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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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AMERICANISM *VERSUS* IMPERIALISM.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

FOR several grave reasons I regard possessions in the Far East as fraught with nothing but disaster to the Republic. Only one of these, however, can now be considered—the dangers of war and of the almost constant rumors and threats of war to which all nations interested in the Far East are subject. There is seldom a week which does not bring alarming reports of threatened hostilities, or of new alliances, or of changes of alliances, between the powers arming for the coming struggle. It is chiefly this Far Eastern question which keeps every shipyard, gunyard, and armor yard in the world busy night and day, Sunday and Saturday, forging engines of destruction. It is in that region the thunderbolt is expected, it is there the storm is to burst.

It is only four years since Japan defeated China and had ceded to it a portion of Chinese territory, the fruits of victory. Then appeared upon the scene a combination of France, Russia and Germany, which drove Japan out of China. Russia took part of the spoils for herself, and Germany later took territory near by. Japan got nothing. Britain, the most powerful of ll, stood by neutral. Had she decided to defend Japan, the greatest war ever known would have been the probable result; the thunderbolt would have fallen. Were the question to be

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allied with France fought the Battle of Solferino; to-day I
is a member of the Triple Alliance against France. Europe
kaleidoscope, where alliances change, dissolve, recombine and
other forms with passing events. During the past week the hi
enmity which recently existed between Germany and Britain,
ing to German interference in the Transvaal, is chan
and it is announced that "they see together u
many points and expect to co-operate more and more in the
ture." This morning the question is: Shall France and
many combine for some common ends? This would have b
considered remarkable a short time ago, but statesmen will
member that Germany and France did combine with Russia
drive Japan out of China. There is no alliance, not even
most apparently incongruous, that cannot be made, and that
not be made, to meet the immediate interests or ambitions of
tions. Senator Davis seems to rest satisfied with an alliance
his country with Britain and Japan. If he had an alliance
day, it might not be worth the paper it was written upon
morrow.

I say, therefore, that no American statesman should place
country in any position which it could not defend, relying
upon its own strong right arm. Its arm at present is not m
to depend upon; its 81 ships of war are too trifling to be ta
into account; and as for its army—what are its 56,000 regula
Its volunteers are being disbanded. Both its Navy and its A
are good for one thing only—for easy capture or destruct
by either one of the stronger powers. It is the protection
Britain, and that alone, upon which we have to rely—in the
East—a slender thread indeed. Upon the shifting sands of
liances we are to have our only foundation.

The writer is not of those who believe that the Repu
cannot make herself strong enough to walk alone, and to hold
own, and to be an imperial power of herself, and by herself,
not the weak *protegé* of a real imperial power. But, in order
make herself an imperial power she must do as imperial po
do—she must create a navy equal to the navy of any other
She must have hundreds of thousands of regular
operate with the navy.

If she devoted herself exclusively and
a navy equal to that of Britain, for instance

till now, if she is not to be at the mercy of stronger powers, that will be the work of more than twenty years, building twenty warships per year; hitherto our navy has added only six per year. In order to get the men to man these ships, she must take the means to educate them. That she can do this there is no question; that the American either on sea or land is at least equal to the man of any other nation cannot be gainsaid. More than this, I know the American workman, especially the mechanic, to be the most skillful, most versatile, in the world—and victories at sea depend as much upon the mechanic below as upon the gunner on deck, and American gunners have no equals. It was no surprise to me that the American warships sunk those of Spain without loss. I spent last winter abroad in the society of distinguished men of European nations who congregate at Cannes. The opinion was universally held by them that for a time the Spanish Navy would be master over us, although it was admitted the superior resources of the United States must eventually ensure victory. I said then that, whenever any warships in the world met those of the American Navy, the other warships would go to the bottom—for two reasons; first, our ships were the latest and their equipment was the best, and, second, I knew the kind of men that were behind the guns. If ever the Republic falls from her industrial ideals and descends to the level of the war ideals ... she will be supreme. I have no doubt of that. ... which this stimulating climate produces is the wiriest, ... most versatile of all men, and the power of organization ... the American in greater perfection than in any other. ... is that at present the Republic is an industrial ... adequate navy and without soldiers; that she ... a protector; and that if she is to figure in the ... in any sense an imperial power at all. Im... and military force behind; moral force, ... are not the backbone of Imperialism; these ... for the higher civilization, for ... for Imperialism is brutal physical ... material forces, warships and artil-

... which first appeared in this ... of hostility to the coming ... It has been my dream,

and it is one of the movements that lie closest to my heart. For many years the United flag has floated from my summer home in my native land, the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack sewn together—the first of that kind of flag ever seen. That flag will continue to fly there and the winds to blow the two from side to side in loving embrace. But I do not favor a formal alliance, such as that desired by Senator Davis. On the contrary, I rely upon the "alliance of hearts," which happily exists to-day. Alliances of fighting power form and dissolve with the questions which arise from time to time. The patriotism of race lies deeper and is not disturbed by waves upon the surface. The present era of good feeling between the old and the new lands means that the home of Shakespeare and Burns will never be invaded without other than native-born Britons being found in its defence. It means that the giant child, the Republic, is not to be set upon by a combination of other races and pushed to its destruction without a growl coming from the old lion which will shake the earth. But it should not mean that either the old land or the new binds itself to support the other in all its designs, either at home or abroad, but that the Republic shall remain the friend of all nations and the ally of none; that, being free to-day of all foreign entanglements, she shall not undertake to support Britain, who has these to deal with. Take Russia for instance. Only last year leading statesmen were pushing Britain into a crusade against that country. They proposed to prevent its legitimate expansion toward the Pacific—legitimate, because it is over coterminous territory, which Russia can absorb and Russianize, keeping her empire solid. She knows better than to have outlying possessions open to attack. Russia has always been the friend of the United States. When Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister of Great Britain, proposed to recognize the South, Russia sent her fleet to New York. Russia sold us Alaska; we have no opposing interests to those of Russia; the two nations are the only two great nations in the world, solid, compact, impregnable, because each has developed only coterminous territory, upon which its own race could grow. Even in the matter of trade with Russia, our exports are

Britain and Russia clash in the Far East and we have an alliance with Britain, we are at war against one of our best friends.

The sister Republic of France and our own, from her very beginning, have been close friends. The services France rendered at the Revolution may be, but should never be, forgotten by the American. That some interests in France sympathized with Spain was only natural. The financial world in France held the Spanish debt. The religion of France is the religion of Spain. The enemies of the French Republic sided with the monarchy. But this can be said without fear of contradiction, that those who govern France stood the friends of our Republic, and that our enemies in France were also the enemies of the French Government. An alliance with Britain and Japan would make us a possible enemy of France. I would not make an alliance which involved that. I would make no alliance with any power under any circumstances that can be imagined; I would have the Republic remain the friend of all powers. That has been her policy from the beginning, and so it should remain.

When "the world shall have a wholesome fear synonymous with respect for us," as Senator Davis desires, it will not be a good day for the Republic. Adherence to Washington's desire seems better to me—that we should be the "friends of all nations"—a wholesome friendship instead of a "wholesome fear."

Reference has been made to possible difference arising between the protector and its ward, but I do not wish to be understood as entertaining the belief that actual war is probable between them. Far from this, my opinion is that actual war will never exist again between the two branches of the English-speaking race. Should one have a grievance, the other would offer Arbitration, and no government of either could exist which refused that offer. The [illegible] government ever known in Britain was that of [illegible], when President Cleveland rightfully demanded [illegible] the Venezuelan case. As is well known, Mr. Glad-[illegible] had agreed to Arbitration. Lord Salisbury, [illegible] power, repudiated that agreement. Lord Salis-[illegible] Cleveland's request, and what was the re-[illegible] persons in the United States believe that [illegible] withdraw his refusal and accede to President [illegible] the attitude of the United States. That [illegible] the forces in Britain supporting Lord

Salisbury compelled him to reverse his decision. This is an open secret. Those nearest and next to him in power who sided with President Cleveland could be named; but the published cables are sufficient. The heir and the next heir to the throne cabled "that they hoped and *believed* the question would be peacefully settled." That behind this cable was the Queen herself, always the friend of the Republic, need not be doubted.

The idea of actual war between Great Britain and the Republic can be dismissed as something which need not be taken into account; but what is to be feared is this: the neutrality of Britain—even to-day desired by other powers—in case her ward gave her offence, or was as she supposed, ungrateful, and did not make full return for the protection accorded to the weakling, as we have said. It did not require the active hostility of Great Britain to thwart Japan and push her out of her possessions, but simply her decision not to interfere on Japan's behalf. Had Japan had satisfactory advantages to offer to Britain, she might have had Britain's support. It is the satisfactory bargain that alliances are founded upon in Europe; every European nation has its price, and every one of them has something which the other covets. France could give Britain a free hand in Egypt, Germany could concur in Britain's acquisition of Delagoa Bay and end her troubles in the Transvaal. This is something Britain dearly covets. Russia could give Britain a desired frontier in India. These nations have all co-related interests and desires, and no man can predict what alliances will be broken and what made—it is all a matter of self-interest. The United States has not this position. She has little desirable to offer in exchange for alliance, and in all probability she would be sacrificed for the aims of her strong rivals—at least she might be, being herself powerless.

When a statesman has in his keeping the position and interests of his country, all speculation as to the future frontiers of ideas of what should be or what will one day rule the world, and of the "good day coming" when the pen shall supersede the sword, and of all the noble hopes and aspirations for a better future, must be resolutely dismissed. It is not with things as they are to be in the future, but with things as they are in the present that it is his serious duty to deal. The dream, in which [illegible] perhaps indulges more than the writer, of the union of the English-speaking race, even that entrancing [illegible]

nised as only a dream. The "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," we know is to come. The evolutionist has never any doubt about the realisation of the highest ideals from the operation of that tendency within us, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness. But he is no statesman—he is only a dreamer—who allows his hopes to stand against facts, and he who proposes that the United States, as she stands to-day, shall enter into the coming struggle in the Far East, depending upon any alliance that can be made with any or all of the powers, seems unsuited to shape the policy or deal with the destinies of the Republic.

Just consider her position, solid, compact, impregnable; if all the naval forces were to combine to attack her what would be her reply? She would fill her ports with mines, she would draw her ships of war behind them, ready to rush out as favorable opportunities might offer to attack. But she would do more than this in extremity; she would close her ports—a few loaded scows would do the business—and all the powers in the world would be impotent to injure her seriously. The fringe only would be troubled; the great empire within would scarcely feel the attack.

The injury she would inflict upon the principal powers by closing her ports would be much more serious than could be inflicted upon her; because non-exportation of food-stuffs and cotton would mean famine and distress to Britain and injure her to a greater degree than loss in battle. Even in France and in Germany the results of non-exportation would be more serious than the effects of ordinary war. It would only be a matter of a short time until the powers recognized how futile was their attempt [illegible] this self-contained Republic, whose estate here [illegible] within a ring fence.

[illegible] national wealth would not grow as fast during the blockade [illegible]. Our foreign trade would suffer, but that is [illegible] than four per cent. of our domestic commerce. [illegible] the annual domestic exchanges of the people [illegible] thousand millions of dollars; those of exports and [illegible] reached quite two thousand millions. The [illegible] exchanges is estimated to be just [illegible] all our Foreign Trade, Imports and [illegible] would be displaced, but the new de- [illegible] new state of affairs would employ

it all. We should emerge from the embargo without serious injury. So much for the impregnability of the Republic. To-day Fortune rains upon her. For the first time in her history, she has become the greatest exporting nation in the world, even the exports of Britain being less than hers. Her manufactures are invading all lands, commercial expansion proceeds by leaps and bounds; New York has become the financial centre of the world. It is London no more, but New York, which is to-day the financial centre. This, however, is not yet to be claimed as permanent, but it promises to become so ere long, unless the Republic becomes involved in European wars through Imperialism. Labor is in demand at the highest wages paid in the world; the Industrial supremacy of the world lies at our feet. Two questions are submitted to the decision of the American people: First—Shall we remain as we are, solid, compact, impregnable, republican, American; or, Second—Shall we creep under the protection, and become, as Bishop Potter says, "the catspaw," of Britain, in order that we may grasp the phantom of Imperialism?

If the latter be the choice, then it is submitted that we must first begin quietly to prepare ourselves for the new work which Imperialism imposes.

We need a large regular army of trained soldiers. There is no use trying to encounter regular armies with volunteers—we have found that out. Not that volunteers would not be superior to the class of men we shall get to enlist simply for pay in the regular army, if they would enlist there and be trained, but because they are not trained. Thirty-eight thousand more men are to be called for the regular army; but it is easy "to call spirits from the vasty deep"—they may not come. The present force of the army is 62,000 men by law; we have only 56,000, as the President tells us in his message. Why do we not first fill up the gap, instead of asking for legislation to enlist more? Because Labor is well employed and men are scarce in some States to-day; because men who now enlist know for what they are wanted, and that kind of work is not what American soldiers have been asked to perform hitherto. They have never had to leave their own country, much

are a great number of Americans, and these of the best, who would soon revolt at our soldiers being used against the Cubans fighting for what they had been promised. The latest advices I have from Cuba are from a good source. This necessity is not likely to arise. Cuba will soon form a government, and, mark my prediction, she will ask for annexation. The proprietors of Cuba who will control the new government, and many Americans who are becoming interested with them in estates there, will see to this. "Free sugar" means fortune to all. Will the United States admit Cuba? Doubtful. But Cuba need not trouble us very much. There is no "Imperialism" here—no danger of foreign wars.

Now why is the policy adopted for the Island of Cuba not the right policy for the Philippine Islands? General Schofield states that 30,000 troops will be required there, as we may have to "lick them." What work this for Americans! General Miles thinks 25,000 will do. If we promised them what we have promised Cuba, half the number would suffice, as with Cuba—probably less—and we should be spared the uncongenial task of shooting down people who were guiltless of offence against us.

If we insist "the slaves are ours because we bought them," and fail to tell them we come not as slave drivers, but as friends to assist them to Independence, we may have to "lick them" no doubt. It will say much for the Filipinos if they do rebel against "being bought and sold like cattle." It would be difficult to give a better proof of their fitness for self government.

Cuba is under the shield of the Monroe doctrine; no foreign interference is possible there. Place the Philippines under similar conditions until they have a stable government, when eight millions of people can be trusted to protect themselves. The truth is that none of the powers would risk the hostility of eight millions of people, who had tasted the hope of Independence. "Free and Independent" are magical words, never forgotten, and rarely unrealized.

Only one objection can be made to this policy. They are not fit to govern themselves. First, this has not been proved. This was said of every one of the sixteen Spanish Republics as they broke away from Spain; it was said even of Mexico within this generation; it was the belief of the British about ourselves. There is in the writer's opinion little force in the objection. In the Far East I have visited the village [illegible]

system of self-government dating back for two
In no country, not even the most backward, are
government and "orders and degrees" of men.
s of tribes and others of lesser authority are
heir members. In the wild lands of the Afridis—
hich has just baffled seventy thousand soldiers,
, the largest army ever assembled there—there
government, and a rigid one. Human societies
out establishing, as a rule, peace and order in
fection.

are by no means in the lowest scale—far from
much lower than the Cubans. If left to them-
ake mistakes, but what nation does not? Riot
y break out—in which nation are these absent?
ur own; but the inevitable result will be a gov-
uited to the people than any that our soldiers
could ever give.

the Republic stand true to its pledges, that the
only in the cause of humanity and not for terri-
ment, and true to the fundamental principles
ate: "that government derives its just powers
of the governed;" that the flag, wherever it
ims "the equality of the citizen," "one man's
n's right"—"that all men are created equal,"
away part only shall be citizens with rights
ubjects without rights—freemen and serfs, not
t is the issue between Americanism and Impe-

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

t writer, himself a useless dreamer, sighs beneath it—
th a grain of sense can doubt that circumstances point
g an unavoidable preparation for a crisis in national
no means far ahead. That being the position, it seems
at all that can in any wise direction be done, is to try
e feeble force at our disposition to point readers—who
healthy instinct, on the literature of action—to books
are that encourage the best sides of the Anglo-Saxon
nt. In the feverish demand for entertaining narra-
he adventurous class, two distinct tendencies may be
e is towards the entirely monstrous and fantastic, in
life and the genuine spirit of man are subordinated to
um-drinking of foolish horrors. This autumn, we have
ndon the most preposterous example of this ever foisted
ng public, the fabulous exploits of a Swiss courier,
ling as a man of science, and taking thousands of fool-
s captive with tales of wombats soaring in the sunset
aithful colored wives who eat their children that they
their husbands with a more devoted freedom. It is
the craving for monstrosities of this sort, and the easy
which will swallow such traveller's tales, are unwhole-
ptoms of the public love of the literature of action.
ately, there is a reverse to the medal. We have had the
d fortune to see, at this opportune hour, the develop-
perhaps the most purely patriotic talent that ever flour-
England. The most powerful and distinguished British
der thirty-five years of age, is unquestionably Mr. Rud-
ling, and his whole literary career is one unflagging ap-
fighting instincts of the race. We see nothing in the
his genius, if we do not see that it makes directly
of the English people in an eventual crisis.
styled a Jingo or a Chauvinist. He
or underestimate its afflictions, but he
"Be ready!" He marshals us by land
kinsfolk up into line with us, he ques-
state of our sinews and of our guns.
civilian, without external prestige
simply prodigious. His breath
of men, nor of thousands,

vague and distant government of India, that its hill tribes looked. If you examine a map of six or seven years ago, you find Chitral in a white no-man's land, far to north and west of the red frontier of British supremacy. It was ruled in those days by a family of treacherous princes, each of whom successively waded to the throne through the blood of his uncles and his brothers.

The Government of India, in its infinite wisdom, determined that the moment had come to interfere with the little tyrants who stabbed and squabbled among the picturesque population above the glacier-fed torrents of Chitral. In January, 1893, it sent Dr. (now Sir) George Robertson on a mission thither from his residency in Gilgit. It was a highly adventurous expedition, for the tribes were violently prejudiced against Europeans, and their unbridled treachery was a notorious matter. He took with him three English officers and a little escort of 50 Sikh soldiers. They arrived at Chitral to find the hereditary prince, or Mehtar, palpitating with fear, not of the English, but of his own family. Presently, after the English mission had left Chitral about a year, this Mehtar had the usual accident out hunting; he was shot dead in the back by his own half brother. This sinister news reached Gilgit on January 6, 1895.

The Chitralis had by this time come to recognize the might of the Government of India, and they were very anxious to have their new ruler's little escapade commuted. But the position was a very anxious one, and extremely difficult to understand at a distance. Dr. Robertson, therefore, was ordered once more to go over to Chitral, and examine its perilous politics on the spot. The jour[illegible] in conditions of Arctic cold through some of the rough[illegible] in the world, was not at first embarrassed by any un[illegible] of the natives; but Dr. Robertson was presently gal[illegible] news, that Umra Khan, a very formidable mountain [illegible] proclaimed a holy war, was marching into Chitral [illegible] 3,000 to 4,000 men, and had called upon the [illegible] him. Moreover, a dangerous pretendant, Sher [illegible] was also moving upon Chitral with un[illegible] Robertson received, meanwhile, orders from [illegible] drive Umra Khan out of its territories. [illegible] and almost imperial responsibility fell [illegible] thing he did was to depose the [illegible] predecessor, and who was hated in

[illegible] still tougher [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] for the [illegible] of January, 1895, by Robertson and [illegible] Chitral, ahead of all their competitors. [illegible] the enemy at large, waiting for reinforcements which never came, but contriving to keep up communication with India. On the 1st of March the last letter from Chitral was passed along the river to Mastuj, and then Robertson and his gallant company, a mere speck in that huge wilderness of rocks and snow, faded out of sight for fifty days, while the eyes of all England hung, distracted with anxiety, on the shrouded glens of the Hindu Kush.

This is the necessary prelude to Sir George Robertson's story, which I am not proposing to re-tell tamely here. I am addressing American readers, who, of course, take a very limited interest in our "little wars." With a whole new system of savage archipelagoes of their own, the American nation will soon find themselves provided with quite as many little wars as they need for their private entertainment. But Sir George Robertson's book does not address Englishmen alone. It is a very attractive piece of literature, excellently composed, excellently narrated, with touches of beauty here and there which we might expect a soldier to disdain. It is as a specimen of our new literature of action, to which we may be proud to point our friendliest neighbors, that I am here recommending Sir George Robertson's book. Read "Chitral: The Story of a Minor Siege," I say to those who, being not of us, are yet most akin to us, for you will never see the virtues of our race reflected in a more agreeable mirror.

[illegible] a man's modesty as to affront that [illegible] to touch this book and [illegible]. He has [illegible] for the [illegible] [illegible]

and the Government of India knows, and all who fought beside him and for him know, that Sir George Robertson was the central force of the whole incident, that it was his gallantry and diplomacy and resource that pulled us safely out of that very tight place.

The man of ability who is not eaten up with self-complacency has eyes to observe his surroundings. While the little English garrison were shut up in Chitral, with the murderous hill tribes humming outside, their spirits rose and fell. It was part of the commander's task to watch these fluctuations and to guard against them. Of each of the young officers who were with him, he has a genial portrait. Here is a sketch of one of them:

"He was a melodious person of gregarious instincts. Looking back, one reflects how churlishly his songs and shuffling accompaniments were sometimes received, and how badly we should have missed them. I think that Harley, even after an all-night's watch, always lay down to sleep with reluctance, and would never have rested at all had there been anyone equally companionable to talk to. His unquenchable good spirits stimulated us greatly without our knowing it."

