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Semi-Weekly Telegraph

ST. JOHN, N. B., DECEMBER 21, 1904.

THE CITY CONTEST

In so far as appears on the surface last night's Conservative convention was haphazard, and in Alderman Maxwell the opposition has nominated an energetic and capable candidate who may be expected to make a strong fight. Possibly Mr. Wilson was not available, and the convention probably decided upon the strongest of the aspirants. It would be idle to say that Alderman Maxwell's recent aldermanic activities have been such as would be likely to help him in his appeal to the electors; for city issues, as a matter of fact, will have little to do with the contest, and as he is a well known and capable business man, a vigorous and effective speaker and a man of affairs, he will be no mean antagonist if his party accords him a fighting support. It may be said that both sides will experience some difficulty in raising the money to carry on the contest, but it is to be expected that the result of the contest cannot be vital to either side, and there is a class of voters whose blood is not warmed by the lesser struggles. Our political history in this constituency since the last general provincial election has been marked by sensational swings of the pendulum, and the records are such as to puzzle would-be forecasters of the next result. The local government won the county by a two to one vote before, and carried its full city ticket, two men having but narrow margins. Political views were unsettled there after, by the Federal bye-election. Then came the great battle of November, in which feeling over the railroad issue, and the Liberals to unparalleled defeat in both city and county. The result then did not indicate the final standing of the parties, and while at present Federal lines are drawn it is unsafe to infer too much from the majority of Doctor Daniel and Doctor Stockton.

Unquestionably much now depends upon which party can put most ginger into its campaign. Bribery agreement or none, it is a fact that the "resources of civilization" are expected to be scarce on both sides. Mr. Skinner has the advantage of whatever prestige attaches to the local government's majority in the House. Mr. Maxwell has the advantage of whatever prestige attaches to the recent Conservative victory here. Within certain limits the contest should be keen and interesting. Both men should be heard not only on the usual local political issues, but also in regard to questions of civic concern which should come before the next Legislature.

OUR ARMY AND NAVY

Those who think Canada is ringed around by perils from sea and land will not appreciate the views of Mr. E. W. Thomson who writes of Canada's army and navy in the Boston Transcript, of which journal he is the versatile Ottawa correspondent. Mr. Thomson, one surmises, would hear Canada independent, but like others of that trend, he sees that to be independent, there must be a help. Therefore he takes it for granted that an offensive and defensive alliance between Britain and the United States will soon free us definitely and surely from any peril from the south, and concludes that if we are not menaced from that quarter we cannot be menaced at all. The outstanding objection to Mr. Thomson's scheme as we see it is that it is too frankly a case of neglecting to consider Canada's obligation and future as an important member of the great and enduring British family. For all that he commands interest.

He assumes that the virtual withdrawal of the British North Atlantic squadron is equivalent to Britain's acknowledgment of Canada's independence, and he says that the Ottawa government must assume new and heavy responsibilities. He does not care that they are new, and he is not at all afraid that they are too heavy. "With this the Ottawa government must assume new responsibilities, and the expenses pertaining to new dignity. That government has long been contributing part of the cost of keeping up and improving the fortifications on both coasts. It will now, or soon, have to maintain about two thousand more Canadian regulars, some few cruisers and coast defence craft. Arrangements for these services are fairly under way."

He maintains that a peace league be-

ween Britain and the United States is practically an accomplished thing. Who can attack Canada? No other Power owns a foot of land nearer than the Azores (St. Pierre?) Not Germany, Russia, Italy, France, Spain or Japan has any coaling station either in the Pacific nor the Atlantic so near to Canada that it could be used as a naval base against her. No country has a more perfect strategic position, for defence. Probably all continental Europe united could not, without seizing some British or some United States property, land 5,000 men in Canada, and keep them supplied until all rounded up." He thinks we need about four good cruisers to prevent a possible far flung naval raid on either coast. These with small fishery cruisers and a few torpedo boats would be sufficient for all possible contingencies, for fishery patrol and for amateur pirates and "coast-Indian" uprisings." He continues:

"Oh, but," some Canadians say, "our seaboard commerce could not be safe unless we had a large navy, one that would be seen in every port and on every line of ocean traffic the world over. Not safe against what? Pirates? The pirates of the civilized world are a unit against that. Canada's right to the common defence would consist in guarding her own shores against pirates and keeping those shores well charted and lighted and buoyed. Belgium, population over seven millions, has no navy, though her sea-borne imports are about two billion francs, her sea-borne exports nearly as valuable, and her trade with both the Americas, with Asia, and with Africa countries. Sweden and Norway, united population about eight million, operating a large mercantile marine, having no navy, except for coast defence. The Netherlands have a considerable navy, other than that for coast service, because they have great and distant colonies. Mexico, population fourteen million, has two dispatch vessels, two unarmored gunboats, a training cruiser and two gunboats, total crews of her navy 124 officers and 451 men. These instances indicate that the King's independent Canada, unless for the purpose of making a grand foolishness, could need only a few coast defence ships."

