawyers, magistrates, and higher officers of the force all working together to blackmail saloons, pool-rooms, disorderly houses, policy shops, and gambling dens. He finds an interlocked system that makes vice profitable and virtue an impassable barrier to promotion. Nine times out of ten he takes the easier paths."

The same authority tells us that when a man wishes to start a gambling den in New York, he first of all consults the political

leader of the district. In all probability, we are informed, this district leader was originally a tramp. After turning pickpocket and burglar, he would open a saloon, perhaps develop into a hotel proprietor, and grow up into a full-fledged Tammany statesman. He is usually supposed to claim as his right 25 per cent. of the profits of the dens and resorts which he protects. As this article runs:

"The same system holds good in every single form of vice and crime. An Armenian Hunchakist, a Neapolitan Camorrist, a Sicilian Mafia, and the Chinese tongs—they all share the privileges of the American system to this extent, that equally with the home-bred gangs and purely native associations of criminals they are permitted to enjoy immunity if they can pay for it. Every New Yorker is aware of what is going on, and nobody knows how a system which is so strongly entrenched and intertwined with so many powerful interests can be overthrown."

The Berlin press are equally violent in their vituperation of the corruption of American police and politics as they prevail in the great cities of the Union. Thus the Berlin *Morgenpost* remarks:

"It is as impossible to cure the American police of the disease from which they are suffering as to sweep away the ocean with a broom. Many futile attempts have been made to purify American politics, but they have been hopeless. The evil is in the very blood of the nation. It manifests itself in the same ways as breathing, eating, and sleeping do in the normal life. If the American Union had not had gigantic natural resources of treasures which are ever renewing its power at command, it would long ago have been destroyed by moral blood-poisoning. To-day it is a question among thoughtful Americans as to how long the sap of the nation will be able to withstand the ever-increasing poison of political corruption. The police in many American cities are not only corrupt, but they are absolutely criminal in the worst sense.

"The worst criminals of all are the New York police, who love to call themselves the 'finest.'"