How characteristic this is! and not less so the little touches about dogs which come here and there. "On the Gilgit frontier a subaltern's equipment can hardly be considered complete without a banjo and a fox terrier." The banjo Mr. Kipling has celebrated in one of the most thrilling of his lyrics; the fox terrier figures in every frontier battle. The wounding of "Edwardes' nice little dog" is most gravely recorded among the incidents of the defence of Reshun. It is connected with the tender sentiment about home, and all things home-like, which the smart young soldiers carry with them in every contingency. I must quote from Sir George Robertson again a passage of rare beauty; the moment described is that at which their hopes seemed at their lowest, and nothing seemed before the little English garrison but cruel and humiliating death. The Commander stood on the ramparts, and he looked out over the closely beleaguering forces of the enemy:

"Any attempt on us would have been out of the question on this date, so light was the sky with its young crescent moon. To the north, that wonderful mass of snow mountain looked as lovely and as unsympathetic as ever. Its beauty always made me melancholy, nor could it be looked upon without a long sigh and sad thoughts of those far away at home, who were, we knew, suffering much more for us than we suffered ourselves. We could only repay their anxious thoughts with others as tender. If we could but have sent them a single line of love, a weight would have been lifted from our hearts."

The siege of Chitral was a return to a primitive condition of

things. The methods of the besiegers and of the besieged were mediæval, and the old value of individual bravery, each man in some degree cast upon his own resources, was strangely revived. It might have been reasonably supposed that this would prove a great disadvantage to English officers, trained to depend on all the mechanical aids of our elaborate civilization. It was a disadvantage, of course; it added to the difficulties, but they humorously accepted and surmounted it. The essential interest of this book, apart, of course, from its merits as a narrative superlatively told, lies in the evidence it supplies of the rapidity with which the well-bred and disciplined young Anglo-Saxon accepts responsibility and turns it to good account. Mr. Rudyard Kipling has a story of the veteran writer who meets in London a group of polite, well-groomed, modest youths, who turn out to have been actually doing, in the wild places of the world, the work that he has been dreaming about. It is impossible to read Sir George Robertson's "Chitral" and not see that these are those very youths in action. These British officers of his, with their irresistible pluck and energy merely dormant, ready to break out into a blaze at a moment's notice, are what Mr. Kipling gazes at fondly, and murmurs "Mine own people!"

If this is the temper and these the abilities which our recent national predilection for the literature of action fosters, we need hardly regret that "bower of roses in Bendameer's stream" in which the Middle Victorian poets lay at full length, discussing the subtleties of the passion of love. If it were going to last forever, if there were to be no reaction from this materialism, I should deeply deplore it. A man should not, and a nation should not, spend its whole life with a musket in its hand, behind a barricade. But there are times and seasons in the life of a nation, as in the life of a man, when self-respect and all the dearest emotions of the heart compel the strictest attention to practical defence. The American people, with whose thoughts and instincts we are more closely in sympathy than with those of any other race, have lately proved this necessity. They have passed through a crisis which many of their most contemplative spirits regretted, but which was inevitable. Their honor, their place in civilization, called imperiously upon them for an action which they deplored, but which they did not dream of evading.

We, too, in England to-day hear something [illegible]

call, but pronounced with even intenser gravity. All I have attempted to do here is to sketch very roughly the history and character of the literature which has prepared us to receive the order with serenity and firmness. We, in our beleaguered island, hear, or believe we hear, the muffled sound of the pick-axe mining our prosperity and our rights. An hysterical excitement would be out of place, and there is no sign among us of its being felt. We believe, humbly, gravely, that we are ready. And there is evidence in our literature of the last twelve years to show that we have been preparing ourselves for a great international struggle by the games we have loved best to play, the stories which have entertained us most, and the narratives of historical adventures which we have been most eager to read.

EDMUND GOSSE.

THE UNITED STATES AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION IN 1900.

BY FERDINAND W. PECK, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES TO THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1900.

By their efforts to surpass each other in the magnificence of their displays, foreign countries will obtain for the French the realization of their prophecy that the Paris Exposition of 1900 will be the climax of exposition achievements.

The nineteenth century has been notable for its unparalleled progress, and to secure the greatest credit for assisting in this upward sweep, and to obtain the emoluments which will come from a fine display, more than fifty nations will be present at the exposition, arrayed in the best they can produce. They will not spare money to secure the best effects, and will follow the French in adopting "quality, not quantity," as the motto by which they will select their exhibits. It is therefore assured that the best crystallized ideals of all nations will be displayed in the exhibits and their installation, and that the exposition in every particular will be of unsurpassed grandeur and perfection.

The spot chosen for the exposition is in the heart of Paris, on the site already made historical by four international expositions. The beautiful Seine winds its way through it, and magnificent boulevards with stately edifices and monuments surround and traverse it. The entire city of Paris is to be greatly beautified by additional parks and gardens, so that in 1900 [illegible]

and experts, representing at least five hundred million people, will be present. This large attendance and the superb exhibits which our chief commercial competitors will present at the exposition, render it obligatory on the United States to use every endeavor to make a display of every natural and manufactured product that will equal that from any other land. It will be the opportunity of the age to show the peoples of every country, through their thousands of representatives present, the actual superiority of American goods, of which even Americans do not know, and of which foreigners have not learned, and cannot learn, unless it is demonstrated to them by placing the goods before their eyes in competition with those of other countries.

Whatever is done to extend American trade is certain to exert a beneficial influence on the general prosperity of the country. Prosaic as trade may be, it is to-day the keynote of international politics. The armies and navies of the world exist but for the purpose of aiding the merchants and manufacturers in their struggle for this extension. Behind the pioneers who blazon their way through hitherto unconquered territory, go the merchants who buy and sell. The victory of Dewey at Manila is recognized as the presage of trade with the Philippines, which will mean dollars and cents in the pockets of the American people. European nations are now armed to the teeth facing each other in Asia, merely to seize trade advantages. The markets of the world are the prizes for which they are constantly [illegible]

[illegible] States, however, is not compelled to resort to [illegible] trade extensions; it has the advantage of being able [illegible] its competitors in their own home markets, [illegible] they are forced to find colonies whose mar- [illegible] held by establishing a monopoly. This coun- [illegible] of the world in industry, but it has not [illegible] it should hold in commerce. The emi- [illegible], says:

> [illegible] in agriculture, with products greater than [illegible] combined; in manufactures with a pro- [illegible] output of the factories of the United [illegible] and Belgium combined; in machinery [illegible] the United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary and [illegible] product greater than the United Kingdom [illegible] that of the entire world); in rail- [illegible] per cent. greater than that of all

must go abroad for commerce and take advantage of every agency to secure it.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department, has compiled tables which prove conclusively that the international expositions in which the United States has been interested have had an important and direct effect in increasing its exports. Prior to 1876, the year of the Centennial Exposition, the balance of trade had been against the United States to the amount of $2,236,406,610. In the preceding eighty-seven years the United States witnessed but sixteen annual balances of trade in its favor. After the exposition the tide turned in favor of this country, and in the twenty-three years since then it has witnessed but three occasions when the annual balance of trade has been against it. Prior to 1876 the exports amounted to $12,309,653,384, an average of about $141,000,000 per annum, while the imports amounted to $14,546,994,000, an average of about $167,000,000 per annum. Since 1876 the exports have amounted to $18,662,344,445, an average of about $811,000,000 per annum, and the imports amounted to $15,570,903,493, an average of about $677,000,000 per annum. It will be seen that in this period our exports have been more than fifty per cent. in excess of the entire eighty-seven years before the exposition, and that the average annual exportation has been nearly six times the annual exportation prior to that time.

Not only was the continuance of this increase aided by the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, but American participation at the Paris Expositions of 1878 and 1889 was followed by a [illegible] increase of exports.

It is a well-known fact that more American firms have been [illegible] form connections abroad and extend their foreign trade [illegible] than ever before, and to the Columbian Exposition [illegible] the beginning of negotiations which have [illegible] many recent large orders for American [illegible]

[illegible] compiled by Frederick B. Emory, Di[illegible] American Commerce, contain many let[illegible] in their appeals to American mer[illegible] the rich trade opportunities which [illegible] and which other more enterprising

Carl Bailey Hurst, United States Consul-General at Vie
in a letter to the State Department says:

"Everywhere in Europe there is a constantly increasing demand what are termed "American Goods;" that is, goods made in the U States. In the first place, everything manufactured in the United Sta so neatly and trimly made that it at once catches the eye of a foreigner the next place the American article is honestly made, and therefore it stand the closest scrutiny and the test of use.

"It is noticeable that, if Europeans come into possession of an artic American manufacture, they are always proud of it and quick to ex it on all occasions, and they are not slow to let the fact be known th was made in America. They acknowledge the superiority of the Ame goods every time."

In another report he shows how American glass wins re nition even in Austria, a country noted for its glassware.

"It is frankly admitted here that the American cut-glass is finer, more elegantly cut than any manufactured on the continent of Europ even in England. This matter, it is said, is being taken seriously by manufacturers here, who are already beginning to look elsewhere for a ket for their goods. The same is true of plate glass, looking-glass pl etc. Heretofore manufacturers and exporters in Central Europe have a large and lucrative business in this line with the United States, country affording them their best market, but many of the factorie now closed, or are running on half or quarter time and the plants ca bought for fifty per cent. of the amount they would have brought si seven years ago."

Reports of a similar nature come from France. Walte Griffin, Commercial Agent at Limoges, says that there is a g demand for American agricultural machinery of every kind well as for sewing machines. He further says:

"There is probably no tool employed by the American artisans, car ters, masons, plumbers, lock-smiths, woodworkers, etc., that could not a ready and profitable sale in France. As these goods are less bulky t and different in shape from, the French ones, they must be shown, and excellence proven to the workmen before their superiority is realized.

"There is also an undoubted demand for good cooking stoves ranges."

Continuing, Mr. Griffin tells of many other American ma factured articles which the French would buy, if the opportu were offered them.

Frank H. Mason, United States Consul-General at Frank tells of the demand for American leather goods, particularly sh He writes:

"The statement is here reiterated, upon the judgment of compe experts, that in every important German city, or large town, there established, with practical certainty of success, an American American shoes are offered here as a costly luxury, while

good factory-made boots and shoes are cheaper, quality considered, in the United States, than anywhere else in the world. American lumber and furniture is reported as in good demand, and there should be in Germany a far more extensive market for American mechanics' tools that has yet been developed."

The same story is told everywhere of the demand for American-made goods, but these goods must be shown, and their points of excellence made evident, in order to awaken the natives to a proper appreciation of their advantages. The Consuls, almost without exception, urge that commercial travellers be sent abroad and samples exhibited. It would be futile to expect the natives to buy unless this is done.

"If our manufacturers and business men are desirous of extending their foreign trade, it is indispensable that they deal with it in a proper way," writes Herbert de Castro, United States Consul-General at Rome. "They must do preliminary or missionary work. The merchants and importers of this country will not come to us unless we go to them first, and educate them to the use of our products. Some of our intelligent commercial travellers, supplied with adequate samples, would accomplish more in one month than letters and circulars could in years. The method may be somewhat expensive in the beginning, but the final results could not fail to be gratifying.

"Should our business men pay as much attention to this part of Europe as they have, for instance, to Mexico and some of the South American countries, they would soon reap the benefit of their enterprise. By following in the footsteps of the European exporters, they would soon learn to compete successfully with them. When American products are once introduced on these markets, and are well known and appreciated, they will not fail to command the preference on account of their superiority."

Such methods as are urged by the Consuls are expensive, but the Paris Exposition will offer a cheaper way to achieve the [illegible] results, as American goods will be placed side by side with [illegible] European manufacture, for comparison. It will thus be [illegible] to establish warehouses, or salesrooms so extensively [illegible] countries, and this enormous expense will be en-[illegible]. Although American goods will be exhibited only [illegible] the many important cities of the various [illegible] of visitors and experts present from [illegible] will, upon their return home, disseminate the in-[illegible] of the superiority of our productions. [illegible] the greatest publicity among the [illegible] in the shortest possible space of [illegible] expense. Besides the millions of [illegible] over two million foreigners will [illegible] United States is well represented

in the exhibits, this army of visitors will be an army of commercial travellers who will go forth into every land and, in the language of that land, praise American goods. The advantages to accrue will be, not to the individual exhibitors only; other Americans engaged in the same industry will be benefited. It is not one particular make of shoes, or one particular manufacturer's furniture, that is demanded, but American-made shoes, and American-made furniture. It is the purpose of the Commissioner-General so to install this country's display that the benefits will accrue to the whole country.

While the prime motive of America's display will be the extension and expansion of her trade with foreign countries—and to accomplish that a creditable exhibit is necessary—it must be borne in mind that other nations are working to the same end, and will likewise use every effort to increase their individual trade, even at the expense of other countries, including the United States. They, too, will make magnificent displays, and to counteract their influence it is necessary that the United States should get together an exhibit that will truly represent the progress of this country, and the excellence of its products, as compared with the exhibits of other countries which will be placed side by side with them.

In the manufacture of agricultural implements alone, there is invested in the United States over $500,000,000, and this industry gives employment to over 500,000 of America's best mechanics and brightest laboring men. Other branches of industry have proportionate capital invested, and employ a proportionate number of the men who form the sinew of this country [illegible] nation. A loss of any of the foreign trade would mean a [illegible] to this invested capital; it would throw many of these mech[illegible]ics and workmen out of employment, and inflict a correspond[illegible] injury upon the prosperity of the country.

The President, in his recent annual message to Cong[illegible] reference to the importance of the participation of the [illegible] States in the Paris Exposition of 1900, says:

"Where our artisans have the admitted capacity to [illegible] inventive genius has initiated many of the grandest [illegible] later days of the century, and where the native [illegible]

selves, it is no less due to the great French nation, whose guests we become, and which has in so many ways testified its wishes and hope that our participation shall befit the place the two peoples have won in the field of [illegible] development."

The Paris Exposition of 1900 will occupy only about half as much ground as the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. France will occupy 55 per cent. of the covered area, and the United States will have no more than its proportion of the remaining 45 per cent. At Chicago the United States had 45 per cent. of the covered space in grounds extending over 720 acres.

Space equal to that obtained by any other country has been allotted to the United States in each of the twenty pavilions which will form the exposition proper; a site for a national building and areas for other buildings have also been granted. An opportunity will therefore be offered to show the diversity of the products of this country, and from the anxiety shown by manufacturers and producers to exhibit, it must be inferred that the character of the exhibits in every department will be inferior to none. The difficult problem will be to install them so as to produce the best effect, and obtain the best results.

Estimating his needs by what he had at the World's Columbian Exposition, nearly every manufacturer has asked for a reservation of space, which, if granted, would prevent his competitors from exhibiting. It is desired, however, that the greatest possible number of producers and manufacturers show their goods, so that the benefit from exhibiting may be most generally distributed, and that the United States may carry away the greatest number of awards; by which European countries judge [illegible] the qualities of a nation's products.

[illegible] may be done, it may be necessary for exhibitors [illegible] collective exhibits which will bear a national char- [illegible] at the same time, the individuality of the ex- [illegible] national exhibits made by foreign coun- [illegible] were the most effective, as is well known, [illegible] declare in their reports on the ex-

[illegible] manufacturing associations realize the [illegible] and the country, which would [illegible] expressed their approval and de- [illegible] their respective industries.

The expense to the government of such exhibits will, how-ever, be much greater than if everything were left to the judg-ment of individuals; the cost of the plans and installations m be more extensively borne, and additional experts must be e ployed. It is on account of this, the expense necessary to erect t national building, that the present appropriation of $650,000 inadequate, and that the expenditure of at least a million doll will be necessary to enable the United States to make a displ that will be in keeping with its rank as a commercial nati A million dollars will not be an extravagant sum; it is the amou which Special Commissioner Handy deemed necessary, and much less than the amount which other nations have arrang to expend in exploiting their industries at the exposition.

The classification of the exposition contains eighteen grou which the French officials have united into eleven departmen so-called, a director being placed in charge of each to super tend personally the installation of exhibits. The Commission General for the United States has selected a like number chiefs who will act in similar capacity for this country. T men chosen are experts of national reputation in their respect lines; men whose names assure success in whatever they und take.

Unlike past expositions, the coming one will have the r material, the process of manufacture, and the finished produ exhibited side by side, thereby giving to the different sections added attractiveness by showing machinery in motion.

In every building and group it is expected that the Unit States will have some new invention or device so especially tractive that the American sections will prove the "*clou*" of t exposition, to provide which the officials are taxing themselv and also be a revelation even to Americans.

The National Building will be an oasis where Americans n find Americans, and rest from the weariness of the sight strangers.

The unveiling of the Lafayette monument, on July 4, v make United States Day the most conspicuously resplendent national days.

The outlook for the United States at the exposition is ex-cellent. The co-operation of manufacturers and producers is already assured, and the assistance of Congress [illegible]

tional appropriation, will enable us to make an exhibit in all lines that will be not only creditable, but conducive to still further prosperity.

The eyes of the world are now upon America, marvelling at its recent prowess upon the sea, and wondering what this Child of the West will do next. While this is so, every effort should be made to prove that, in the arts of peace, America is no less supreme than in the science of war. But this can no more be done without the expenditure of money than can victories of war be won. The increase of the present appropriation to one-half the sum that would be necessary to build one second-rate battleship, would be sufficient to assure a victory that would prove of vastly more benefit to the people of the United States than did the recent success of their arms.

FERDINAND W. PECK.

The really cheerful and happy people in the world are those who are satisfied to be little, to do little and to know little. The only really rich people are those who are rich, not in what they actually possess, but in what they know how to do without. If you doubt it, go to a theatre, and look at the bored faces that occupy the boxes and the orchestra stalls, and at the cheerful, eager, happy ones that occupy the upper circle and the gallery. Look at the occupants of those gorgeous carriages who "do" Rotten Row or the Avenue des Acacias as in duty bound, and the happy, cheerful, orderly crowds who enjoy a Sunday afternoon in the Versailles Gardens.

I feel much more happy, comfortable and cheerful after my good, simple, every-day dinner, quietly enjoyed with my family, with my dog begging by my side, my cat perched on the top of an armchair blinking and waiting for a chance to be noticed, and my parrot suggesting a "thank you, so good for Polly"—yes, yes, much more happy than I do after a banquet or a huge *table d'hôte* dinner.

I remember one evening, at a dinner in America, I was sitting at table by the side of a minister of the Gospel. The *menu* was in length what an American *menu* is on such occasions. The swallowing and digesting of it explains the miracle of the loaves and fishes, according to a well-known negro who had been told that fifteen thousand loaves and fishes had been eaten by five people: "De miracle was dey didn't bust." In the midst of that *menu*, just before the roast viands and the famous canvas-back duck, was written "*Rum Sherbet,*" which most of us had with a cigarette and a ten minutes' rest. Now, in France, we have no sherbet at such a time; but I don't say this to suggest that the Americans are wrong. Not at all; *chacum à son goût.* Full of my stupid French notions and prejudices, however, I could not help remarking to my neighbor: "How strange! an alcoholic water ice between meat dishes! What is the object?" "Well," replied the minister of the Gospel, "it cools you and it enables you to go on." I sat aghast, and said to him: "I see, it enables you to go on, and," I added, "perhaps, in the street next to this, there is some poor desolate mother with only milkless breasts to offer to a starving babe!" "Ah," he quickly retorted, "if we knew where she was, we should go to her and help her." "But," I said, "if careful enquiries were made, we should know where

she is, for she is close by and, alas, everywhere." [illegible] good food wasted at the public dinners and hôtel [illegible] every large American city to feed all the hungry. Well, a[illegible] is this: When, in thirty or forty years, we tell our grand o[illegible] grandchildren that, at the end of the nineteenth century [illegible] a sherbet "in order to cool ourselves so as to be able to [illegible] when, a few yards off, the most abject poverty was rampan[illegible] will not believe us; at any rate, they will not believe that [illegible] Christians. But, by that time, maybe, they will have st[illegible] new religion: the religion of Christ.

* * *

One of the causes of French cheerfulness is to be found [illegible] settling of the land question by the French Revolution, not [illegible] way I should like it to be, for I hold that the Earth was [illegible] for the human race, and not for a few privileged ones, even [illegible] few were many. Yet, for a hundred years the land in Fra[illegible] been marketable, with the result that we have a contente[illegible] antry, who own their bit of land, live in it and on it, and [illegible] themselves. If the land is not to be nationalized, at any [illegible] should not be meant to keep three kinds of people, landlor[illegible] do nothing for it, tenants who improve it for landlords, [illegible] borers who starve on it. However, as it is, we have a land [illegible] prietary, happy and contented.