This is all reasonable enough but for one important fact—that Mr. Thomson has lost touch with the British Empire in his fight. The Dutch, the Belgians, Sweden and Norway have only themselves to consider. Canada, though self-governing to a large extent, is an integral part of the Empire, and her scheme of defence must be considered with that fact in view.

SOUND DOCTRINE

Mr. Roosevelt, who drew much criticism upon himself by his intervention in the great anthracite coal strike, has won much commendation by his recent reference to the relations between labor and capital. In his determination to uphold the law at any cost, the president resembles Mr. Cleveland, and his views are shared by the best element in all enlightened countries. In his message he argued for fair treatment of men by employers, and of employers by men. And he maintained that while unionism is right, non-unionism is no crime and must not be punished. He said in part:

"There are in this country some labor unions which have habitually, and other labor unions which have often been, the most effective agents in working for good citizenship and for uplifting the condition of those whose welfare they seek to promote. But when they seek to achieve proper ends by improper means, all good citizens and more especially all honorable public servants must oppose them as resolutely as they can. They have a legal right, which, according to circumstances, may or may not be a moral right, to refuse to work in company with men who decline to join their organizations. They have under no circumstances the right to commit violence upon those, whether capitalists or wage workers, who refuse to associate with those with whom they are at odds; for mob rule is intolerable in any form."

All of which, though homely, is sound. It means that hereafter the governor who fails to suppress disorder in his own state with state troops, will find Federal troops keeping his house in order. The strike without disorder is no such calamity as the strike accompanied by mob rule. An orderly strike may be justifiable and even useful. A strike accompanied by sustained violence is a crime against the general welfare, and its continuance argues cowardice or incapacity on the part of the authorities.

MORMON DICTATION

Mormonism is an insidious disease of which the world is learning some amazing facts. Recent revelations proving at once the effrontery and the power of the Saints, have shown also the extent to which the Mormon church has dared, and been able, to dominate the politics not only of Utah but of Idaho as well. The church is in politics and in business. It desired the passage of a bill giving a bounty for the manufacture of sugar. Of four referees in Idaho, "Apostle" John Henry Smith is president of these. John Henry Smith is president of these. The church recently established the fourth in self-defence. A sugar bounty bill was passed by the legislature because the Mormons threatened to leave the men who dared vote against it. Men from Utah go into Idaho and tell the church officials. They bring news of "revolution" that a certain ticket is to be supported. That ticket wins. Governor Morrison, of Idaho, desired a

reconciliation. He was a Republican, sat in the factory to his party. The governor had assisted Mormon demands. The Mormons killed him politically. A witness before the Senate committee told of Mormon interference in the last election. "It is impossible," he said, "for any man or any party to stand against the Mormon church in Idaho. The delegates elected by Mormon counties are not always Mormon in religion, but they are always Mormon in political action." The witness said the Mormons declared that not a vote would be given the Democrats, and "they made good." He stated as his belief that not one Mormon voted the Democratic ticket. The church grows in power. Its missionaries are everywhere—quiet, persistent agents who do not know what absolute failure is. They are today quietly establishing a colony which will be a political power in the Canadian Northwest. Thirty, prosperous, hard-working folk, they are doubly dangerous because they display no desire to interfere in politics until they are sure of their ground. Evidently they are sure of it in Utah and Idaho, and they are strong in other states. An effective antidote is yet wanting, but the Smoot revelations will at least concentrate a greater degree of attention upon a problem of immense and rapidly growing importance.

FACING NEW DISASTERS

Since the czar decided to accord the Russian press a degree of liberty the St. Petersburg newspapers have placed some disturbing truths before the people. Even before the Japanese finally shattered the Port Arthur ships in the harbor, the St. Petersburg Novoye Vremya discussed Russia's chance of recovering Manchuria. When it was announced that Russia's cause is hopeless unless she can defeat or disable Admiral Togo's fleet, the frankness shown by the St. Petersburg newspaper appears remarkable. This journal believes the Japanese may capture Port Arthur before the Baltic fleet arrives, and may repair some of the Russian vessels that have been sunk in the shallow harbor. Even if the Vladivostok squadron is not frozen in, the Russian writer does not believe it can be of material assistance to Admiral Rojestvensky. He points out that when the Vladivostok ships attempted to co-operate with Admiral Witthof in accordance with instructions telegraphed by the Russian government, the news of their having put to sea was published in London the same evening, in spite of the most stringent censorship of all telegrams, and thus Admiral Kamimura was fully informed of its movements. There is no reason to suppose that a second attempt of the same kind would be more successful.