Before the French Revolution the land belonged, as [illegible] in England now, to a few dukes, marquises and earls, who, [illegible] sess it, only took the trouble to be born. Their ancesto[illegible] been given that land as a reward, some for great services re[illegible] to King and country, others for some bellicose exploits that [illegible] probably be rewarded to-day with twenty years of penal ser[illegible] But those worthy ancestors of our dukes, marquises and ear[illegible] not given that land for nothing; they had some duties to p[illegible] in return. In time of war they had to levy troops at the[illegible] expense for the defence of the land against a foreign [illegible] That was the price for their tenure of the land. [illegible] ants went on keeping the land, but ceased to pay for its d[illegible] and the people found that they had to do this [illegible] price of their own starvation. The difference [illegible] of those ancestors and of their descendants is well [illegible] interesting and amusing incident in Voltaire's [illegible]

Voltaire had taken a box at the [illegible]

with delight, when the Duke of Lauzun, one of the worst libertines in the time of Louis XV., arrived and asked for a box. He was respectfully informed that all the boxes were taken. "That may be," he said, "but I see Voltaire in one, turn him out." In those times these things could happen, and Voltaire had to be turned out. No doubt he preferred that to being turned in-side the Bastille. He brought an action against the duke to recover the price he had paid for the box. "What!" exclaimed the advocate for the duke, "is it M. de Voltaire who dares to plead against the Duke of Lauzun, whose great-grandfather was the first to get on the walls of La Rochelle against the Protestants, whose grandfather took twelve cannons from the Dutch at Utrecht, whose father captured two standards from the English at Fontenoy, who——" "Oh, but excuse me," interrupted Voltaire in the court, "I am not pleading against the Duke of Lauzun who was first on the walls of La Rochelle, nor against the duke who took twelve cannons from the Dutch at Utrecht, nor against the duke who captured two standards from the English at Fontenoy; I am pleading against the Duke of Lauzun who never captured anything in his life except my box at the Opera." It seems to me that this is the whole thing in a nutshell. In spite of warnings coming from all sides, the aristocracy would not see what was going on around them and what was slowly, but surely, coming. The great preacher Massillon, ninety years before the Revolution, predicted the downfall of the nobles, but they took no heed. Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau, seventy years later, wrote books. [illegible] one that was called "*The Social Contract.*" The [illegible] laughed at it and called it a mere theory; but, as Car[illegible] in his own brutal way: "Their skins went to bind [illegible] of that book," their land was put up to auction [illegible] it. The aristocracy ceased to be a power [illegible]

[illegible] the French peasant was a sort of wild [illegible] with the sun, bound to the soil, which [illegible] an unflagging patience. At night he [illegible] on black bread, water and roots. No [illegible] was able to exclaim: "These peo[illegible] of sowing, digging and reaping, [illegible] that bread which they have grown." [illegible] in his own cottage and cultivates

his own field. His ideal of life is the independence which is the fruit of labor and economy. He is satisfied with very little in the days of his strength, because the prospect of eating his own bread near the door of his own cottage when his strength is gone makes him happy. So he works steadily, with a cheerful wife who is a true helpmate. She knows that her husband is not a gentleman, and she does not try to play the lady. She is not "at home" once a week, and does not indulge in the high handshake. She gets up at five in the morning to feed the pigs herself, and that is why the pigs in France look cheerful, too.

* * *

France has been fortunate in possessing a writer, the greatest and most influential French prose writer of the century, Ernest Renan, who made himself the apostle of the Gospel of Cheerfulness.

Ernest Renan has often been compared to Voltaire. Like him, he was trained under ecclesiastical influence and intended for the vocation of a priest. Like him, he was vaccinated, but, somehow, it did not take. Like Voltaire, he wrote the most easy, clear, limpid, logic prose, but there the resemblance ends. Voltaire enlightened the world by his profound learning, and entertained it by his marvellous cutting wit; but Renan improved it. The sneers and sarcasms of Voltaire often excited hatred; the kind and healthy writings of Renan excited love, and made people more happy and cheerful. Both are still called atheists by the bigots, as they were in their own times, but neither of them was. It was Voltaire who uttered the famous saying that "if God did not already exist, we should have to invent Him." As for Ernest Renan, certainly his God is not the small, petty, revengeful God that some narrow-minded pigmies have created in their own image, that God who spends His time in counting the hairs on the heads of the human race, but a great, good, merciful God, the God who commands us to love one another, the God of love, mercy and charity. Ernest Renan loved humanity with all its weaknesses, even *because* of its weaknesses. He held that people are often lovable on account of a hundred little failings and weaknesses. He sometimes pitied the world, but never scolded it. He was a great, gentle, lofty spirit, the greatest thinker and scholar of his time, who thought like a man, felt like a woman, sometimes acted like a child, and always wrote like an angel. Through his

genius the world has been made better and happier. He loved man, and improved the feelings of man toward man. He taught the world to be happy by tolerance and cheerful by moderation.

Ernest Renan had no patience with the idea, prevalent among self-made men, that their accumulation of wealth confers a benefit upon the community. Being convinced that money gained must be money lost by some one else, he despised greed. A like idea of political economy is very old-fashioned, but it is still prevalent among the inhabitants of Brittany, the birthplace of Renan, and, who knows ? human opinion will perhaps come back to it one day. In the meantime, Renan claims immunity for the Bretons, those survivors of an old world, in which this harmless error has kept alive the tradition of self-sacrifice, a race perfectly unfit for commerce, and whom we find in all the professions, doctors, sailors, soldiers, writers, a happy and cheerful race.

Renan dreaded for men the idea of a luxurious life. The cost of enjoyment in age is in abstemiousness in youth. Mr. John Ruskin says that it was the paucity of toys which made him enjoy pleasures late in life. His palate is now unimpaired because, as a child, he never had more than a taste of sweets. " I am cheerful," once wrote Renan, " because, having had few amusements when young, I have kept my illusions in all their freshness."

Cheerfulness depends upon illusions, upon not too rigorously determining to see all truths in life. Even superstition feeds cheerfulness, and should not be shunned like fanaticism, which kills it. Cheerfulness depends upon having beliefs, belief in friendship, belief in all that helps to make living beautiful, and the saddest experience in life is to be deceived and thereby lose a belief or an illusion. Children are happy and cheerful because they are full of illusions, of beliefs, and of confidence.

When we are told, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, that " except [illegible] little children, we shall not enter into the kingdom [illegible] I am disposed to thus interpret the verse: " Except [illegible] little children, confident, believing and unconscious [illegible] shall not be happy in this world." When I read: [illegible] poor in spirit, because they shall enter into the [illegible]" I feel disposed to say: " Happy are those [illegible] not to know all the truths in life, because [illegible] this world."

[illegible] to you: " Make money that you may

possess it; but do not aim at making too much, for fear it should possess you. Money cannot buy everything. It cannot buy health, life, or love. If you were a hundred times richer than you are, you could not multiply your wants and pleasures by one hundred. You could not eat or drink a hundred times more than you do now." There is truth and philosophy in that remark of the English drunkard staggering in the gutter: "If I was the blooming Dook of Westminster, I could—not—be—more—drunk—than —I—am." Renan would say to you, Don't take life too seriously, when you are old, you will remember life with pleasure only by the hundreds of little follies you have indulged in, by the hundreds of innocent little temptations you have succumbed to. Avoid perfect people and angels of all sorts—this side of the grave. Man will never be perfect; love him with all his imperfections. Never resist impulses of generosity, they will make you cheerful, nay, healthy. They will give color to your cheeks and prevent your flesh, in old age, from turning into yellow, dried-up parchment. Come home with pockets full of presents for the children. Let them put their little hands right to the bottom of those pockets. You will be repaid, amply repaid, by their holding out their little round faces, to thank you in anticipation of what they know you have done for them. That may be cupboard love —of course it is; every love, except a mother's, is cupboard love—never mind that: if you will make up your mind not to expect too much from man, you will be satisfied with getting what you can from children.

* * *

The most real, the sweetest pleasures in life are the pleasures of poverty.

There died, in Edinburgh, a few years ago, a cheerful, happy-looking old woman, who sold sweets to the children of the Cowgate, that wretched, squalid spot of the Scottish capital. Her whole stock was worth about a couple of shillings, and she once told me that when at the end of the day she had made six or eight pence profit she was quite satisfied. Alas, there are many children, in the Cowgate, who never felt in the hollow of their hands a half-penny or even a farthing, and who, on beholding the old woman's basket full of shiny white, pink and rose candies, would throw a side glance of envy and pass on, sad and dejected, or stop a few seconds, with their fingers in their mouths. Seldom

was a child, who could not afford to pay her, allowed to pass that basket without receiving one for love. One day, coming out of school, the children looked for the old woman in vain. She was dead. At her funeral, hundreds of barefooted little boys and girls in rags followed their departed friend down the Cowgate.

When that old woman arrived at the gates of Heaven, there were more angels to meet her and take her to the throne of the Almighty than there would be for the arrival of all the dukes in Christendom. If there are social sets in Heaven, I guess that old woman is a leader of fashion among the four-hundred there—or my idea of Heaven is altogether wrong.

MAX O'RELL.

Still, pure science is outside the domain of literature, and does not reflect a people's life and character as literature does. It does not hold the mirror of man's imagination up to nature, but resolves nature in the alembic of his understanding. It is not an exponent of personality, as art is, but an index of the development and progress of the impersonal reason. But when we enter the region of the sentiments and the emotions—the subjective world of criticism, literature, art—the case is different. Here we find reflected social and arbitrary distinctions; here we find mirrored the spirit and temper of men as they are acted upon and modified by the social organism and the ideals of different times and races. A democratic community will have standards of excellence in art and criticism differing from those of an aristocratic community, and will be drawn by different qualities. It seems to me that Dr. Triggs was quite right in saying that a criticism that estimates literary features according to absolute standards, that clings to the past, that cultivates the academic spirit, that is exclusive and unsympathetic, may justly be called aristocratic; and that a criticism that follows more the comparative method, that adheres to principles instead of to standards, and lays the stress upon the vital and the characteristic in a man's work, rather than upon its form and extrinsic beauty, is essentially democratic.

No doubt the ideal of the monumental works of antiquity is essentially anti-democratic. It was fostered by an exclusive [illegible]. It goes with the idea of the divine right of kings, of a privileged class, and is at war with the spirit of our times. The Catholic tradition in religion and the classical tradition in [illegible] are as foreign to the spirit of democracy as is the [illegible] tradition in politics. They are all branches from the [illegible]. The classical tradition begat Milton, but it did not [illegible], the most marvelous genius of the modern [illegible] the classic tradition, as it spoke through Voltaire, [illegible] barbarian. Indeed, Shakspere's art was es[illegible], how much soever it may have occupied it[illegible] aristocratic personages. It is as free as an [illegible] no tribute to classic models. Its aim is [illegible] and vitality, rather than outward har[illegible] Greek play is like a Greek temple— [illegible] beautiful. A play of Shakspere is,

as Dr. Johnson long ago suggested, more like a wood or a [
of free nature.

II.

Democratic and aristocratic may not be the best term
apply to the two opposing types of critics—men like Mat
Arnold or the French critic, Ferdinand Brunetière, on the
hand, both the spokesmen of authority in letters; and men
Sainte-Beuve and Anatole France, and the younger generati
English and American critics on the other, men who are
tolerant of individual differences and more inclined to seek
reason of each work within itself. Yet these terms indicate
well two profoundly different types.

Brunetière is a militant and dogmatic critic, as we sa
his severe denunciation of Zola while lecturing in this cou
last year. One of his eulogists speaks of him as the "aut
of triumphant convictions." Of democratic blood in his
there is very little. He reflects the old orthodox and aristoc
spirit in his dictum that nature is not to be trusted; that
in taste and in morals what comes natural to us and give
pleasure is, for that very reason, to be avoided. Nature is
praved. In morals, would we attain to virtue, we must go co
to her; and in art and literature, would we attain to wisdom
must distrust what we like. This suspicion of nature was
keynote of the old theology, which found its authority in a m
ulous revelation, and it is the keynote of the old Aristotelian
cism, which found its authority in a body of rules deduced
the masters. The new theology looks for a scientific basis fo
morals, or seeks for the sanction of nature herself; and d
cratic criticism aims to stand upon the same basis, and clea
principles and not to standards, not by yielding to the
prices of uninformed taste, but by seeking the law and
of every work within itself. We no longer judge of the wor
a man by his creed, but by what he is in and of himself; b
natural virtues and aptitudes, and we no longer condemn a
of art because it breaks with the old traditions.

Arnold was of similar temper with Brunetière. His [illegible]
of style are "dignity and distinction," a part of the [illegible]
dition, a survival from the feudal and aristocratic [illegible]
literature of courts and courtiers, as distinguished [illegible]
erature of the people, a democratic literature. [illegible]

utterance, distinction of manners, distinction of dress and equipage—they are all of a piece, and adhere in the aristocratic and monarchical ideal. The special antipathy of this ideal is the common; all commonness is vulgar. When Arnold came to this country and became interested in the lives of Grant and Lincoln, he found them both wanting in distinction—there was no savor of the aristocratic in their words or manners. And the criticism is true. From all accounts, Grant presented a far less distinguished appearance at Appomattox than did Lee; and Lincoln was easily outshone in aristocratic graces by some members of his cabinet. Indeed, the predominant quality of the two men was their immense commonness. Washington and Jefferson came much nearer the aristocratic ideal. Lincoln and Grant both had greatness of the first order, but their type was democratic and not aristocratic. The aristocratic ideal of excellence embraces different qualities; there is more pride, more exclusiveness in it; it holds more by traditions and special privileges. Lincoln had less distinction than Sumner or Chase, Grant less than Sherman or Lee, but each had an excellence the others had not. The choice, the refined, the cultured, belong to one class of excellencies; the qualities of Lincoln and Grant belong to another and more fundamental kind. Arnold himself had distinction; he had urbanity, lucidity, proportion, and many other classic virtues, but he had not breadth, sympathy, heartiness, commonness. The quality of distinction, an air of something choice, high-bred, [illegible] will doubtless count for less and less in a country like ours. In literature and in character we are looking for other [illegible] for the true, the vital, the characteristic. There is nothing [illegible] character more winsome than commonness wedded to [illegible]; the ordinary crowned with the extraordinary, as [illegible] the man, Socrates the philosopher, Burns or Wordsworth the poet. Distinction wins admiration, commonness wins [illegible] of equality, the democratic note, is much more [illegible] Browning than in Tennyson, in Shelley than in Wordsworth than in Milton, and it is more pro[illegible] poets than in English. In times and for [illegible] the suggestion of something hearty and he[illegible] needed than the suggestion of something [illegible] Distinction is not to be confounded with [illegible] flourishes more or less in all great

peoples. A common laboring man may show great dignity, but never distinction. Dignity often shone in the speeches of the old Indian chiefs, but not distinction.

The more points at which a man touches his fellow man, the more democratic he is. The breadth of his relation to the rest of the world, that is the test. Sainte-Beuve was more truly a democratic critic than is Brunetière. The democratic producer in literature will differ from the aristocratic less in his standards of excellence than in the atmosphere of human equality and commonness which he effuses. We are too apt to associate the common with the vulgar. There is the commonness of a Lincoln or a Grant, and there is the commonness of the lower strata of society. There is the commonness of earth, air and water, and there is the commonness of dust and mud; the commonness of the basic and the universal, and the commonness of the cheap and tawdry. Grant's calmness, self-control, tenacity of purpose, modesty, comprehensiveness of mind, etc., were uncommon in degree, not in kind. He was the common soldier with extraordinary powers added, but the common soldier was always visible. So with Lincoln, his greatness was inclusive, not exclusive.

III.

With some of Dr. Triggs' dicta I do not find myself in full accord. "With the standard of good taste," he says, "democracy has little to do." Yet one feels that democratic principles and usages must in some way be made to square with good taste and right reason. If they do not, then are not these principles discredited? Good taste, right reason, are grounded in the fitness of things. Democracy is also supposed to be grounded in the fitness of things. Can the two then be at war? The quiet, the decorous, the proper, the happy mean—are these things foreign to an ideal democracy? Are the loud, the bizarre, the tawdry, the "cheap and nasty," to be desired or looked for? Are not these last the accidents rather than the essentials of democratic conditions? Make prominent the people and you make prominent their vices and vulgarisms also. Cultivate the people, keep principles of good taste and right reason before them, and their vices and vulgarisms diminish. We cannot rise to excellence in anything if we lose sight of the "best." Standards must be kept high, or our achievements will fall low. If all cannot have the best, all can have the

good. In a world where everybody is educated and reads books, much poor literature will circulate, but will not the good, the best circulate also? Will there not be the few good judges, the saving remnant? Is there not as much good taste and right reason now in England or France as during more rigidly monarchical times?

The ideal democracy is not the triumph of barbarism, or the riot of vulgarity, but it is the triumph of right reason and natural equality and inequality. Some things are better than others, better from the point of view of the whole of life. These better things we must cling to and make much of in a democracy, as in an aristocracy. We must aspire to the best that is known and thought in the world. This best a privileged class seeks to appropriate to itself; a democracy seeks to share it with all. All are not capable of receiving it, but all may try. They will be better able to-morrow if they have the chance to-day. We must not ignore the vulgarity, the bad taste incident to democratic conditions. If we do, we never get rid of them. Political equality brings to the foreground many unhandsome human traits, the loud, the mediocre, the insolent, etc. All the more must we fix attention upon the true, the noble, the heroic, the disinterested. The rule of temperance, of good taste, of right reason, antedates any and every social condition. Democracy cannot abrogate fundamental principles. The essential conditions of life are not changed, but arbitrary, accidental conditions are modified. One still needs food and raiment and shelter and transportation; he is still subject to the old hindrances and discouragements within himself.

We must give the terms good taste, right reason, a broader [illegible] all. The principles of good taste when applied to [illegible] fixed and absolute, like those of mathematics or the [illegible] They are vital and elastic. They imply a certain [illegible]ency. Shakspere shocked the classic taste of the [illegible] He violated the unities and mixed prose and [illegible] was good taste in Shakspere—that is, in [illegible] and aim—might be bad taste in Racine. [illegible] elemental poet like Whitman would jar [illegible]llow. But bad taste in Whitman; that [illegible] with the ideal he has before him, jar the [illegible] He has many lines and passages and [illegible] many readers on edge, that are [illegible] and spirit. They go with the

poet of the Cosmos, but not with the poet of the drawing room or library. My taste is not shocked, but my courage is challenged. When, in one of the earlier editions of his poems, he said of the Brooklyn hills, "Bully for you!" he was guilty of bad taste, he used vulgar slang that had no meaning, as he himself saw later. I count him guilty of bad taste when he applies the word "meat" to the flesh of the human body, or when he said, "I cock my hat as I please, indoors and out," or when he addressed the earth as "old top knot," but not when he discarded the rules of prosody in his poetry. Here he was appealing to a more free, robust and open air taste. It was in keeping with the whole scheme of his work. Good taste is not in keeping the rule, but in being true to the life, in observing the true relativity of things. I count Dr. Holmes guilty of bad taste when, in a serious biographical work, he spoke of Emerson's mouth as a port of entry. I count Lowell guilty of bad taste when he said that Milton was about the only poet who ever got much poetry out of a cataract, and that was a cataract of the eye. Such things jar because they are incongruous. They are jokes out of season and out of place. To have good taste, in my meaning of the term, is to be able to perceive that which is æsthetically sound and true.

In Whitman's case the appeal is not so directly and exclusively to our æsthetic perceptions as it is by most other poets; he is elemental where they are cultured and artificial; at the same time he can no more escape æsthetic principles than they can. Because a flower, a gem, a well-kept lawn, etc., are beautiful, we are not compelled to deny beauty to rocks, trees and mountains. If Whitman does not, in his total effects, attain to something like this kind of beauty he is not a poet.

IV.

I have said that Sainte-Beuve was more truly a democratic critic than is M. Brunetière. He is more tolerant of individualism in letters. He called himself a naturalist of minds. His main interest in each work was in what was most individual and characteristic in it. He was inclusive rather than exclusive, less given to positive judgments, but more to sympathetic interpretation. He united the method of Darwin to the sensibility of the artist. Critics like Arnold and Brunetière uphold the classic and academic traditions. They are aristocratic because they are the spokesmen of an exclusive culture. They derive from Catholi-

cism more than from Protestantism; they uphold authority rather than encourage individuality in life and letters. In criticism they aim at that intellectual disinterestedness which is indeed admirable, and which has given the world such noble results, but which seems unsuited to the genius of our time. Ours is a democratic century, a Protestant century. Individualism has been the dominant note in literature. The men of power, for the most part, have not been the disinterested, but the interested men, the men of conviction and more or less practical views, who have not so much aimed to see the thing as it is in itself as they have aimed to make others see it as they saw it. In other words, they have been preachers, doctrinaires, men bent upon the dissemination of particular ideas.

One has only to run over the list of the foremost names in literature for the past seventy-five years. There is Tolstoi, in Russia, clearly one of the great world writers, but a doctrinaire through and through. There is Renan, Victor Hugo, Taine, Thiers, Guizot, in France; Wordsworth, Coleridge, Carlyle, Ruskin, Newman, Huxley, George Eliot, Mrs. Ward, in English literature, and in American literature Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau. All these men had aims ulterior to those of pure literature. They were not disinterested observers and recorders. They obtruded their personal opinions and convictions. They are the men with a message. Their thoughts spring from some special bent or experience, and address themselves to some special mood or want. They wrote the books that help us, that often come to us as a revelation; works of art, it may be, but of art in subjection to moral conviction and directed to other than purely æsthetic ends. They gave expression to their individual tastes and predilections; they were more or less tethered to their own ego, [illegible] be called the personal authors, as their predecessors may [illegible] impersonal. They are not of the pure breed of men [illegible] represent crosses of various kinds, as the cross of [illegible] thinker, the savan, the theologian, the man [illegible], the preacher, etc. These personal authors [illegible] world more than to the ancient—to a time [illegible] than to a time of institutionalism; to an [illegible] age, more than to an imperial and mili-[illegible]

[illegible] becoming more and more im-

The same is true of our own Emerson, probably our most stimulating and fertilizing mind thus far. Lowell, as a man of letters, is of a much purer strain; he is in the direct line of succession of the great literary names, yet the value of his contribution undoubtedly falls far short of that of Emerson. As a poet, Emerson was a poor singer with wonderfully penetrating tones, almost unequaled in this respect. The same may be said of him as a critic; he was a poor critic with a wonderfully penetrating glance. He had the hawk's eye for the game he was looking for; he could see it amid any tangle of woods or thicket of the commonplace. His special limitation is that he was looking for a particular kind of prey. His sympathies were narrow but intense. The elective affinities were very active in his criticism. He loved Emersonian poetry, he loved the Emersonian paradoxes, he valued the wild aeolian tones; he delighted in the word that gave the prick and sting of the electric spark; abruptness, surprise, the sudden, intense, forked sentence—these took him, these he dealt in. His survey of any man or matter is never a complete one, never a disinterested one, never done in the scientific spirit. He writes about representative men, and exploits Plato, Goethe, Montaigne, etc., in relation to his thought. He is always on quests for particular ideas, in search for Emersonian values. He will not do justice to such poets as Poe and Shelley, but he will do more than justice to Donne and Herbert; he finds in them what he sets out to find; it is a partial view, but it is penetrating and valuable; it is not criticism, and does not set out to be; it is a suggestive study of kindred souls. Emerson's work is kindling and inspiring; it unsettles rather than settles; it is not a lamp to guide your feet, it is a star to give you your bearings.

Carlyle and Ruskin fall into the same category. They sin against the classic virtues of repose, proportion, serenity, but this makes their penetrating power all the greater. Carlyle cannot rank with the great impartial historians, yet as a painter of historical characters and scenes the vividness and reality of his pictures are almost unequalled. Carlyle lacked the disinterestedness of the true artist. He had great power of description and characterization, but he could not as a historian stand apart from his subject as the great Greek and Roman historians do. He is a portion of all he sees and describes. He is bent upon persuasion quite as much as upon portrayal. He could not succeed as a

novelist or a poet because of his vehement; ... succeeds as an historian only in portraying men ... the lineaments of his own character, as in Cromwell. ... or could not live in the whole, as did his master, Goethe ... mind was a steep incline. His opinions were like ... rents. Arnold, in one of his letters, complained that in ... cism of Goethe there was too much of *engouement*—too ... suppose, of the fondness of the gourmand for a particular ... of the toper for his favorite tipple. His enthusiasm was i... ate, and therefore unsound. Doubtless some such obje... this may be urged against most of Carlyle's criticisms. ... ruled by his character more than by his intellect; his ... guided his vision. If he is not always a light to the reas... certainly an electric excitant to the imagination and th... sense. In his essays, pamphlets, histories, we hardly get ... estimates of things; rather do we get our estimates, o... estimates. Yet always is there something that kindles an... the blood to the surface. Carlyle will beget a stronger r... Arnold, but it will not be so cool and clear headed. Eme... fertilize more minds with new thought than Lowell, but t... be many more cranks and fanatics and hobbyists amon...

Prof. Dowden says Landor falls below Shelley and Wo... because he had no divine message or oracle to deliver to ... of his generation; no authentic word of the Lord to utter. ... had great thoughts, but they were not of first-rate importa... reference to his times. He was more thoroughly imbued ... classic spirit than either Shelley or Wordsworth, and th... spirit is at ease in Zion. The modern world differs f... ancient in its moral stress and fervor. This moral st... fervor both Shelley and Wordsworth shared, but Landor ... Where would the world be in thought, in words, in civi... had there been no one-sided, overloaded, fanatical ... partial views, half-truths, one idea? Where would Chr... have been, under the play of disinterested intellect, with... ples, without devotees, without saints and martyrs, wi... Paul and its Luther, without prejudice, without ... without inflexibility?

We might fitly contrast these two types of ... heads of Protestant and Catholic, the one ... personal. With the Protestant type, goes indivi...

have said, is so marked a feature of the modern world. With the Catholic type goes institutionalism, which was so marked a feature of the ancient world. With the former goes the right of private judgment, innovation, progress, new forms of art; with the latter goes authority, obedience, the power of the past. The Protestant type is more capricious and willful; it is restless, agitated, impatient of rules and precedents; the older type is more serene, composed, conservative, orderly. In criticism it is more objective; it upholds the standards, it lays down the law; it cherishes the academic spirit. The French mind is the more Catholic; the English the more Protestant. In literature the Protestant type is the more subjective and creative; it makes new discoveries, it founds new orders. Catholicism is exterior, formal, imposing; it takes little account of personal needs and peculiarities, while Protestantism is almost entirely concerned with the private interior world. Individualism in religion begat Protestantism, and upon Protestantism it begat the numerous progeny of the sects, the thousand and one isms that now divide the religious world. To this spirit religion is something personal and private to every man, and in no sense a matter of forms and rituals. In fact, individualism fairly confronts institutionalism. This spirit carried into the region of æsthetics or literature gives rise to like results, to a freer play of personal taste and preferences, to more intense individual utterances, to new and unique types of artistic genius, and to new lines of activity in the æsthetic field.

Another name for it is the democratic spirit. Its special dangers are the crude, the odd, the capricious, just as the danger of institutionalism is the coldly formal, the lifeless, exact. In English literature the former begat Shakspere, as it did Tupper; the latter begat Milton, as it did Young and Pollock. With institutionalism goes the divine right of kings, the sacredness of priests, the authority of forms and ceremonies, and the slavery of the masses; with individualism goes the divinity of man, the sacredness of life; the right of private judgment, the decay of traditions and forms and the birth of the modern spirit. With one goes stateliness, impressiveness, distinction, as well as the empty, the moribund, the despotic; with the other goes vigor, seriousness, originality, as well as the loud, the amorphous, the fanatical.

JOHN BURROUGHS.

that it shall move in the right direction—forward, and not backward.

Mr. McKinley has exhibited on more than one occasion the faculty of expressing great principles, and the motives underlying them, in the fewest possible words, and these terse sentences have in no wise diminished his reputation in this respect. In analyzing them we find that the subject matter has been disposed of in all of its many aspects. "The experiences of the last year bring forcibly home to us a sense of the burdens and the waste of war." "We" are the victorious nation; how, therefore, could "we" have felt this burden and waste? Did he not mean that those burdens have been felt by our conquered enemies instead of ourselves? Not at all. He meant exactly what he said.

We felt them because, as our commerce is far greater than that of Spain, we had to bear the risk of capture and pay for it, notwithstanding the remote chance of loss, and notwithstanding, as the result proved, the inability of our enemy even to capture merchantmen. Notwithstanding the remoteness of the risk, however, one well-known shipping firm in New York City paid during the brief period of war over sixty thousand dollars in war premiums, and the aggregate amount of such premiums, according to [illegible] well informed as to the actual facts, far exceeded the value of all the Spanish merchantmen captured by our Navy under the general rules of maritime warfare.

[illegible] it may be said, this was simply a payment by one class of [illegible] to another class; what was one man's loss was another's [illegible] no real or permanent loss resulted to the country [illegible]. This argument, however, will not hold, for in this case [illegible] were carried by foreign companies, and by far the [illegible] the enormous aggregate amount was paid by Ameri[illegible] in American money, to foreign corporations, and [illegible] a complete loss to our national wealth. Thus, even [illegible] in the war, and strangely fortunate in not losing [illegible] either merchant or naval, by capture or destruc[illegible] waste of war were daily brought home to us [illegible] manner.

[illegible] country in this respect are linked, as the [illegible] with those of other civilized nations, in [illegible] to the lowest possible point; this can [illegible] of the state of uneasiness and

apprehension into which an outbreak of
throws the entire commercial world.

Why should the commercial world still be hampered by
of warfare, as to maritime property, while the similar rules
property on land became obsolete years ago, and were super
by those more humane and sensible provisions which have
incorporated into the rules of war on land, of our own cou
in fact, of almost every country which claims to rank among
really civilized nations of the world?

The only reason is that, up to this time, no nation has
the courage and tenacity not only to express the desire that
existing right should be modified, but also to insist upon
modification as a part of the law of nations, and not of partic
conventions between individual states; and to effectively main
that the time has at last come when civilization and huma
demand that a lawful (for it is lawful, even though barbar
rule of war should be abrogated, although it may be appare
advantageous, from a naval and military point of view, to
of the nations which unselfishly offer to forego it, and which
that all the other civilized nations of the world will join
them in an act that is bound to mark an epoch in the advanc
civilization.

The statement that the desired object of minimizing, as f
possible, the inevitable loss and disturbance caused by war,
best be accomplished by an international agreement to rega
private property at sea as exempt from capture, is the
and, in fact, the only practicable, solution of the difficulty;
a few concise words the President has not only diagnos
trouble, but he has prescribed the remedy, and urged the
diate application thereof by the only power that can
so far as this country is concerned—Congress.

Already resolutions have been introduced in both
the Legislature, authorizing correspondence on this
Executive, through the regular and proper channels,
representatives of foreign powers, and providing for the
expense of an International Congress. The only
of properly and speedily arriving at an agreement
the desired reform is by formulating a universal
when ratified by the various governments
equally bind every one, so that any violation

ligerent will be an offense, not against the other warring power only, but against all the nations uniting in the convention.

It is earnestly hoped that these resolutions will be speedily adopted, so that the proposed congress can be held at an early date this year, if possible.

The attitude of the United States, which has been thus expressed by the Executive, is in exact accord with its position as expressed during the Confederation, in the treaty concluded in 1785 with Prussia by Benjamin Franklin; during the administration of President Monroe, three-quarters of a century ago, through John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State; by President Pierce and Secretary Marcy in 1854 and 1856; during Lincoln's administration by Secretary Seward in 1862. With such a clear record, there is every reason why this Government should now take the initiative in urging upon the world at large the adoption of a rule which it has always desired, but which, manifestly, it could not single-handed adopt or enforce.

We could not accede to the Declaration of Paris in 1856 because it abolished privateering at a period when we necessarily depended upon that form of naval protection for our very large merchant marine, and when our navy was abnormally small. President Pierce concisely and correctly formulated our position in this respect in his message of 1854, as follows:

> "The proposal to surrender the right to employ privateers is professedly founded upon the principle that private property of unoffending non-combatants, though enemies, should be exempt from ravages of war. . . . Should the leading powers of Europe concur in proposing as a rule of international law to exempt private property upon the ocean from seizure by public armed cruisers as well as by privateers, the United States will readily meet them upon that broad ground."

In the recent war with Spain we necessarily enforced the rule of capture, as there was no response to our proclamation that we would not resort to privateering; and, as the implied retention of that right by Spain rendered our commerce subject to capture, we were bound to reserve and exercise every right of war as against our enemies.

Grave questions also exist as to the propriety of the Government's abolishing this class of captures, and the resulting increase of pay of naval officers and seamen by the prize money resulting therefrom, without some proper arrangement in that respect in advance of a declaration of war. It is to the credit of our Navy,

ever, the commerce destroyers of the smaller [illegible] or destroy many merchant vessels of the larger [illegible] necessarily have far more opportunities to do so, on account of the great number of vessels scattered all over the world, while the more powerful nation will not be able to retaliate in the same manner, not from any weakness of its own, but on account of the fewness of its adversary's vessels.

Under existing rules, a great mercantile nation will also have to spread its navy around the whole world to protect its peaceful commerce, thus weakening it for coast defense, blockades and attacks upon the enemy's strongholds and navy. If private commerce were exempted, although the enemy's merchantmen could not be captured, the navy could concentrate its forces upon the other points of attack and defense much more effectually, and ultimately be of greater benefit than if it were partly employed in protecting its own citizens from individual losses, and hunting for spoils, with the hope of weakening the adversary's financial resources. The other European nations are generally in favor of the rule of exemption, with the possible, although by no means certain, exception of France, to whom, however, belongs the credit of having in 1823, during the then existing war with Spain, made the earliest recorded announcement, during war, that the right of capture of merchantmen would be waived (although the principle had been first adopted in theory by the United States and Prussia in 1785). Since then, however, her course has varied, and during the war of 1871 she refused to reciprocate the exemption offered by Germany as to private property, thus forcing the abrogation of the rule, as announced by Germany at the commencement of the war.

Germany is apparently in favor of reforming the rule, and local efforts are now being made to have the government take the matter up; but it is trusted that this country will have the credit at the present time of taking the lead in this step, not only as to the suggestions already made, but as to the complete consummation so earnestly desired.

Italy is already bound to accede, as the rule is part of [illegible] and military law, and has also been embodied in [illegible] eral powers, including the United States. A[illegible] the last thirty-five years, at least twice, [illegible] erty, once in a war with Italy and once in a [illegible]

Russia is to some extent committed to the rule, as it is a step toward that universal peace which the Czar has asked all of his fellow sovereigns to assist him in obtaining by reducing the armaments of Europe.

All of the South American states will doubtless be eager for the adoption of the rule, and will gladly enter the conference. Bolivia, although hardly a maritime power, has already, in a treaty with the United States, provided for the adoption of this rule.

The nations of the East, China and Japan, are in such positions, both as to their navies and their commerce, that the rule of exemption will have far greater advantages than the right of capture, and they will doubtless gladly favor any measure which will definitely establish the rule.

Under all the existing circumstances, therefore, this is the most opportune time for the assembling of an international convention to consider the subject, and it is eminently proper that it should be held in this country, and at the seat of our Government.

Congress should not hesitate either to clothe the Executive with authority to enter into correspondence with the governments of the principal maritime nations, as suggested by the President, or to appropriate the necessary funds to defray the expenses of the International Congress as soon as the invitations are accepted, and the preliminaries arranged. It is of the utmost importance that there should be no delay, for the subject might be taken up and carried out by some other government, as soon as the consummation appears inevitable, and we should then be deprived of the honor and credit to which we are rightfully entitled, as the first nation to suggest the reform after the matter had lain dormant for a quarter of a century.

CHARLES HENRY BUTLER.

THE POWERS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

BY MILTON H. SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD.

IN an article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, Mr. Charles A. Prouty, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, presents an ingenious argument in favor of certain demands which the Commission has assiduously pressed upon Congress for the last year or two.

Mr. Prouty strives to show that the rate-making power desired by the Commission is not a rate-making power; but he admits that the power "certainly is great." The best way to ascertain just what this power is, is to take the precise language of the Cullom Bill, which represents exactly what the Interstate Commerce Commission proposes. After providing for a hearing, this proposed amendment reads as follows:

> "If the Commission is of the opinion that the rates, fares, or charges, as filed and published, or the classification, or the privileges, facilities and regulations published in connection therewith are unreasonable or otherwise in violation of law, it shall determine what are and will be reasonable and otherwise lawful rates, fares, charges, classification, privileges, facilities or regulations, *and shall prescribe the same, and shall order the carrier or carriers to file and publish, on or before a certain day, to take effect on a certain day, schedules in accordance with the decision of the Commission.* . . .
>
> "A rate, fare, or charge established by the order of the Commission shall not be increased, nor shall a classification, privilege, facility or regulation so established be departed from, without the consent of the Commission, granted upon application of the carrier after due notice and upon full hearing."

This language certainly speaks for itself and leaves nothing to implication. Mr. Prouty argues upon the assumption that the Commission can take action only upon a sworn complaint, but

the act permits the Commission to originate these proceedings without any complaint whatever. The Commission may thus proceed on its own motion and bring before it in one proceeding as many carriers as it may choose, and change as many rates, fares, charges, classifications, privileges, facilities and regulations as it may wish, and prescribe the same, and order the carriers to file and publish on or before a certain day, to take effect on a certain day, schedules in accordance with the decision of the Commission. This is tremendous power, and there is no ground for believing that it would be sparingly or cautiously exercised, for, in the Cincinnati and Chicago Freight Bureau cases, the Commission made orders directly affecting about thirty carriers, requiring very material changes in rates on several thousand commodities from Chicago and Cincinnati to eight important commercial centres in the Southern States, thereby radically changing the entire rate situation as to all south-bound traffic in the territory between the Atlantic and Mississippi, and even further West.

Under the most drastic State Commission laws, the Commissions are authorized to make schedules of charges and reasonable rates of transportation. If the Interstate Commerce Act is amended, as desired by the Commission, that Commission will [illegible] the same power. The carrier will have to file all of [illegible] rates with the Commission; the Commission will in- [illegible] rates; if it believes them reasonable it will not change [illegible] it will. A hearing and an investigation are pro- [illegible] that does not affect the power. The most sovereign [illegible] is presumed to act only upon investigation, and [illegible] to give the carrier a hearing. Under the plan [illegible] Commerce Commission, its orders can go into [illegible] to any judicial tribunal for their enforce- [illegible] made by the most thorough-going rate-mak- [illegible] have no greater effect than that. Under [illegible], the rates made by the most powerful [illegible] by the Legislatures themselves, are suscepti- [illegible] confiscatory in character, and under the [illegible] by the Interstate Commerce Commis- [illegible] that the railroads can expect no relief [illegible] of the rates made by the Commis- [illegible] that the rates are confiscatory [illegible] Annual Report, the Commission

admits that the right of review which it proposes would probably embarrass the practical operation of the [illegible] words, it would not embarrass the Commission in [illegible] rate-making in which it will engage if this power [illegible] upon it.

Railroad commissions can be of but two sorts: First, which are designed to enforce the law, by instituting [illegible] and by assisting complainants against the railways [illegible] courts and out; and, second, those which, in fact, are [illegible] to take charge of the traffic departments of the railroads [illegible] rates for them. No one can read the debates in Congress [illegible] being convinced that the Interstate Commerce Commission [illegible] intended to be simply of the first-named class. The [illegible] now is to change the Commission entirely by putting it [illegible] second class, and to constitute it thereby the virtual [illegible] ager of all the railways in the United States.

The amendments sought by the Commission involve [illegible] change in the policy of the law. The purpose of the [illegible] terstate Commerce Act was summed up by the Select Co[illegible] of the Senate in its report submitted with the bill, [illegible] some modifications, was finally enacted, as follows:

> "The provisions of the bill are based upon the theory that [illegible] mount evil chargeable against the operation of the transportation [illegible] of the United States as now conducted is unjust discrimination [illegible] persons, places, commodities or particular descriptions of traffic. [illegible] derlying purpose and aim of the measure is the prevention of [illegible] criminations, both by declaring them unlawful and adding to the [illegible] now available for securing redress and enforcing punishment, [illegible] requiring the greatest practicable degree of publicity as to the [illegible] cial operations and methods of management of the carriers."

In speaking of discriminations between persons [illegible] ated, the Committee said:

> "This is the most flagrant and reprehensible form of [illegible] crimination. Individual favoritism is the greatest evil [illegible] the management of the transportation system of the United [illegible]

Traffic evils are of three kinds: First, discrimination [illegible] dividuals at the same locality; second, discrimination [illegible] ferent localities; third, excessive rates. The Interstate [illegible] Act was evidently designed to correct the first [illegible] of these evils, and especially the first class. [illegible] evils could hardly have been said to exist as [illegible] Rates in general were extremely low when [illegible]

after that was passed. If any particular rates were too high they were out of line with the general adjustment, and, therefore, considered unjust discriminations. The Commission now proposes to reverse the plan of the Act, and to make of paramount importance the correction of excessive rates, an object which was considered of very slight moment at the time of the passage of the act, and which is still less important now.

Congress prohibited charging more for a short haul than for a long haul under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, but gave the Commission power to afford relief from the operation of the law in special cases. Even that qualifying power of relief was strenuously resisted in Congress, as giving too much power to the Commission. But now the Commission proposes to repeal the long and short haul law, and enact in its stead a provision that the Commission may, when it thinks proper, order carriers not to charge more for short than for long hauls; in other words, instead of a qualified power of relief from the long and short haul law, the Commission is to be allowed to make long and short haul laws at will, varying such laws in different sections to suit its views.

The same idea of completely reversing the whole policy of the act is exhibited in many other respects, and especially in the proposed change in the method of procedure, whereby the Commission's orders are to be made self-executing.

Such far-reaching powers ought never to be granted without [illegible] necessity, and there is, in fact, no necessity for granting [illegible]. They are not needed to correct the only real evil of the [illegible] at present, which is discrimination between indi[illegible] the same locality.

[illegible] of the powers demanded which would affect [illegible] between localities is the power to pre[illegible] rate. But this power is not needed, and it [illegible] dangerous power to confer upon the Com[illegible] railroads, either separately or through any [illegible] adjust their rates as to discriminate against [illegible] in favor of another, the law as it is [illegible] for correcting that discrimination. [illegible] decision of Judge Severens in the [illegible] court decreed the enforcement of [illegible] prohibiting what the Commission

Cleveland to New Orleans is higher than oil, and intimates that the Commission wants to raise the rate on petroleum from Chicago to the end that Cleveland may be put on the same The law, as it stands at present, affords ample oppor- any injury which may result in any quarter from proper adjustment of the rates referred to; it prohibits any unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular of traffic or the subjecting of any particular descrip- traffic to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disad- Therefore, if the rate on petroleum from Chicago to ought to be no lower than the rate on linseed oil articles of the same class from Chicago to New Orleans, can readily correct that inequality. On the other the rate on petroleum from Cleveland to New Orleans be no higher than the rate on linseed oil and other sim- from Cleveland to New Orleans, then the Com- correct that inequality. If, however, the Chicago- railroads give Chicago a favorable rate, and do not against any other place on their lines, or description of traffic, it would be an unwarranted inter- the Commission to increase that rate (with the result increase in the rate from other points on the New Orleans), simply because some other railroad part of the country charges a higher rate on the

asked by the Commission needed to pre- It will be admitted that no radical and dan- should be made to correct an evil unless it is is, however, that the evil of excessive considered in and of themselves, is not only no existence whatever. Rates in low basis, and, if any rates are with the general rate adjustment, corrected as unjust discrimina- complaints as to rates are based unjust and unreasonable in too high as compared with hearing before the Senate on March 18, 1898, Mr.

Martin H. Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, stated that "the question of excessive ... say, railroad charges which in and of themselves are ... is pretty nearly an obsolete question." It would ... act of folly to revolutionize the Interstate Commerce Com... and change it from a useful auxiliary tribunal into an ... with almost unlimited power over the railroads and over t... merce of the country, in order to remedy something wh... Chairman of that Commission admits is practically obsol...

Of course, it is possible to pick out particular instances ... plaints as to excessive rates, but those complaints involve ... idea of an unjust discrimination between localities, and ... is really any foundation for them, they are susceptible of ... tion on that basis. The very complaint selected by Mr. ... as an illustration, the one as to grain rates from Sioux ... Chicago, charges that the rates in question are unjust dis... tions in favor of other localities, and in favor of other ... tions of traffic; being so, they can be corrected under the l... stands. Moreover, the mere possibility of such compla... even occasional instances, cannot be any excuse for a rad... novation in the Interstate Commerce Act. Such instan... isted when the Interstate Commerce Act was passed cert... as great an extent as now, but that fact was not deemed ... to justify making the machinery for their correction ... central feature of the law.