Since the Baltic fleet must depend on its own guns, what is its chance against Togo? The Novoye Vremya believes its chance is slight: "The value of the opposing battle fleets, including armored cruisers, is estimated numerically at 613 to 394 in favor of Japan; the calculation being based on a comparison between their fighting qualities in respect of speed, armament, and defensive armor. Even if Admiral Togo should consider it necessary to detach four armored cruisers to intercept the Vladivostok squadron, which the writer considers improbable, the value of his fleet might still be stated as 414, thus leaving a considerable balance in his favor. The superiority of the Japanese in protected cruisers and in torpedo craft of all kinds is regarded as so great that no comparison can be instituted."

But the odds against the Russians are really even greater than the Novoye Vremya admits; for the Baltic fleet is to encounter experienced veterans, tried ships commanded by one of the greatest captains of history, who has under him officers and men who have recently astonished the nations by their courage, their gunnery and their resourcefulness. The Baltic fleet has no open port to steer for. It can seize one only after it has dealt with the Japanese admiral whose fleet even the Novoye Vremya regards as greatly superior to that of Rojestvensky.

Retaining command of the sea, as evidently Japan will, even a reverse in the region of Mukden would not be irreparable. The world has heard much of the Russian reserves that have been poured into Kurapatkin's lines from the north since Oyama's advance was stayed. The Japanese have said nothing about reinforcing their field marshal, but as they have busy transports and a clear railway line to Liao Yang, it is safe to assume that Oyama has received as many fresh troops as he requires. Russia, it is probable, can do nothing by sea. It is most improbable that she can drive Oyama back beyond Liao Yang. In good time, will take Mukden.

CHAMBERLAIN AND DILKE

Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, a son of Sir Charles Dilke, is visiting the United States, and has been interviewed in Washington in regard to Imperial preferential trade and the future of the British Colonies. The British Liberals, he says, will win the next election, but their reign will be short, as they lack a strong leader. Mr. Chamberlain, says Mr. Dilke, might live to see his plan adopted if he were a younger man, but England is unlikely to give up her system of free imports within his lifetime. After a while a modification of the Chamberlain plan may be adopted. Mr. Dilke, who has lived in Australia for many years, expresses the belief that the Colonies will drift into independence. "No

artificial expedient," he thinks, "can bind them forever. The preferential plan he evidently regards as artificial. Australia, he is sure, will raise the cry 'Australia for the Australians'—not now, nor in the immediate future, but some day."

Mr. Dilke, it is clear, has doubts about pretty much everything, and everybody. He is doubtful about the Chamberlain plan, but he does not believe free imports will long be held sacred. Meantime the latest speech of Mr. Chamberlain, a brief summary of which has appeared in The Telegraph, shows that he is becoming more outspoken in his advocacy of protection. He told his East End audience that the antiquated fiscal system was the greatest of the evils that oppress the British working classes. He referred to the system of free imports as "an old superstition," to which England has clung while every other civilized country, including every British colony, has rejected it. Mr. Chamberlain once more expressed alarm about the future of the Empire. Once more, it seems, we are "at the parting of the ways."

"On the question of our future relations with the Colonies he felt most deeply, because he believed it was most urgent. If we did not grasp the opportunity now great changes would be wrought in the Empire. Sixty years ago the colonies were in their infancy. They were so far distant that they were almost out of the minds of the statesmen of the day. The idea that they should ever combine into one great empire would have been laughed at as distinctly impracticable. Now the great majority of people in this land have no dearest wish than to bring all land of the British race into one great empire, and they are not alone in this. Great Britain, great as she is, is not quite rich enough to bear alone the whole burden of the vast fabric of empire built up by her. The empire is now supported by ties of sentiment alone. It is inconceivable that ties of sentiment are enough. His opponents seemed absolutely incapable of understanding the colonial question. It was not a question of the loyalty of the colonies, which he sometimes thought were more loyal to us than we are to them. It was a question of organization. The colonial governments had considered this great problem, and come to the conclusion that the union which has existed for the last fifty years is altogether insufficient, if Britons throughout the world are to rise to a splendid conception of a united family of kindred States."

Where does Mr. Chamberlain find evidence that the Colonial governments have come to any such conclusion? They have proposed nothing. They have shown sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, but the alarm over our future relations has not agitated any Colonial government extensively. The Colonies are in sympathy with the principle of any proposal looking toward Imperial unity and strength, but they have given no evidence of their belief in the "parting-of-the-ways" crisis. The Colonies are anxious that the people of Great Britain should pass upon the British fleet policy, but the Colonial governments have not asked for any such conclusion? They have proposed nothing. They have shown sympathy with Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, but the alarm over our future relations has not agitated any Colonial government extensively. 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