Mr. Prouty himself emphasizes the fact that if excessi... exist they amount to unjust discriminations; for he ... while many rates are too low, others are too high, and ... individual is making good the loss incurred by the ... service of some other individual. Such a case is a ... unjust discrimination or undue preference, and the ... affords ample opportunity for its correction. Mr. ... ever, falls into the very peculiar error of supposing ... ways engage in transportation to or from com... an actual loss. Railways never engage in ... they know, or have reasonable ground to believe ... is true they frequently transport competitive ... less than non-competitive traffic, but this is ... ground that the railway has to be maintained ... the transportation of the non-competitive ...

[illegible] will be virtually the same whether the competitive traffic is hauled or not, and, therefore, any earnings from competitive traffic will be so much additional help toward paying the expenses which must be incurred in any case. The competition which the railway cannot control merely compels the carriage of the competitive traffic to be done at the low rate, or not at all.

Mr. Prouty points out that some court has held that the published rate is presumptively a reasonable rate, and that the shipper cannot maintain an action to recover any part of that rate which he has paid, and hence he deduces the conclusion that as the law stands to-day there is absolutely no remedy for the exaction of an unreasonable freight charge. Theoretically, a right of action has always existed at common law in all the States of this Union to recover such portion of the carrier's rate as was in excess of a just and reasonable compensation for the service, and in none of those States has it been held that a recovery is precluded by the fact that the rate charged was duly published; yet, in all the reports of all the courts of this country, there can be found hardly a case seeking to enforce that common law right.

In answer to the argument that the power is a tremendous one, and, therefore, should not be vested in any tribunal, Mr. Prouty inquiries: "Shall a wrong be unrighted because it is a great wrong? When an individual or an industry or a locality finds itself in the tightening coils of a railway corporation, shall there be no relief?" The point is, however, that the wrong which [illegible] this great rate-making power could be intended to correct, instead of being a great wrong, is, as a practical matter, no wrong [illegible] excessive rates in and of themselves are practically [illegible] this day. If an individual, or an industry, or a locality [illegible] unfortunate as to find himself or itself in the tight[illegible] of a railway corporation, the present law affords ample [illegible] distressing situation. Mr. Prouty seems to be [illegible] that it is the business of railway companies [illegible] activity; in other words, that railways, whose [illegible] depends upon industrial prosperity, are constantly [illegible] act of destroying that prosperity.

[illegible] of transportation in the territory roughly [illegible] Ohio and Potomac, and east of the Mis[illegible] have been created, so far as inter[illegible] the close of the Civil War. It is

a territory surrounded and penetrated by water transport
lines. The difficulties in adjusting the rates of transporta
under the conditions that have existed, have been exceedi
great. Much time and labor have been devoted to the secu
of a proper adjustment, with, it is believed, reasonable su
Manufacturing has been developed, and with great rapidity,
ing the last twelve or fifteen years. Manufactories of cotton
ries are increasing rapidly and in successful operation.
production of coal and iron, also, has been largely increased.
manufacture of steel, on a large scale, is about to be inaugur
That development could not have been secured if the Inter
Commerce Commission during all that period had enjoyed th
sition, which it now seeks to obtain, of Traffic Manager and (
mercial Arbiter, and had acted on the principles which it has
sistently tried to force on the carriers of that section.

It is pertinent to inquire whether the Interstate Comn
Commission, charged as it already is with multifarious duties,
be able to grasp all the countless details pertaining to the in
variety of traffic passing over 180,000 miles of railroad in
United States..

In this connection, the oft-quoted opinion of the Commis
delivered soon after its formation by its then Chairman, J
Cooley, in discussing the impracticability of determining in
vance when railroads should and should not charge more f
short than for a long haul, becomes interesting:

> "The Commission would, in effect, be required to act as rate-mak
> all the roads, and compelled to adjust the tariffs so as to meet the exig
> of business, while at the same time endeavoring to protect the relative r
> and equities of rival carriers and rival localities. This in any conside
> State would be an enormous task. In a country so large as ours, and
> so vast a mileage of roads, it would be superhuman. A construction c
> statute which should require its performance would render the du
> ministration of the law altogether impracticable; and that fact tends str
> to show that such a construction could not have been intended."

It is contended by Mr. Prouty that, in the popular appre
sion, the Commission always possessed the power which it no
mands. Although the Commission's demands have already
sulted in widespread discussion in the journals of the day,
will undoubtedly create prolonged and interesting debates in
gress, one may read from one end to the other of the long de
upon the subject of the regulation of interstate commerce pr
ing the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law, and

[illegible] to this rate-making power which the Commission [illegible] it was always understood to have. The debates on the subject in the 48th and 49th Congresses cover over 2,000 pages. The portion of the debates reasonably relating to the subject of rate-making could all be put within the limits of 30 pages, and the scattering references to the subject in the debates show that, almost without exception, all the Senators and Representatives who referred to that point understood that the bill conferred no rate-making powers. Congress had no thought of conferring upon the Commission the power to fix rates, and no bill conferring that power could have been passed.

The Select Committee of the Senate declared the fixing of rates by legislation to be impracticable, and added:

"Those who have asked the adoption of this plan of regulation have [illegible] the establishing of rates by a commission; but it is questionable whether a commission or any similar body of men could successfully perform a work of such magnitude, involving, as it would, infinite labor and investigation, exact knowledge as to thousands of details, and the adjustment of a vast variety of conflicting interests."

The Commission, in 1887, declined in a certain case to fix rates, saying:

"It is, therefore, impossible to fix them in this case, even if the Commission had the power to make rates generally, which it has not. Its [illegible] in respect to rates, is to determine whether those which the roads [illegible], for any reason, in conflict with the statute."

[illegible], however, the Commission changed its mind, and, [illegible] Chicago and Cincinnati Freight Bureau cases above re[illegible] made an attempt "to make rates generally," and it [illegible] that it always claimed, and that practically everybody [illegible] it had the power which it sought to exercise in the [illegible]

[illegible] Jackson declared that it was unnecessary to dis[illegible] Congress over the subject of interstate rates, [illegible] law does not undertake to prescribe any[illegible] subject than that they shall be reasonable and [illegible]

[illegible] says that the carriers suggested no [illegible] of the Commission in these respects for [illegible] existence. In 1891, the Commission's [illegible] challenged in an answer filed in [illegible] Railroad Co., setting up expressly as [illegible] no power to make rates.

In the latter part of 1892, or early in 1893, the
Commission to make rates was raised in a case in the
States Circuit Court in Georgia. The point was made in
case when it got to the Supreme Court, and was decide
the Commission. There was not, therefore, the prolon
general acquiescence which the Commission would indica
assumption of power to make rates for the railroads.

Moreover, an acquiescence in a comparatively modest
tion of authority can have no bearing when a much more
usurpation is made. Although at first the Commissio
tures in rate-making were what might be termed comp
modest, the encroachment gradually but steadily increase
Commission's first experiment in rate making was in 1
change of a single rate on a single commodity (the rate
from Walla Walla, in Washington Territory, to Portland,
after an elaborate and painstaking investigation. It wa
step from this act to its act in 1891, when, admittedly
thorough investigation and upon the examination of a si
ness, the Commission made a very material reduction in
on several hundred commodities from Cincinnati to Atla
reduced those rates to a point even lower than that with
was reasonable. The courts declined to enforce this ill-co
action of the Commission. It was still another long ste
Commission's action in 1894, whereby it made most
changes in rates on several thousands of commodities fr
cago and Cincinnati to eight important cities in four of t
cipal Southern States, thereby rendering imperative a
readjustment in practically all the rates on south-bound
all the territory east of, and in a portion of the territory
the Mississippi River. This action, likewise, the court
to enforce, holding that the Commission had no

The mere fact, therefore, that the commerce of
was not dried up nor its energies prostrated by the
rate-making power by the Commission during the
of its existence, is not, as Mr. Prouty seems to think,
that no evils will result from granting practically
making power to the Commission. From com
ginnings, the Commission was just getting
criminate rate-making when checked by the
quently, serious evils were averted.

One of the powers now demanded, which is especially dangerous to the commerce of the country, is the power to prescribe minimum rates so as to carry out the Commission's views as to the comparative commercial and industrial advantages which places ought to enjoy. This plan of constituting the Commission the arbiter of commerce, so that it can decide what cities in this country are entitled to advantage over other cities, and enforce those decisions by increasing the rates to the cities now having the lowest rates, is something new.

Another power, which even now the Commission does not claim it ever had, or was ever thought to have, and which would be a complete revolution in the system devised by Congress, is the power to render decrees which can take effect without any resort to the courts. Mr. Prouty refrains from emphasizing this demand, although it has been as vigorously assailed as any other.

The Interstate Commerce act clearly shows that it was not intended to give to the Commission any independent power whatever. It was evidently designed as a tribunal to assist in the enforcement of the law, by conducting investigations and rendering findings which would constitute a *prima facie* case, upon which findings the complainant could go into court, or the Interstate Commerce Commission itself for the complainant could go into court and seek the enforcement of the law.

The Select Committee of the Senate, in its report above referred to, said of the Commission:

> "[illegible] designed and believed to be a valuable auxiliary agency in facili[illegible] the enforcement of whatever regulations may be pre[illegible] Congress. . . . Unless the commission itself be constituted a [illegible] the Committee does not consider expedient, the final determi[illegible] proceedings instituted under any laws that may be [illegible] rest with the courts of the United States."

[illegible] in Congress show that the Commission's advo[illegible] understood its functions.

[illegible] United States Circuit Court, through Judge [illegible]

> [illegible] in detail the provisions of the law, we are clearly of [illegible] is vested with only administrative powers [illegible], which fall far short of making the board [illegible] in the proper sense of the term. The Commis[illegible] upon complaints made before them in[illegible] of duty under the act; but subsequent [illegible] and provided for, as the remedy for [illegible] the party interested, of its order or re-

...and it should, therefore, be as carefully ... To exercise such powers, it should ... with no duties which would tend, even in ... to impair the judicial temper of the tribunal. ... supervises various details in railway opera... accounting. It has inquisitorial powers to de... of the law, and may cause prosecutions to be in... such violations. It may institute on its own ... its own name, complaints before itself, and it ...ed to hear and determine them. Thus, not only ...on in some respects a sort of railway superintend... railway accountant, but it may in the same matter ...rosecutor, plaintiff and court. To ask that its ... made under such circumstances, shall take effect ...essity of any resort to any really judicial tribunal ...ement, is nothing short of preposterous.

...sion is irresistibly forced upon the mind of any ...nt of the situation that the magnitude of the pow... cannot be exaggerated, that they are absolutely un... that to grant them would give the Commission ... power of interference with the commerce of ...

... in concluding his remarks, makes an unfair and ... a portion of my testimony before the Com... impracticable to set out in full all of the testi... the point in question. That testimony was ... hearing before the Commission on petitions by ... extensions of time within which to comply with ... the Act of March 2, 1893, requiring interstate ... their cars with automatic couplers and air ... reasons in support of the Louisville & Nash... ...y's petition, I had assigned the financial ... existed for several years, and also expressed ... earnings on account of prospective leg... ... detrimental. The Commission seized ... to interrogate me at large upon the ... to elicit my views relative to giving ... rates. In response to these ... that the people of the country ... well, and could and did

adjust these matters to their mutual satisfaction. Commissioner Prouty submitted a supposed case of an unreasonable rate on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. I insisted that there were no unreasonable rates on that road; that all of the rates were within the charter limits of the corporation and very much less, probably one-half, and in some instances not twenty-five per cent., of such charter rates, which the Legislature had fixed upon as reasonable and fair; that the fact that the rates were, perhaps, one-third of what they were originally, and one-tenth of what it would cost the shipper if he did not have the railroad, was evidence of the reasonableness of the rate, and it was necessarily to the interest of the company to keep rates reasonable, in order to retain and develop traffic. I admitted the propriety of the law prohibiting unjust discrimination, but reiterated that the rate-making power ought not to be invested in the Commission because, practically, there were no unreasonable rates, and that the mere possibility of the existence of an unreasonable rate was no reason for turning over to the Commission the making of rates for the railroads, unless governmental paternalism was to be extended over everybody for protection from possible injustice.

This very investigation emphasized in a striking way what seems to me to be the complete lack of judicial temper on the part of the Commission. The Commission was sitting for the purpose of discharging a highly important and responsible statutory duty relating to automatic couplers and air brakes; yet the minds of the Commission were so bent upon obtaining greater power, that they could not resist the temptation to branch off into a lengthy discussion on that topic, which had no possible relation to the subject upon which they were engaged. Four members of the Commission took part in this discussion, stating in the form of questions every argument which they could conceive to sustain the propriety of their demands. It may be doubted whether a tribunal, incapable under such circumstances of adhering to the serious work before it, and indulging instead in lengthy argument with a witness, on the policy of extensive legislation desired by the tribunal on an entirely different matter, can safely be made the repository of the almost unlimited powers which are now sought.

MILTON H. SMITH.

THEOLOGY AND INSANITY.

BY JOHN H. GIRDNER, M.D.

A SHORT time ago the Bishop of Rochester delivered a lecture to the students of St. Thomas' Hospital, London, on the subject of religion and insanity. The bishop was at great pains to combat and disprove the popular idea that religion is, or has been in the past, one of the principal exciting causes of insanity. He declared, among other things, that "religion is a force which makes for sanity."

Everyone who has had experience in the care and treatment of the insane, and who is familiar with the history of this branch of medical science, will agree with the bishop that the true religion of kindness, sympathy and love, as taught by Christ, is a powerful force, which makes always for mental peace and sanity. The beautiful and simple accounts in the New Testament of the so-called casting out of devils, illustrate the power by which Jesus of Nazareth soothed perturbed minds by His presence, and quelled outbursts of disordered brains by His words.

There is, however, as the bishop intimates, an opinion abroad that religion has in some way been an important factor in dethroning human reason; and the expressions, "religious mania" and "religious insanity" are met with sufficiently often throughout all literature to justify the prevalence of this idea. But a careful study of the history of mental diseases amply proves that not the religion of Christ, but the theologies of man, have caused so many minds to give way and develop settled delusions and hallucinations of a so-called religious type. The Christian religion has been charged with producing insanity, because of the very common mistake of confounding the two very dissimilar terms, viz., religion and theology.

The doctrine of diabolical agency in mental diseases is to be

found in all the sacred literatures of the Orient, especially Persian theology, where the idea is most fully developed, taught by the heathen nations around them, it had its full on the Jewish writers. Hence, we find it firmly establ in the Old Testament. The same theory of direct Satani fluence or possession passed on into the New Testament.

The miracles of healing which were performed by the M and His Apostles, seem to indicate that it was the custo diagnose those cases of disease which presented no patholo changes in the body appreciable by the senses as cases of session by one or more devils, or evil spirits or unclean spirits the act of restoring them to health was viewed as a casting o these spirits. In this group was naturally included most dis of the brain and of the nervous system; for these are either tional—that is, they have no morbid anatomy at all—o changes are only to be detected after death and by micros examination.

On the other hand, those cases whose diseases could be nosed by the symptoms they presented, or by the patholo changes in some portion of the body that were apparent t senses, were said to be sick, the diagnosis was given by si naming the disease, and the act of restoration to health in cases was called healing. Luke was a physician, and pro ably knew more about the nature of the diseases of those applied to the Master and His disciples than any of the tw The first miracle of healing recorded in the Gospel by L the case of the leper.

"Behold a man full of leprosy; who, seeing Jesus, fell on his fa besought Him, saying, 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.'
"And He put forth His hand, and touched him, saying, 'I will clean.' And immediately the leprosy departed from him."*

Luke diagnoses this case as leprosy, a common d estine, and one with which we are familiar in the account of this miracle emphasizes the influence wh trines and theories of the Old Testament had Moses taught that leprosy was unclean, his law, lepers were unclean persons and had camp of Israel. The Mosaic classification by the patient, in this case, for he asks to be

*Luke, v., 12-13.

Saviour Himself seems to fall into the custom, for He says: "I will; be thou clean." In other places in the New Testament leprosy is referred to as a spirit of uncleanness.

The second miracle of healing recorded by Luke is more directly applicable to our subject.

> "And, behold, men brought in a bed a man which was taken with a palsy; and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before Him.
> "And when they could not find by what way they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went upon the house top, and let him down through the tiling with his couch into the midst before Jesus."*

After some discussion with those present, Jesus said to the patient with palsy: "Arise, and take up thy couch, and go unto thine house." And the man did as he was told. Here we have the diagnosis of palsy. Now palsy is paralysis, complete or partial, of some portion of the muscular system, due always to disease or injury of the brain or nervous system. In this case the disease or injury to the brain or nervous system was of such a nature and location that it affected only the nerves of motion, and rendered it impossible for the man to walk. This was not a case of possession by a devil or evil spirit; it was a simple case of palsy, as all could see. Suppose the disease or injury to the brain or nervous system had been of such a character, or so located, as to have caused convulsions or mental derangement, without any physical signs which Luke could see with his naked eye; by all precedent, his case would have been regarded as one of possession by devils or evil spirits, and his restoration by the Master would have been recorded as the casting out of these devils.

Again, we read in the fourteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel of a man who came to Jesus, "who had the dropsy" "and he took him, and healed him." To say a man has dropsy conveys [illegible] of his condition, as dropsy is only a symptom [illegible] by a number of diseased conditions. And so [illegible] accumulating facts showing how little accu- [illegible] be obtained from the Gospels of the ail- [illegible] restored to mental and physical health [illegible] dwelt among men in the flesh.

[illegible] firmly believed that all forms of in- [illegible] catalepsy were not diseases at all,

but cases in which the devil or his imps had taken possession of the individual, with or without the individual's consent. And their bodies having become a tabernacle for the devil, they were ostracised by society and the church. Not only were these unfortunates who suffered from mental and nervous diseases ostracised, but the church went further, and attempted to cast out the indwelling demon by all manner of physical punishment and tortures.

As theology became more firmly established and supported by governmental power, "the possessed" were more and more severely dealt with; and the doctrine that cruelty to madmen was punishment of the devil dwelling within, became more widely disseminated and believed. Nor did any relief come to these unfortunates as a result of the Reformation. Martin Luther, Calvin, and the other leaders of the new theology were, if anything, more pronounced in their persecution of these "devils incarnate" than the Church of Rome had been.

No effectual check was put to the theological doctrine of diabolical possession of the insane and those suffering from kindred diseases of the nervous system, until about the middle of the eighteenth century. A declaration was passed by the Parliament of Paris in 1768 that possessed persons were to be considered as simply diseased. And as the power of the governments of Christian nations was withdrawn from the support and enforcement of the theological doctrine of diabolical possession, medical science, enlightened by the spirit of truth, gradually demonstrated, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that insanity and all such affections were the result of natural diseases or injuries of the brain and nervous system, and that persons so afflicted were entitled to the same treatment as though they suffered from disease of the heart, lungs, or any other organ of the physical body.

But the battle for the insane was not yet won. It is true that theology retired from the field, tacitly at least admitting the error of its former position.

But mystery and superstition still surrounded the insane. They were no longer exorcised and punished as devils, but their misfortunes now took the form of neglect. An insane person was far from being considered a simply sick person by his friends and the public generally.

As time passed, public and private charities became more numerous and more lavish in their expenditures for the establishment of hospitals and infirmaries for the care and treatment of the poor suffering from every kind of disease, except those diseases of the brain known as insanity. From the time when the theory of diabolical possession ceased to hold sway, up to within the past few decades, the destitute insane were as a rule turned over to the tender mercies of the county jailer. They were imprisoned in filthy cells, often in chains, and in the matter of food and general attention treated far worse than if they had been wild beasts. This was not the universal custom, for very soon after insanity was admitted to be a disease some states and nations provided asylums for their pauper insane. But even these were far from what they should have been or what lunatic asylums are to-day. Indeed, the history of insanity during this period furnishes chapters of neglect and cruelty almost as shocking as are to be found in the annals of the period when the theological doctrine of diabolical possession prevailed.

Insanity is now recognized as a disease which is the result of some functional or organic disturbance of the brain, or of some injury or malformation of that organ. Be it said to the everlasting credit of medical science that it has rescued the whole subject of the diseases of the brain and nervous system from the region of myth and superstition, and placed it on a scientific plane along with the other diseases and injuries to which human flesh is heir. The old lunatic asylums, and the filthy cells of the county jails with all their horrors, where the victims of dethroned reason used to be confined and tortured, have been abolished, and in their place we now have the modern hospital for the insane. And it stands on the same footing in every respect as a hospital [illegible] of the eye and ear, or any other medical specialty. [illegible] the churches, but medical science, inspired by a desire [illegible] mankind, which taught the world that the insane are [illegible] still, and that to them is due the same Christian [illegible] as to any others in distress.

[illegible] of the doctrine of diabolical possession did [illegible] those already insane. The horror and fear [illegible] which it roused in the minds of the [illegible] it a potent cause of insanity. Fear [illegible] the power of resisting it.

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in the list of those who fell victims to the so-called religious insanity of that time.

It is a mistake, however, to suppose that mental diseases have decreased as a result of comparative freedom from the theological thralldom of the past. Freedom of thought in matters of religion has changed the character of the delusions and hallucinations of the insane. Insanity keeps pace with the changes in human development, and the character of the delusions and hallucinations of the insane at any time is a reflex of the interests which are then uppermost in men's minds. We now seldom find the spiritual type of insanity among the inmates of hospitals for the insane. As doctrinal discussions have ceased to interest the masses, theology has ceased to be a cause of insanity. This is an age of material development, of making things and having things. Men are much concerned with the problem of amassing treasure here; that, with the long line of social questions which belong to it, is now uppermost in their minds, and these material problems are the ones pressing hardest for solution. Hence it is that the prevailing character of the delusions and hallucinations of the insane are now of a material type.

The struggle for existence, modern inventions, steam and electricity, and the mad rush for wealth, result in ever increasing demands upon the brain and nervous system. And under this strain, many who have congenital or acquired defective nervous organizations become insane, just as the same class formerly did as a result of fear and brooding over theological problems.

The insane are not now tormented by the devil and his [illegible], but telephones and phonographs are continually ringing in [illegible]. Others suppose they have steam engines in their [illegible] and many imagine they are persecuted by men of large [illegible] or of great political power. Formerly those who were [illegible] delusions of grandeur were prone to imagine them[illegible] Saviour of the world, or the Virgin Mary or [illegible] saint. Now they are more apt to think them[illegible] inventors or powerful politicians, or the pos[illegible]. As already intimated, the delusions of [illegible] their form and color from the questions [illegible] most absorbing at the time.

JOHN H. GIRDNER.

UNIFORMITY OF STATE LAWS.

BY LEWIS N. DEMBITZ.

In 1856 the German "Bund" (Confederation) was a much looser aggregation of the German States than the American Union under the old Articles of Confederation. But the business men of all Germany felt the inconvenience of the great diversity of the laws among their thirty odd kingdoms, grand and small duchies, principalities and free cities, on all subjects of trade and business. Austria and Prussia were then the leading German powers; the former had most of its provinces outside, the latter over three-fourths of them inside, of the German Bund. Prussia, the strongest and wealthiest of the truly German States, was itself, as to its general and commercial laws, divided into three zones: the eastern being governed by a code adopted in 1792, known as the "Landrecht;" some small districts to the west thereof, acquired in 1815, had retained the "Gemeine Recht," that is, the imperial Roman law, as gradually adapted to modern use; while the lands along the Rhine adhered to the Code Napoleon, which had been introduced there during the French domination. Like conditions prevailed in some of the other States, in which [illegible] smaller districts, conglomerated at the recasting of [illegible] 1803, enjoyed each its own system of laws. Now, though [illegible] diversity may work tolerably when it affects the laws [illegible] the tenure, the conveyance or the descent of land, it [illegible] intolerable, in a commercial age, when it affects the [illegible] and commerce in communities bound to each other [illegible] and telegraph wires, and depending on one another [illegible] exchange of articles of food and wear, of [illegible] material, and dealing together without regard [illegible] or present.

And so, under a resolution of the Frankfort Diet, a mere gathering of ambassadors from the sovereign States of the "Bund," a board of commissioners appointed by most (not all) of the several kingdoms, duchies and cities, met at Nuremberg to elaborate a German Code of Commerce. The commissioners adjourned later on to Hamburg, to draw from its sea air the proper inspiration for the marine chapters of commercial law. After five years' labors, in 1861, the Code was completed; it was then laid before the legislative bodies of the different States. The Prussian Landtag adopted it by a unanimous vote in the House of Deputies, and with only one dissent in the House of Lords. Nearly all the law-making bodies of the other German States promptly followed in Prussia's lead. A uniform law on bills and notes had been framed by a conference and adopted by the separate States somewhat earlier, and with much less loss of time or friction.

It was thus shown that, where the need exists, communities almost wholly independent of each other, but connected by the bonds of trade and of a common race and speech, can be gotten to adopt uniform laws.

A need for a greater uniformity of law is felt among the people of the several American States, similar to the necessity which forty years ago led the governments and parliaments of the sovereign States in Germany first into conferences at which a common "Wechselrecht" (law of negotiable paper), and a common "Handelsrecht" (commercial law) were worked out, and lastly to the adoption by each State separately of the laws recommended by the conferences. It is true that the American Constitution intrusts Congress with power to legislate at its own [illegible] the whole country upon everything that pertains to the [illegible] to copyrights and patents, and to travel and transpor[illegible] one State and another, or between our own coun[illegible] nations. It is highly proper, in the interest of [illegible] that the several States alone have the power to [illegible] matters of private right; that each community [illegible] its own views as to what is fair or humane,

subjects on which the laws of the several States differ from each other, either broadly, or in some slight detail, to the great detriment and inconvenience of those whose business interests outrun their immediate State lines; and these differences are in most cases accidental; that is, they do not flow from a difference in sentiment or in policy. If New Hampshire permits the insolvent debtor to retain a homestead of only five hundred dollars in value, while Texas allows him to keep a homestead worth more than five thousand, not only as against ordinary creditors, but even against the man to whom he and his wife have freely and voluntarily mortgaged it, the difference springs from the diverging sentiments which an old and staid community, and those which a young and roving population entertains about the sacredness of contracts on the one hand, and about wide elbow room and freedom from care on the other. On such a subject it is not likely that either State would yield its policy even in part, so as to meet on common ground for the sake of uniformity. But if Georgia and six other States require the attestation of three witnesses to a will, while thirty-seven other States are satisfied with the signatures of two witnesses, and Pennsylvania requires no attestation at all; or again, if many of our States allow three days of grace on a matured bill of exchange, while in other States "grace" is done away with, and a bill or note must be paid on the day named, there is no sentiment at the bottom of all this, no question of good policy. One law on these subjects is pretty much as good as the other, but the co-existence of both laws often leads to a failure of justice. A testator owning lands in Georgia makes his will in Ohio, before two witnesses, and the devisee of the Georgia lands is thrown out. Again, in the matter of divorce, the policy of the several States as [illegible] causes for untying the knot differs greatly, varying from no [illegible] divorce from any cause whatever in South Carolina, to [illegible] or more causes in the Northwest, providing for every conceiv[illegible] case in which husband and wife cannot agree. This is all [illegible] it is the very object of State independence that each communi[illegible] shall determine such questions for itself; but there is no [illegible] why the plaintiff's "domicile" in the State in which [illegible] brought, without any named length of residence, should [illegible] sufficient in Virginia, while a residence of six [illegible] quired, in a few other States, and of even two years [illegible]

A movement similar to that which within a few years led to one common code on commercial paper, and another common code on commerce in all its branches, for the then disunited States of Germany, was begun in the United States in 1888, mainly upon the impulse given by F. Jesup Stimpson's painstaking compilation of "Constitutions and Statutes" of the American States, a book which set the needless divergence of their statutes forth in a glaring light. A bill was introduced in the New York Legislature in that year, again in 1889, and again in 1890, under which a board of three commissioners was appointed, together with a salaried secretary, the members of the board to meet in conference with commissioners from other States. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia also appointed commissioners in the course of the following year and made small appropriations toward defraying the cost of the conferences. The movement has been kept up, eight meetings having been held in the seven years from 1892 to 1898, two of them in the first named year; and it has greatly widened, for as many as thirty-one States have been represented on these several occasions, though never all of them at the same time. The sessions of these conferences have always been held near the time when the American Bar Association met, generally on the two days preceding its assemblage. In one respect this has been a help, for commissioners who received neither mileage nor *per diem* thus found an incentive for traveling from their homes to the place of meeting, and the Bar Association used the great weight of its influence to further the cause. But in other respects this companionship in time and space has been unfortunate. In the first place, an effort is made to force all the business of the yearly meeting into the limits of scant two days, which is, of course, en[illegible] short a time, though the bills which are to be dis[illegible] been prepared elsewhere. In the second place, the [illegible] is overshadowed by its more widely known as[illegible], though sitting under appointments from [illegible] governments, and thus an official body, appears [illegible], and even to the great body of American [illegible] committee of the American Bar Associa[illegible] first learned about the movement [illegible] the conferences had already met. [illegible] State, unrepresented, but neither

her Governor nor her leading lawyers or politicians knew anything about it. The other two lawyers whom our Governor appointed, along with the writer, as commissioners from his State, though men in large practice, and of well-known public spirit, first heard of this movement, that had been in progress for over seven years, when the appointments were offered to them. When I came to Saratoga on the 15th of August, 1898, having mislaid my copy of the printed notice sent out to members, I had to ask more than a dozen lawyers, hotel clerks, public officers, etc., before I hit upon one man who could direct me to the place of meeting. In short, the whole work has thus far been carried on, so to say, in a dark corner.

Yet, even thus, there have been some notable results. The foremost among these is the elaboration of a bill "relating to negotiable instruments," covering the whole "law merchant" in all details in one hundred and ninety-eight sections. This was agreed upon at the meeting of the commissioners in 1896, and was transmitted by them to the governors of all the States that were represented or had made appointments, and when the conference met for the eighth time in the course of last summer, we heard the gratifying news that this bill had been enacted into law by the legislatures of seven States (among them New York and Massachusetts), and that it had been passed by the House of Representatives of the United States, as a law to govern commercial paper in the District of Columbia, awaiting only the concurrence of the Senate at the winter session. An important act was adopted at the seventh meeting on the [illegible] and acknowledgment of written instruments. One adopted [illegible] eighth and last meeting deals with the transfer of [illegible] the latter having been enacted by some of the New [illegible] islatures after it had been elaborated by a committee, [illegible] it had been agreed upon in full conference. [illegible] will often occur when the citizens of two States, [illegible] fer, either on the conveyance of land, or on [illegible] corporate shares, deal with each other, unless [illegible] laws of both States. But this is most likely [illegible] law is the same in both.

To gain an idea of the work which the [illegible] out for themselves, we need only look [illegible] *standing* committees, which were [illegible]

On Commercial Laws, on Wills, on Marriage and Divorce, on Deeds and Other Conveyances, on Certificates to Depositions and Notarial Forms, on Weights and Measures, on State Action as to Presidential Electors, on Hours of Labor in Factories, on Insolvency, on Insurance, on Trading Corporations, on Descent and Distribution.

Some of these subjects, such as factory regulations, do perhaps fall outside of the true province of our organization, as they appeal to feelings, which differ greatly between section and section; if so, lengthened discussions would show a broad divergence even within the conference, and the impracticable subject would soon be dropped.

It might be objected that any labor bestowed on making our State laws more uniform than they now are, would be thrown away because the forty-eight State and Territorial legislatures, and Congress legislating for the Federal District, are constantly busy grinding out new statutes, and would undo our work of unification more quickly than we accomplish it. But just here, I believe, a system of laws made uniform at an expense of long efforts of many men would bear its finest fruits. As soon as the people begin to enjoy the benefits of uniform State laws, the sentiment that uniformity once attained must not be rashly disturbed upon a light motion, or to gratify the whim or the private interests of a State legislator, could be relied on to block the way of reckless, and still more of selfish, innovators.

The laws of all the American States, with the single exception of Louisiana, are derived from the common law of England and from the acts of Parliament passed by way of amendment of the common law; the laws enacted in the several States [illegible] separation from the mother country have generally [illegible] on the same lines. Thus, all the States in which the [illegible] preferring the first born son in the descent of land [illegible] have enacted new laws establishing equality be[illegible] and daughters, the brothers and sisters of the [illegible] States have provided for the recording of deeds [illegible] the States have given to the creditor the [illegible] the lands and effects of absent debtors by at[illegible] have curtailed the power of the husband [illegible] nearly all the States have regulated the [illegible] power;" nearly all of them have con-

Third, the conference should also have at its disposal a small fund, out of which to compensate some specialist for drawing up the more elaborate bills which must be drafted. Small appropriations have heretofore been made by some of the States; and it was found possible to set aside the sum of one thousand dollars out of these as an honorarium to the painstaking author of the conference bill on negotiable paper, a gentleman who was not himself one of the State Commissioners.

When we once have thirty-six States represented, we would not have long to wait for the remaining nine. When full meetings are held twice a year, the legislatures of the several States will hear of the proceedings and will heed them; and a very small amount will suffice for all the expenditure; that is, the travelling and hotel expenses of the members, the compensation of law drafters, and the printing of the yearly or half yearly reports.

The sum of fifteen thousand dollars a year would fully meet all these needs, and in about five or six years pretty much of the work which is really desirable could be accomplished. Of course, if the Congress of the United States is willing to take the matter in hand, this sum would be readily placed in the yearly "Sundry Civil Bill." But, if Congress is unwilling to do so much, it might at least, as the legislature for the District of Columbia, direct that three lawyers from that district be named every year by competent authority, that they be paid their expenses, and that a small sum be set aside toward the general fund; and, by doing so, Congress would most strongly recommend similar action to all the States and Territories.

LEWIS N. DEMBITZ.

CUBAN RECONSTRUCTION.

BY RICHARD J. HINTON.

No one will deny that the problems of Cuban reconstruction are of the most serious character. Nor can the American Government or its people push aside any responsibilities arising therefrom. These must be clearly understood, before we can begin to realize the large results that wait upon a humane and successful solution.

The island of Cuba will support in comfort ten million persons. It has never maintained one-fifth of that number. Its commercial possibilities are even greater, judged by the rules of [illegible] wealth making only. It has an area of over 28,000,000 [illegible] estimating therein the islets that form part of its [illegible] Not over 6,000,000 have even been scratched by the [illegible] tools of industry, as plantation, farm, cattle range, [illegible] or mine. There are 16,000,000 acres of the finest of [illegible] holding at least forty varieties of the best of merchantable [illegible] woods. There are 3,000,000 acres of available rice [illegible] timber area may also be used for cattle range purposes. [illegible] resources are still virgin, but they are known to be of [illegible] value. In Santiago de Cuba $12,000,000 of American [illegible] invested in mining alone. In the production of all food [illegible] a marked commercial value, the possibilities of Cuba [illegible] ited only by its acreage. It has no capital at [illegible] ever. Its people are literally stripped to the bone [illegible] thousands remain in daily danger of death from [illegible] The Spanish oppressor retires, but his grim [illegible] late the island. This may be made clearer by the [illegible] facts and estimates relating to the present [illegible] ditions.

The recent loss in life and in the [illegible]

difficult to present in a few sentences. It has been assumed by pro-Spanish authorities that sixty per cent. of whites and fifteen per cent. of the colored population have died since the civil war began in 1895. This does not consider the losses in Spanish troops, estimated at 125,000. Taking the census of 1887 as a basis, this would involve, outside the troops, a loss of 444,522 white and of 77,050 colored persons. By this estimate, however, the Havanese editors leave the latter more numerous now than the whites. But the total of 521,572 deaths through the reconcentrado policy, within two years, is a terrible indictment. Adding the 200,000 loss on both sides, through the civil conflict, within four years, and the anti-Cuban estimate, reduces the total population by 721,000, at least. The estimates of Cuban authorities as given to the writer in October last, reduce this total to an average loss in the island of thirty-four per cent., or a total of about 640,000 persons.

This loss is much greater in the sugar and tobacco growing sections than in the small crop farm and cattle range areas. But for this fact the whites of Cuba would now be much less in number than the negro and mestizo classes. In Santiago, Puerto Principe, Eastern Santa Clara and Pinar del Rio, the colored inhabitants were, when insurgent operations began, 225,000 against [illegible] whites. In the central provinces the difference was as [illegible] to one colored. In the first division, the ratio is [illegible] two to one, and in the second the colors and races [illegible] equal; a small majority being still found on the side [illegible]

[illegible] state of affairs as to population, add the fact that [illegible] the island money to set business in motion; that food [illegible] cultivated to anything like a necessary extent; that [illegible] machinery, cattle, and other essentials are lacking. [illegible] are absent, and the service is therefore as scant. [illegible] get work until food shall give them strength. [illegible] especially will perish by the thousands be[illegible] their distress, and the restoration of in[illegible] Cuban life. This is work for statesman[illegible] be made beneficent also.

[illegible] rehabilitating Cuba are unquestionably of [illegible], on the other hand, the very steps [illegible] the way for Cuban self-government

will rapidly both lighten and simplify our own task, and at the same time greatly aid and encourage the Cuban people. That is a reward which comes inevitably when justice is maintained and equity established in politics and economics. It is hardly possible for the average American to comprehend the bleeding processes to which the Spaniards subjected their "ever faithful isle." The facts of history are no more derisive of that grandiloquent falsehood, than the criminal craft of administrative robbery with which the countrymen of Sancho Panza rewarded the alleged fidelity of their colonial victims. The story of the Philippines, when fully made known, will add a huge chapter of the same character, but it will not be so vile, governmentally considered, as that of Cuba. The Asiatic victims have been despoiled most largely by monastic plunderers, but the Cubans have been the open prey for four hundred years of the soldier and the civil official.

The taxation imposed on Cuba for the year 1897 reached a total of $26,359,650. The export and import duties were $14,-705,000; the internal taxes were $9,683,150. The remainder was obtained from sales of material and other such sources. A liberal estimate of the cost of government—civil and military—on our part should not exceed $12,000,000 for one year, thus reducing about $15,000,000 of taxation. The return of such a sum to the ordinary channels of activity must greatly quicken all affairs. Besides, the lowering and equalization of tariff rates will soon greatly accelerate business effort and enterprise. The estimated [illegible]ions and more can unquestionably be raised readily by [illegible] dues alone. They will not be harshly felt by the people, [illegible] or consumers, but the advantages gained will be [illegible] apprehended.

Under our system of local government, also, [illegible] munities will soon learn how to take care of their [illegible] and interests. The city of Santiago already [illegible] growth. The taxes that will disappear under our [illegible] except for immediate use and improvement, all [illegible] and most of the floating debt. The annual [illegible] was given in the last budget at $10,435,183. [illegible] naval establishment, so far as directly laid on [illegible] and retired army lists, and the two bodies [illegible] Spain kept, alone required $11,849,844. [illegible]

expenditures amounted then to $22,285,027. On the side of the maintenance of order, it is fair to believe that our entire costs will not exceed fifty per cent. of the latter. All sorts of oppressive and plundering taxes and imposts have been the rule in Cuba. Stamps, licenses, fees, real estate, lotteries, and, in fact, every form of fiscal oppression have been in vogue. These will disappear at an early date, and the effect in relief can hardly be imagined. Besides, the revenue we shall be obliged to collect will be more of a help in the subsequent disbursing of it than a burden in its collection. The enlistment and employment of 10,000 to 15,000 Cubans, as naval police, soldiers, constabulary in cities, and as laborers in the public works required by sanitary reform, road building, municipal and rural improvements, will more than offset the revenue required. The lessening of prices in things imported under our uniform and reduced temporary tariff rates will set money in motion. Employment for wages will multiply needs and create the means of payment also. Business men in Cuba all comprehend this, and have naturally grown impatient for the realization of so beneficial a change. The disaffected class will be very small, and altogether recruited from vanishing Spanish official circles.

Cuba is a land of beauty. It captures the senses even while they are shocked with desolation. Its fertility is equal to its beauty. The lush glory of its vegetation will soon cover the [illegible] of death camp, pest hole, fields of fire and slaughter, but time is needed for the harvesting of crops and food. The general light-heartedness of its people is a guarantee of their rapid recovery from the sufferings that now make them still and sombre. Cubans "native and to the manner born" are sober, temperate, light-hearted naturally, and industrious. They are not American "hustlers," however. Many conditions have combined [illegible] to mould the character of this community. The [illegible] Spanish by race, but in all essentials they are a different [illegible] from the Peninsuleros, or from the other Latin-American [illegible], which are everywhere modified by large admixture [illegible] blood. The negroes are not the same as those of [illegible] of Hayti, or other West Indian islands. In [illegible] of Cuba especially, they are largely the [illegible] African importations, those of the six[illegible] [illegible]; while in the central provinces

the same people are chiefly descended from the [illegible] importations that so systematically preceded our civil war. The Cuban negroes are industrious. Intelligent whites who are [illegible] directly in touch with them declare they are moderately aspiring also. They want education for their children and possess an ambition to secure a foothold on the land. And at this point, it will be desirable to call attention to the fact that there are still several millions of acres in Cuba that will come, in the readjustment, under the designation of public lands. Other large areas that are held under old grants, but never cultivated, will surely be placed on sale. Conditions make that inevitable.

The sugar plantations of Cuba are not inviting to laborers of any character. As they are conducted, they must be regarded as "relics of barbarism," debased by chattel and debt bondage, with the added brutality of a business based wholly on machinery and the cheapest possible labor. Cuban plantation hands will leave the "*ingenios*" just as swiftly as they can see their way to other chances. There are no homes around the sugar factories, for they are nothing else. Women and children are systematically discouraged. Schools are non-existent. The capitalist owners are conspicuous by their absence, and are represented by a few agents, storekeepers, engineers and artificers. American-owned plantations are often and especially illustrative of this. The civil war and Weyler's policy have forcibly taken the plantation hands remaining and scattered them widely. They have done more; for they have almost destroyed the cane-growing farmer class. These, especially in Matanzas and Havana, were quite generally Spaniards from the Canary and [illegible] islands, or of the hardy Pyrenean peasant stock. In [illegible] holding days, these people were the owners' agents and [illegible] They and their descendants gradually came to be the "[illegible]*teros*" in the sugar provinces, and in the leased "[illegible] vators of the tobacco section. Land grants were [illegible] square leagues, or about 23,000 acres in extent. [illegible] Cuba have been leased in "*caballeros*" or "[illegible] three and one-third acres each, at a small amount [illegible] ally the lessee took from two to three such [illegible] ditions were the planting of cane in such [illegible] as local facts suggested. This product had [illegible] "*ingenios*" at a price practically set by the [illegible]

Credit for seed and food were established. The result has been an effective form of peonage. Breaks have occurred. Men became independent. Small investors, too, have entered the field. The larger capitalists have found profit in a better centred tillage, but the fact remains that the *pacificos*, of the sugar districts especially and the tobacco region partially, were of the renting class, in debt to owners and exporters, and therefore under bonds to the old system.

Weyler's cruelty has practically destroyed this relic of Spanish rule. In so doing, it has made the future of republican Cuba far brighter than would otherwise have been the case. The Canary Island renters have been made over as Cubans, or have returned to their old homes. About one-third have left, an equal number have died, and the larger proportion of the remainder have become bitterly anti-Spanish. They are not likely to return in large numbers to cane planting, and, like the colored laborers, will probably seek new homes on the vacant lands, after working awhile for wages at the new enterprises which will bring the large development of Cuba's resources.

Sugar planting will not remain the foremost industry of the island. It will probably pass under a cloud, and wait for several years before a revival comes under new conditions of land control and wage payment. As in Jamaica and after emancipation, the small crops of squatters and farmers will soon assume a commercial value greater than that of the sugar industry, for the island lands are everywhere capable of productions valuable as exports. [illegible] cocoa, rice, fruits of all kinds, tropical and temperate, ex[illegible] of the higher latitudes; fine vegetable roots and crops [illegible] ginger, arrowroot, medicinal plants, fibres of value, [illegible], are native to the soil and readily cultivated. [illegible] development of mining, cattle growing and its related [illegible] of the great timber resources of Cuba, will de[illegible] amount of labor. The island population is not [illegible] the square mile. The railroad mileage is but one [illegible] and the telegraphic mileage only one in seven[illegible] there are not 500 miles of decent highways [illegible] In her days of commercial prosperity, the [illegible] about 2,000 ships, having a tonnage of [illegible] of 1898 would not exceed one-twen-

proportion of the planter families, long established in the island, cultured, refined, Spanish in their fine manners and proud natures, are thoroughly Cuban in political character and opinion. It is from this class that the patriots, Cespedes, Agramonte, Aguone, Cisneros, Garcia and others known to recent history, have come. It must be borne in mind, also, that the mestizoes are not separable from the general body of the white Cubans. Nobody resident in the island ever makes any such distinction. Their families are the admixtures of the older white and African stock. In the negro labor population, the mulatto proper has a distinct but not unfriendly place.

The aristocracy or exclusive class will be made up of Spaniards who remain because of property interests, the banking and richer commercial elements, largely European, but only partially Spanish, the clergy who may remain, with the wealthier planters, and those dependent on them for direct personal employment and patronage. This analysis shows that the outlook as to population and its character is decidedly favorable to steady life and an assured, if moderate, progress to better conditions.

Everywhere the grateful feelings of the Cuban people toward Americans in general are unrestrainedly present. Everywhere, too, the business men, whether Spaniards or Cuban, are eager to welcome the restful interregnum we bring. Everywhere the de-[illegible] to learn our language is so eager that it has its humorous [illegible]. The Cuban insurgents have borne their part in the wait-[illegible] a degree of manly patience that the more it is rec-[illegible] the deeper will be the gratification aroused thereby. [illegible] been educating themselves for citizenship by building [illegible] for three years past, over a considerable seg-[illegible] the island, a rude but effective form of local admin-[illegible] civil life. They have maintained courts, estab-[illegible], cultivated great bodies of land, kept their sol-[illegible], founded common schools and printed books [illegible] they have had no aid, as was afforded else-[illegible]-American struggles, from the clergy. It is [illegible] are not a dozen natives among the clerics on [illegible]

[illegible] buried probably in the graves of An-[illegible] who both held to the idea of a West [illegible] relations. It is quite certain that

these two men were of the largest natural ability found among the Cuban leaders, and that they agreed as to the ideals for which they were working. Marti was the Cuban's Mazzini; Maceo the mestizo's Toussaint Louverture. Both were believers in an independent Cuba, and therein Gomez agreed with them; both hoped for the growth of a West Indian island federation, in which race issues would be solved under growing industry and the moulding attraction of justice.

This review of existing conditions in Cuba will illustrate that there is nothing inherently incurable in the present or prospective situation. It only appears so to those who think, perhaps, of New England, or want the power of New York City suddenly developed in the Antilles. But the thoughtful reader, who rationally seeks to put himself in the other man's place, will see that the Cuban—white or colored—is facile and available, willing to labor and responsive to fair dealing. To his credit always it must be remembered that he has unflinchingly borne the burden of resistance to oppression, and worn its sacrificial sufferings without undue complaint. The Cubans are not quarrelsome among themselves. That, the fact of their last thirty years of combining and fighting must establish. They are not revengeful, either, and bear little malice toward the mass of those who have ill used them. Indeed, the feeling of a true democracy, scientific in its deductions, dwells within their known views. The leaders recognize that the masses are mainly moulded in and by systems. Individuals are often responsible for special crimes or policy; the community acts as administrative machinery operates, until the grinding power becomes intolerable. The Spaniard, who remains to work with them, they know must be lifted up, not beaten down. And this I have found generally accepted among the Cubans. There are some, of course, who by temperament or spiritual insight are malcontent. The world's conditions [illegible] ate such unrest. But in Cuba there are few. It depends [illegible] upon our acts whether they grow more numerous.

It is a settled policy that an American protect[illegible] main until order and industry are firmly establish[illegible] sense of the words, there have been no such in Cuba[illegible] cause there has been no justice or wisdom disp[illegible] trative affairs. But the chief desire among [illegible]

...of their island independence. This is ...in the small towns and rural districts. The ... are more divided, older Cubans and men of ... in favor of speedy annexation. As to what may ...dence, present judgment and observation tend to conviction that it would soon eventuate in a demand ...ation and admission into the Union as a state.

...onclusion, however, must not be accepted as a finality. ...becomes, as is probable, reasonably prosperous and can ...pon herself, the old dream of the political idealists may ...l as a practical political issue. A federation of all the ...ian islands, under republican institutions, has been a ... discussion among Cuban thinkers. It may be re... historical students that such an idea was broached in ...utionary fervor that lit the close of the last century ... ruddy light upon the opening years of the one now ...way. It was discussed by Placide, the Cuban poet, and the mid century periods. And it has certainly been con... Cuban leaders of this generation. There are those ... such a plan feasible, and are now ready to believe ... a stable government in Cuba, the European owned isl... well as Hayti and Santo Domingo, could be more read... ...ably brought together than would be the case under ... of this country. But this idea does not belong ...t to the domain of practical politics. Probably it never

...ther Cuba remains under our protection until it en... as a state, or whether, helped to a self-respecting ... it decides to ask for annexation, it is interesting to ... Cuban people are now a practical unit in support... ...d hope of a republican government; the sep... ...h and State, with the secularization of all church ...d for religious use, for educational purposes, ...ols, and for the free and common teaching ... An increasing demand for primary edu... ...ised. Equally so is the desire for instruc... ...nd English.

... considered other important matters; ...tenure, and leasing. It is claimed ... of acres, out of the nearly 29,-

THE BALLOT LAWS OF NEW YORK.

BY THE HON. JOSEPH F. DALY.

AT the last general election in New York City, there was as much discussion over the way to vote as there was over the candidates to be voted for. The most contrary assertions were made as to the manner in which an elector who desired to vote for some candidate not nominated by his party could effect his purpose. The result of the election failed to express the intentions of many voters, (1.) because, in some instances, they were so confused by conflicting instructions that they forebore to vote in the discriminating way they desired and voted wholesale for, or against, party to avoid the total loss of their vote; (2.) because they followed wrong instructions and actually cast a vote contrary to their choice; (3.) because their votes, when correctly cast, were misread or miscounted, through the ignorance of election officers. It would seem that the whole effort of the Legislature should be directed to preventing this state of things, and it is to be hoped that it will be speedily remedied.

The policy of the State has been, for the last three years, to [illegible] official ballot for the use of the voter on election day. [illegible] to a polling place and receives a folded paper, with which [illegible] to a compartment, called a booth, where he finds lead [illegible] a shelf which serves as a desk. On opening the paper, [illegible] in some cases with difficulty, owing to insufficient light in [illegible] employed as a polling place—printed in separate col[illegible] of the candidates of each party, and a blank col[illegible] may write the names of candidates not in the [illegible] At the head of each party column are a de[illegible] party, and a circle or ring. The device [illegible] who cannot read English or cannot read at [illegible] mark a cross, with a black lead pen-

cil, in the circle, and in that case he votes for all the persons whose names are printed beneath it. This is called voting a "straight ticket." It is the first resort of an elector who is content with the candidates chosen by his party convention; and it is frequently the last resort of a voter who, going to the polls with the intention of choosing among the candidates of different parties, finds it difficult to carry out the instructions he has received, and, rather than lose his vote altogether, puts a cross in some circle and lets the matter go.

What is the difficulty which confronts the voter? It is the confusion due to the over elaboration in the ballot law of provisions for voting what is called a "split ticket," that is to say, for choosing candidates from different parties. Reduced to a simple form, the provisions are as follows. To vote a split ticket the voter may:

Omit to mark a cross at the head of any party column, and mark instead, a cross before the name of each candidate chosen in any column; or,

Mark a cross in the circle above his party column, and also mark a cross before the name of individual candidates in another party column. He thus votes for such individual candidates, and also for all the candidates in his party column except those on the same lines with the individuals marked in other columns. But, if there are two or more candidates to be elected to the same office, as in the case of presidential electors or judges, he may vote [illegible] candidates on the same line by marking a cross before [illegible] their names, and a cross before all other candidates of his [illegible] for the same office, whether in his party column or in other [illegible] umns, until he has thus marked as many individual [illegible] as he is allowed to vote for for that office.

The necessity of thus marking all the candidates of his [illegible] for the same office is apparent from the following illustration. [illegible] us suppose that there are three judges to be voted for [illegible] elector. The ballot shows for that office thus:

Republican candidates.	*Democratic candidates.*	[illegible]
Brown.	Doe.	[illegible]
Jones.	Roe.	[illegible]
Robinson.	Thompson.	[illegible]

It is manifest that if the voter marks a [illegible] the Democratic column, and a cross before [illegible]

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ness and simplicity of enactment is demanded in directions for voting and counting votes, and convenient illustrations should be incorporated in the act, if the official ballot is to remain as the means by which the voter is to express his choice at the polls.

To understand how the existing enactments confuse the election officials, it is only necessary to read a portion of the report made on the 9th of November by a member of the bar, who acted as a volunteer watcher for the Lawyers' Committee in the last election held in New York. His object was to secure a correct count of the vote for Supreme Court justices, each elector being entitled to vote for three candidates. He said:

"Yesterday I acted as a watcher on behalf of the Committee of One Hundred, at the Fourth Election District at No. 48 Cherry Street, in the Second Assembly District.

"Ten ballots were marked as follows:

	X
Cohen.	X Andrews.
X Daly.	X Fitzgerald.
Taft.	Leventritt.

and one ballot as follows:

	X
Cohen.	Andrews.
X Daly.	X Fitzgerald.
X Taft.	Leventritt.

"The Democratic Inspectors took the position regarding the first ten ballots that neither Daly nor Fitzgerald were voted for, but that Andrews and Leventritt were voted for and so counted the ballots. I objected strenuously, read the election law to the inspectors, and finally succeeded in having a protest endorsed upon the back of each of the ten ballots, which protest was signed by the Republican Inspectors, Francis P. Kennedy, of 88 [illegible] and Michael J. Gorman, of 318 Water Street. The protest read as follows: 'We claim that Daly, Andrews and Fitzgerald are voted for on [illegible]

(Signed) FRANCIS P. KENNEDY.
" MICHAEL J. GORMAN.'

[illegible] other ballot an endorsement was made and signed by Kennedy [illegible] as follows: 'We claim that Daly, Fitzgerald and Taft are [illegible] this ballot.'

[illegible] mentioned ballot the vote was counted for Andrews and [illegible]

[illegible] should have been counted exactly as claimed by the [illegible] the Republican inspectors; that is to say, for the [illegible] with a cross. The error of the other inspect[illegible] that the voter could not choose two candi[illegible] the same line if one was in his party column [illegible] which no Legislature could be supposed [illegible] nevertheless, the cloudy provisions of Rules [illegible] doubt on the point.

It would undoubtedly do away with the difficulty of ascertaining the voter's intention if the Massachusetts and California form of ballot were adopted. This ballot has no separate party column, all the candidates being printed in one column under the titles of the offices for which they are running, and the name of the party by which they are nominated printed after each name. Voting is done by marking a cross on the right of the name of each candidate of the voter's choice. Only the names so marked are credited with a vote. The election officers, inspectors, watchers and canvassers can make no mistakes. With the name of each candidate on a separate line, there can be no question for whom the vote is cast. A candidate who is not marked gets no vote, and a mark for one name cannot be counted for another.

The California ballot law substitutes a stamp for the lead pencil mark on the ballot. A rubber stamp and ink pad instead of a pencil are found in the voting booth, and the voter uses the stamp to make a uniform and indelible mark opposite the candidate's name. One object of this uniform stamping is to prevent any peculiarity in marking which, in using a pencil, might be resorted to for the purpose of identifying a ballot as cast by a particular voter or class of voters; a very desirable precaution, all ballot laws providing for the rejection of ballots upon which any identification mark can be discerned. In New York, ballots have been challenged because the cross mark in the circle at the head of a party column was made with one heavy and one light stroke, an effect as easily produced by accident as by design, and so have various forms of cross marks which, though [illegible] regular, may possibly, under decisions of the courts of New York, be accepted as valid cross marks not necessarily to be rejected [illegible] imperfect, or as made for the purpose of identification.

A reasonable objection to the system which obliges [illegible] to mark every name he votes for, may be made where a [illegible] of offices are required to be filled by election. In Ca[illegible] are told that sometimes between 200 and 300 names [illegible] marked, owing to the statutory requirement of [illegible] officers and other minor positions. The [illegible] obj[illegible] of course, be very apparent in several states in [illegible] when, if there were several parties in the field, [illegible] names of presidential electors would have to [illegible] ballot; but, inasmuch as these are inv[illegible]

senting the party presidential candidate, and not upon their own merits as individuals, a separate ballot could be printed for presidential electors, upon which a single mark at the head of a party column would suffice to vote a whole ticket. This method would certainly have to be adopted in order to prevent the undue prolongation of an electoral count, which would result from having to record the individual marking of the names of several hundred candidates. No voluntary watchers could be found who were willing to give more than one day to the count of votes. At an election in California, it is said, the count sometimes extends over two or three days. The obvious objections to this are many and serious. In favor of the single column system generally, it may be observed that the same aid, by way of party emblems, could be furnished to voters who cannot read English, as well as to those who cannot read at all, as is offered by the party column system. The party device, as well as the party name, could be printed after the name of each candidate.

While in New York an official ballot is prescribed for general elections, an important modification is allowed for primary elections at which delegates to political conventions are chosen. An official ballot is furnished for each political party, on which is printed its nominees; but any person may provide ballots with the names of other candidates, and may deposit them with the election clerks, who are bound to furnish them, as well as the official ballots, to every elector who presents himself at the polls. The voter may vote any ballot so received; or he may substitute for them a ballot which he has brought with him, and which conforms in external appearance to the provisions of the law and has been printed according to the regulations. Official paper is to be furnished at cost, together with sample official ballots, by the election officers prior to the election, to all who require them for the purpose of printing special ballots.

Thus at primary elections the voter may vote a ballot previously prepared and put into his hands before the elections, a privilege from which he is debarred at general elections. The system might, I think, be improved by requiring the election inspectors to provide at the polls envelopes in which every ballot is to be inclosed before it is voted, so as to prevent the possibility of detecting whether the elector is voting a well-thumbed ballot which

as well as unmistakeable, way of denoting disapproval. This, with a cross mark before the name of a candidate or candidates selected from other columns, or the writing of a name in the blank column, would clearly indicate the voter's choice.

The use of the single column, with the name of each candidate for each office on a single line would, of course, render these precautions unnecessary.

JOSEPH F. DALY.

OBJECTIONS TO ANNEXING THE PHILIPPINES.

BY SENATOR G. G. VEST.

WHEN President Northrop, of the Minnesota University, sneeringly declares that the nation has become a giant, and "is no longer content with the nursery rhymes which were sung around his cradle," and eminent statesmen ridicule "the swaddling clothes" made by Washington and Madison, it is [illegible] time to ask whether the American people are ready to [illegible] these apostles of the New Evangel in revolutionizing our [illegible]ernment, and trampling upon the teachings and policies which have made us great and prosperous.

To those who thus manifest their contempt for the Constitu[illegible]tion made by Madison and his wise associates, and for the [illegible]ing of Washington, I make no argument; but to the great [illegible] of citizens who love their country and revere the tradit[illegible] memories consecrated by the blood and sacrifices of our [illegible] confidently appeal against the fantastic and wicked [illegible] colonial expansion, the adoption of which will change [illegible] of government and will bring nothing but disaster.

I am opposed to annexing the Philippines [illegible]nexation makes the people of those islands ultimat[illegible] the United States, and necessitates the admission of [illegible] thus acquired as a State.

The idea of conferring American citizenship [illegible] civilized, piratical, muck-running inhabitants of [illegible] islands, seven thousand miles distant, in another [illegible] creating a State of the Union from such ma[illegible] and indefensible that the expansionists are [illegible]sity of advocating the colonial system of [illegible] the American Colonies revolted when [illegible] attempted by the King of England.

In the rush and roar of recent events, the fact is ignored that the first four years of the Revolutionary War were fought against the colonial system of Europe, which was based upon the cardinal principle of monarchy, that millions of people could be held as colonial subjects, governed by laws in the making of which they had no part, and under whose exactions they were impoverished by unjust and excessive taxes. Against this system, graphically described by Jefferson as based upon the belief that "nine-tenths of mankind were born bridled and saddled, with the other tenth booted and spurred to ride them," our fathers took up arms and defied the most powerful nation of the world. The history of that eventful period shows that they did not at first contemplate independence, but rebelled because they were denied representation, although taxed to support the Crown. When the people of Rhode Island burned the British war sloop, "Gaspee," in Narragansett Bay, and the people of Massachusetts threw overboard the tea in Boston Harbor, they claimed to be loyal subjects of the King; and when Thomas Jefferson and his friends met at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, Virginia, and resolved to share the fortunes of New England, they declared their object to be the maintenance of their rights as British citizens.

After four years of war, the leaders of the Revolution deter- [illegible] final and complete separation from the mother coun- [illegible] 1776 Jefferson framed the Declaration of Independ- [illegible] foundation stone of which is the sublime truth that "all [illegible] derive their just powers from the consent of the [illegible]

[illegible] that the men who fought and suffered for [illegible] the colonial system of Europe, should [illegible] a government whose constitution recognized [illegible] oppression against which they had successfully [illegible]

[illegible] upon history, and an insult to the memory [illegible] who suffered and died that we might be free. [illegible] who fought against the colonial system [illegible] intend to abandon their position and [illegible] evident from the fact that the Articles [illegible] provision for acquiring new territory, [illegible] 38 of the Federalist, complained [illegible] had been received from Virginia,

ster is quoted as authority for the doctrine that the Constitution does not apply to the Territories, and it is true that in an acrimonious debate in the Senate with Mr. Calhoun in 1848, when the latter asserted that slavery existed in the territory acquired from Mexico by reason of the Federal Constitution, which recognized slavery, being extended over such territory, Mr. Webster not only declared that the Constitution did not apply to the Territories, but that the Constitution gave the Federal Government no power to acquire territory in any way.

With great deference to Mr. Webster's ability and learning, it must be emphatically stated that his position is too monstrous for serious discussion. That Congress can ignore the Bill of Rights, and deprive citizens in a territory of the right to trial by jury, security from unlawful search and seizure, freedom of religious opinion, and the other rights guaranteed by the Constitution, cannot be defended successfully even by Webster.

The Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly determined that the Federal Constitution, with all its provisions, applied to all territory under the jurisdiction of our Government.

In the case of Loughborough *vs.* Blake (4th Wheaton), Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion, said that the term "United States" meant "the whole Republic, composed of States and Territories, and all the provisions of the Constitution as to [illegible] and personal rights applied to the whole country alike."

Chief Justice Waite, in the case of "The National Bank *vs.* [illegible] of Yankton" (101 U. S. Reports), speaking for the [illegible] said that the Territories held the same relation to the [illegible] Government as counties to a State, and that "Congress [illegible] the powers of the people of the United States, except [illegible] have been expressly or by implication reserved by the [illegible] of the Constitution."

[illegible] *vs.* Utah (170th U. S. Reports), the Supreme [illegible] that the provisions of the Constitution relating to [illegible] criminal offenses applied to the Territories, and [illegible] legislating for the Territories is subject to all [illegible] the Constitution.

[illegible] is announced in The American Publishing [illegible] U. S. Reports), and Crandall *vs.* Ne-

[illegible] of what our people have hereto-

fore thought of the colonial system that, in all our acquisition of territory, provisions have been placed in the treaties of cession giving to the inhabitants of the ceded country as soon as possible American citizenship and statehood. The ordinance of 1787, providing for the government and disposition of the Northwest Territory, established self-government for the people of the ceded territory, and the same enactment is found in the treaties made with France, Spain, Mexico and Russia, for the cession of Louisiana, Florida, the northern part of Mexico, and Alaska.

But, if the constitutional power to hold the Philippines as proposed were undoubted, I would oppose annexation if, instead of paying $20,000,000, we should receive five times that sum for taking them.

Nothing but foreign complications, ruinous expenditure, social and political deterioration, and the destruction of free institutions, can come from annexation.

The Philippine Islands are stated in a pamphlet forwarded in May last to the State Department by Mr. Hay, Ambassador to England, and found in the Consular Reports for July, 18[illegible], to be about two thousand in number. They cover sixteen degrees of latitude, or a distance equal to that between Massachusetts and Florida, and are supposed to contain from eight to [illegible] millions of inhabitants, no census having ever been taken, and one-half the archipelago being only nominally under Spanish rule. The natives of many islands are savages in a state of barbarism, and very little is known of their actual number and condition.

The following extracts from the paper forwarded by Mr. [illegible] are interesting:

> "On the whole, the Philippine natives find and take life easy. [illegible] quirements are few. The sum of £5 will provide a native [illegible] dwelling of its own and ample furniture. Under a genial [illegible] lavishly grateful for the slightest tending; by waters teeming [illegible] know naught of hunger, and have much time left for [illegible] dancing and public rejoicings on the smallest occasion. [illegible] ing is the national sport, and no mean source of revenue [illegible] Almost every native owns a fighting fowl, which is as [illegible] lap-dog to a European lady. He carries it about with [illegible] tom dollar on its performance in the arena."

The favorite pastime of a Malay, when [illegible] monotonous, is to "run-amuck," which [illegible] and murderous attack upon everybody [illegible] exhaustion terminates the innocent recreation [illegible]

author who lived many years in the ... his book, "The Philippines," published in

... indolent in the extreme and never tired of sitting still ... particular. He will do no regular work without an ad... be depended upon—he is fertile in exculpatory de... obedient, but is averse to subjection. He feigns ... has no loyalty—he is daring on the spur of the moment, but ...n if he reflects."

...tates that, out of 10,000,000 natives in the archi...000 only are domesticated, the remaining 3,000,000 ...; and that within a half-day's journey from Manila ...al well-known haunts of pirates, such as San Mateo, ...and Indan.

...ctfully suggested to the farmers and manufacturers ...d States, who are told by the expansionists that a ... for their products will be furnished in the Philip... population of those islands, as described by relia..., will furnish very poor customers for the agri... manufactured exports of this country.

...ous from conditions in the Philippines that if we ... and plunge into the dangerous arena of foreign ..., we must keep there an army of at least 10,000 men, ...ve war vessels, at a cost of many millions annually. ... whatever may be the status as to citizenship of the ...ants, their children born after annexation become ...voters. The Fourteenth Amendment declares that ... born or naturalized in the United States, and sub... jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United ... the Fifteenth Amendment enacts that "the rights ...f the United States to vote, shall not be denied ...by the United States or by any State." It being ... these amendments that the children of the Filipinos ... and voters, in case of annexation, it follows that ... educated and civilized in order to fit them for the ... our jurisdiction over their country.

... shows that we expend each year more ... per capita in educating and governing the ... third this amount is expended upon the ... expenditure would be $100,000,000, with no ... law abiding and intelligent citizens.

tives of the islands will soon change them into dependencies.

gent man can be made to believe that our laborers d to make homes in the tropics, amidst a population e Philippines, and where the wages and comforts of e same are impossible. Speculators and promoters for a time, but they will soon find that the natural that distant region have been greatly exaggerated. l deposits are found, they have not been developed tent as will justify the certainty of profitable returns ; and Spain has granted to an English company ex- g rights in Luzon, not to expire for many years. are fertile, but the largest part of the tillable l by the Catholic Church and the priests, making it he United States will be confronted with temporal ical claims of the most serious nature.

gent American can see why we should leave the safe y of a century for this dangerous experiment.

tain has in her colonies 16,662,073 square miles, 3,000,000 inhabitants, while the mother country has ople, and 120,979 square miles. The United States ies, yet our exports are larger than those of Great our export trade in the last seven years has gained le that of Great Britain has lost five, per cent.

ld we now disregard the counsel of Washington, that: ule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations ng our commercial relations, to have with them as connection as possible."

ial system inevitably brings war, and the proof of is, that in no two years of Queen Victoria's long British Empire been at peace with all the world.

the English historian, says:

some who assert that in a military and political point of view are of great importance to this country [meaning England]. that monstrous misrepresentation. We venture to say has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? Wars of frequent occurrence and immense cost; expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in gov- among the people. and Peru done for Spain, the Brazils for Portugal, if the experience of others is lost upon us, shall

we not profit by our own? What have we not sacrificed to our infatuated passion for trans-Atlantic dominion? This it is that has so often led us to risk our own smiling gardens and dear firesides for snowy deserts and infectious morass on the other side of the globe. This inspired us with the project of conquering America. This induced us to resign all the advantages of our insular situation—to embroil ourselves in the intrigues and fight the battles of half the continent—to form coalitions which were instantly broken and to give subsidies which were never earned. This gave birth to the fratricidal war against American liberty, with all its barren victories, and all the massacres of the Indian hatchet, and all the bloody contracts of the Hessian slaughter-house.

"This it was which in the war against the French republic induced us to send thousands and tens of thousands of our bravest troops to die in West Indian hospitals, while the armies of our enemies were pouring over the Rhine and the Alps. When a colonial acquisition has been in prospect, we have thought no expenditure extravagant, no interference perilous. Gold has been but as dust, and blood as water. Shall we never learn wisdom? Shall we never cease to prosecute a pursuit wilder than the wildest dream of alchemy, with all the credulity and all the profusion of Sir Epicure Mammon?

"Those who maintain that settlements so remote conduce to the military or maritime power of nations, fly in the face of history. The colonies of Spain were far more extensive and populous than ours. Has Spain any time in the last two centuries been a match for England, either by land or sea? Fifty years ago our colonial dominions in America were far larger and more prosperous than those which we now possess. Have we since that time experienced any decay in our political influence, in our opulence, or in our security? Or shall we say that Virginia was a less valuable possession than Jamaica, or Massachusetts than Barbadoes?"

A great crisis is upon us, and our free institutions must be maintained by the intelligence and virtue of the people, or cease to exist. We cannot escape the peril by stopping our ears, as did Ulysses those of his sailors, when allured to ruin by the sirens' song. Let us keep them wide open, that we can hear the truth.

Let us listen to that lofty resolution of Congress declaring the war with Spain to be waged, not for conquest, but for humanity and the liberation of Cuba from Spanish despotism; and then let us hear with impatient disgust those who are shouting against "hauling down the flag," which they would dishonor and [illegible] by violating this solemn pledge.

Let the flag of our Republic not be "hauled down," [illegible] brought back to congenial soil where it will wave over [illegible] instead of floating above conquered islands in another [illegible] and ten million half-barbarians bought for two dollars [illegible]

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SNOW TORNADOES.

years ago a North German physician built a winter sani-
n of a glass gallery that admitted every gleam of sunshine,
l air currents, and invited health-seekers with an orna-
ı : "*Waerme ist Leben, die Kaelte ist der Tod*"—"Warmth
ath."

ɔ microbes," replied the exponents of the germ-theory, but
ss of believers in the old sanitary frost-fables the climatic
e parts of East America must have appeared almost as dan-
osphere of the Upas Valley.

n of hot summers and icy winters, and the sudden changes
re not altogether peculiar to our continent, but the snow
eep from the polar regions to the very gates of the tropics
n American institution as pension procurators and Sun-
Asia the progress of the Arctic gales is intercepted by an
ıs chain of snow-clad mountain ranges; in Africa and
ls are as unknown as bald-headed eagles; in Europe every
eninsula has a storm-shelter of its own: Spain the
e Alps, Greece the Balkans, all high enough to moderate
boreau invaders.

America the trend of the two principal mountain chains
h that of the two coldest air currents. On the Atlantic slope
ı, "the ice-wind from Labrador," need not change its di-
of a compass point to sweep along the valleys of the Alle-
ıe great central plateau the still icier northwest storms
ıugh of the Rockies as through the funnel of a wind sail.

thousands, of miles beyond the latitudes that mark the
ıs in Europe, blizzards are yearly visitors to regions of
ose summer climate entitles them to the name of the semi-

longshoremen can be seen working in shirt sleeves fifty
r, and the *tramontanes* that interrupt the perpetual
vould only be called cool April winds in New England.
ril winds of Austin, Texas, more than a thousand miles far-
ome in the form of fierce sleet storms, and the hotel-keepers
prevaricate like Kansas druggists to deny the occasional
own snow tornado that flies four hundred miles further
ts finally arrested for trespass on the reservation of the

charges with battle-axes—beat and all but destroyed a million veteran troopers that had swept through the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire like a conflagration through a sun-parched grain field. Sicily was colonized by the Normans—cousins of the same all-conquerors that vanquished King Harold after his victory over the Danes.

"Gentlemen, you are in, and we are out," said an old Moorish sheik when he was forced to embark his followers at Palermo, "and you will stay till the consequences of your vices invite a race of stouter invaders"—but the sweltering climate alone did its work so thoroughly that the next conquerors did not think it worth their while to expel the groveling survivors.

But the settlers of Northern Texas and Northern Mexico have been actually improved by their removal from a higher to a lower latitude, and even from a land of cooler to a land of warmer summers. The "average temperature" of the Rio Grande Valley is warmer than that of Spain or any other part of Western Europe, but the coldest north storms are so much colder that the short winter enables the settlers to accumulate a reserve fund of vigor for the rest of the year. The Mexican states of Chihuahua and Tamaulipas breed *vaqueros* that can run our toughest cowboys a close race in rough-riding and tricks of wild daring, and would rout modern Spanish infantry as the Spaniards of Balboa routed the natives of the Central American coast regions. The dominant race of modern Texas and Arkansas is composed of British, French and German immigrants and their descendants, and between the Arkansas River and the Rio Grande six-footers are now far more numerous, per thousand inhabitants, than in any part of Germany, France or Great Britain.

But further south, that contrast is suddenly reversed; in the perpetual summer climate of Southern Mexico and the Southern West Indies the Creoles have degenerated beyond any South European degree of degeneration, and the difference between the *Indios Bravos* (Apaches, Yaquis, Comanches, etc.) of the North Mexican border and the *Indios Mansos* of the South, is as great as that between the Arab tribes of Mount Atlas and the Egyptian Fellahs.

The extreme southern limit of the blizzard-range, in fact, marks a sanitary division line almost as unmistakable as that of the European Alps.

The much-maligned snow-tornadoes that traverse a bee-line route equalling the distance from northernmost Norway to the center of the Sahara, should be recognized as one of the chief blessings of our continent. The yearly visit of nature's microbe-killer prevents countless diseases and nips countless others in the bud; and, like the first British colony of Tasmania, several of our Southern States might specify their inducements to immigrants: free land, free fuel and free medical attendance.

F. L. OSWALD.

SHEATHING WARSHIPS.

[illegible] question of copper sheathing our naval vessels is one that constantly [illegible] the surface in emergencies like the present. Nearly all of our [illegible] built of wood are sheathed with copper, and so are many of [illegible] and wooden merchant vessels. The operation is an ex[illegible] in the end it is questionable whether the results do not [illegible] costly. The navies of the world have been interested in [illegible] long time, and copper was applied to sheathing war vessels [illegible] and nearly every other anti-fouling substance imaginable

has been experimented with at various times. From [illegible] to [illegible] the Colonial and English shipbuilders used lead as a sheathing material, and they nailed it on the wooden bottoms of their ships with large copper nails. Later, a mixture of tar, pitch, and brimstone was applied to the bottoms to protect the ships from the barnacles and teredo.

But England made the first attempt to sheath vessels of the modern iron and steel navies in 1868, when the iron cruiser "Inconstant" was prepared for service in warm seas. She had her bottom completely sheathed in copper, and she proved so successful that between that date and 1889 thirty-two other vessels of the English navy were copper-sheathed. The process adopted then was a little crude compared with present-day methods. The bottom was what is called flush-plated, with heavy seam straps on the outside. Since 1889 the British Admiralty has made it a practice to copper-sheath every war vessel intended for foreign waters where docking facilities were poor, and the result is England has a large fleet of copper-sheathed cruisers that could stay in tropical waters for a long period without becoming badly fouled.

In our navy, copper-sheathing of the new vessels has had its advocates, but little has been done in a practical way in this direction. When the first members of the White Squadron, the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin," were built, the Naval Advisory Board considered the question of copper-sheathing their bottoms, but it decided adversely. It was estimated then that it would cost $75,000 to sheath the "Chicago" and a little less for the others. The decision then reached established a precedent that has been difficult to overcome.

There were two other important objections to performing the work besides that of expense, and the Naval Advisory Board at that time justified their decision, which has had such a far reaching effect ever since. One was that the copper-sheathing would add enormously to the weight of the cruisers, and thus reduce their speed. In the case of the "Chicago" it was estimated that the additional weight would be about 255 tons, and 180 tons each for the "Boston" and "Atlanta." The second consideration was that the process of copper-sheathing was far from perfection, and that it was barely beyond the experimental stages. A slight derangement or scratch of the copper plates might at any time expose the steel hull to great danger. Galvanic action might begin instantly, and do considerable damage before the ship could be docked. As an instance of what damage can be created in this way on short notice mention should be made of the cruiser "Cincinnati." She anchored alongside of a copper-sheathed vessel at her moorings, and as a result her bottom was seriously injured. It is a strict order in the navy now that an unsheathed vessel is never to anchor alongside of a sheathed steamer of any kind.

Copper sheathing is not a perfect anti-fouler, and consequently experiments are being made continually with paints and compositions to preserve the hulls of our warships. Some curious substances are tried for this work, and the results are of historical interest if not of exact scientific value. The Japanese, for instance, startled the navies of the world by announcing a number of years ago that they had discovered the great sheathing material for the future. This was nothing more than Japanese lacquer prepared in a certain way. A lacquer manufacturer of Tokio made experiments [illegible] ing steel plates with his lacquer, and these were submerged in [illegible] many months. The condition of the plates after they [illegible]

seemed to justify further experiments, and the steamer "Fuso-kan" was docked, and part of her bottom sheathed with the lacquer. Immediately after an examination of her hull a year later, the Japanese Admiralty ordered a cruiser to be treated by this process, and the European nations, not to be left behind in the game, followed suit. The Russian Government had the warships "Dmitri Donskoi" and "Admiral Nachimoff" lacquered in 1888, and the United States naval authorities took cognizance of the new invention in 1891. In that year the Japanese lacquering company sent over steel plates treated with the new preservative, which were submerged at the Norfolk Navy Yard and taken up three months later. Nothing, however, was done by our Government to adopt this method of preserving our warships from fouling, and for various reasons the Japanese process of lacquering warships' bottoms has not made much advance in the European navies.

All of the governments have fallen back upon copper, or compositions in which copper is the predominant metal, for sheathing their warships. Electroplating the bottoms of ships with copper has recently been experimented extensively with, and this does away with many of the old objections to copper sheathing. Where the copper plates were nailed on the ships, "pitting" nearly always started at the nail holes. If the salt water was allowed to enter here even in the smallest quantity, corrosion would begin at once, and in a short time do great damage to the steel hull. In electroplating, however, the copper sheathing is put on in one unbroken mass, and there is no danger from "pitting." When the whole surface has been electroplated with copper a smooth and unbroken surface is presented, and it fits so closely that the sheathing cannot be removed without sometimes chipping off the iron. Moreover, this sheathing is merely a light film of copper, and its weight is so small that it averages only 2.85 pounds to the square foot.

While copper sheathing is not a perfect anti-fouling material, it is so satisfactory that ships with their bottoms so treated can often remain in warm seas for two years without being docked. Ordinarily an unsheathed vessel could not remain in such waters more than six months without having its bottom so covered with barnacles that its speed would be seriously reduced. Copper sheathing not only gives a smooth surface which offers no friction to the water, but the barnacles are killed by the poison from the copper. The small marine animals attach themselves to this copper surface and absorb the poison, which kills them and makes them drop off. This poison is produced by the gradual dissolution of the copper by coming in contact with the salt water. The chemical process in time ruins the copper bottom, and if it does not dissolve fast enough the marine animals secure a good foothold on it. All of the anti-fouling paints and compositions imitate the action of copper. Most of them are composed of copper, mercury, zinc, or arsenic. Next to copper, zinc has been used more commonly in European navies than any other metal, but this does not act as well in salt water as copper, and its use is gradually dying out.

G. E. WALSH.

LABOR-SAVING DEVICES IN LITERARY WORK.

[illegible] the question as to what has been done by literary men [illegible] side of their labors, we are struck with their lack [illegible] for this deficiency are two-fold; the literary man [illegible] he believes this side of his work to be beneath his

INDIAN AND SPANISH EDUCATION.

I EARNESTLY hope that Congress and the Administration will promptly adopt the plan recommended by Miss Reel for the education of Indian youth. The schools should be located among the Indian people, and the course of study and training should bear directly upon the probable future responsibilities and duties of the pupils. It will be folly in the future, as it has been in the past, to educate Indian youth over the heads of their people. A literary culture which has nothing in common with Indian life, either takes Indian boys permanently away from their tribes, or makes them helpless and useless on their hands; in either case the money and effort spent on them are without useful result to the tribes.

To raise the Indian people to a higher plane, we must get our lever down low enough for them to take strong hold. Their cordial co-operation is necessary. The reading and writing, the elementary science, the manual and industrial training, must be of a character to win popular approval among the Indian people, so that they will encourage regular attendance, and even help support the schools.

To this end the entire scheme of education must be planned from an intimate knowledge of the Indian character and the Indian environment.

I have great faith in manual training to arouse and sustain an interest in school work on the part of the Indian youth and their parents, but it must be very simple and carefully chosen. The education that is to succeed must bear immediate fruit; its value must be at once apparent to the narrow-minded, selfish and ignorant. The normal product of an Indian school must be an Indian still, but one who is both willing and able to raise the standard of working and living in an Indian community. The boys and the girls are to be trained, not to cease to be Indians, but to be better Indians.

The problem of Indian education is by no means solved. The bookish schoolmaster never will solve it. The solution lies, in my judgment, along the line indicated by Miss Reel; but failure is still possible. It will take considerable money, infinite patience and discretion, and twenty years' time to give the experiment a fair trial.

Similar schemes for popular education in Cuba and Porto Rico are needed. The proposition to bring a few hundred Cuban or Porto Rican boys to American colleges will accomplish practically nothing. The boys would either fail as students and be sent home in disgrace, or succeeding as students they would fail to go back to Cuba or Porto Rico to live.

Spain planted her wretched style of civilization on those [illegible] sending her priests and teachers and colonists to live among [illegible] train up new generations to their ideas. If we would [illegible] motley inhabitants so as to make them fit for self-government or [illegible] citizenship with us, we must go about it in a similar way, and we [illegible] look for speedy results. A people can be regenerated only by [illegible] generation by another and better one, and generally that by [illegible] But the fact that the task is long and difficult makes it all the [illegible] sary that the work be begun soon and begun well.

C. M. Woo[illegible]

...ministered. But we now see clearly that this de- ... the uprising of a national spirit to which is di- ...e marvellous development of the United States, and ...ritain, shorn of her oldest and greatest dependencies, ...f energies stimulated, and of vigor enhanced.

...the American people, grown to thirty millions, no ...ctly British, were brought face to face with a second ... The subordinate issues were curiously complex; but ... of vital import to the future of the nation dom- ...included all others. Should the Union be main- ...y sacrifice? The immense majority of Americans ... the affirmative, and many thousands laid down their ...cause which strongly appealed to all that was best ...m of the old mother country. "We see," said John ...he House of Commons,* "that the government of ... States has for two years past been contending for ...we know that it is contending necessarily for human ...hat government affords the remarkable example— ...he first time in the history of the world—of a great ... coming forward as the organized defender of law, ... equality." The democracy of Great Britain was ...staunch to the cause of the Union. "I know," said ...tesman,† "that there are ministers of state who do ...at this insurrection should break up the American ... there are members of our aristocracy who are not ...e shadow of the Republic; that there are rich men, ... are not depraved by their riches; that there are ...rs of conscience and honor who will not barter hu- ...for the patronage of the great." These words were ...e attitude of the Lancashire operatives, reduced to ...starvation because the mass of the American people ...uphold the Union at all cost, is a far better index ...feeling than the diatribes of certain newspapers. ... the utterances of a noisy minority in this ...ished the United States. The broader and ...thought were then and have been since all ...

... the mass of the American people ac-

cepted a tremendous responsibility. The national will, personified in Lincoln as in Washington, rose superior to the crisis. The Union was saved, and the gain was world-wide. At both of these great turning points in history, self-reliance and firm faith in the destiny of America determined the issues, and the parallel is manifest. The qualities which called a new State into existence in 1776 and saved that State from disruption in 1861-5 are the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race, which American citizenship has always been able to impart to the mixed nationalities attracted into its fold.

In the year now past, another vital question of supreme importance for good or evil presented itself for decision, and again, as I firmly believe, the true path has been chosen. Writing nearly five years ago, I ventured to state that "a policy of abstention from the responsibilities of a great nation has become impossible to the American people," * and last year I pointed out that "it is a loss to the world that the United States, with their growing trade interests, second only to our own, have so far failed to accept the position of a great power with the corresponding responsibilities." †

When the long inevitable war with Spain broke out, one certain result was clear to every student of history. Whatever were the illusions cherished in April last, the moment was evidently at hand when the American people would be brought face to face with the alternative of accepting or repudiating direct responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of law and order in Cuba and the Philippine Islands. The war could end only in one way, and when once the feeble rule of Spain was shattered, anarchy would necessarily supervene in her distant possessions if the strong hand of a great power were not forthcoming to protect the hapless populations. The case of the British intervention in Egypt in 1882 offered a close parallel. The occupation was to be temporary; approximate dates of withdrawal were officially announced; but duties toward a semi-civilized people, whether rightly or wrongly assumed by a great [illegible] not be abandoned without a loss of honor.‡ An [illegible]

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, [illegible].
† *Nineteenth Century*, February, [illegible].
‡ Cyprus, acquired in 1878, is another case in point. [illegible] or military importance and its occupation is of no [illegible] *however*, it were abandoned, great injustice would [illegible] persons, the value of whose property and interests has [illegible]

[illegible] Bay and at Tel-el-Kebir creates a new situation. In the one case, the symbol of Spanish power in the Philippines and the link connecting them with the governing [illegible] destroyed; in the other, the army, the only organized force in Egypt, and with it the machinery of government, were broken up. In either case, direct responsibility devolved upon the victor.

As soon, therefore, as the recent hostilities came to an end, the many friends of the United States in England carefully watched the currents of popular feeling. Would the new duties be frankly accepted? Would the manifest imperial destiny of the American people be now realized? Or would the dead letter of the farewell message of Washington so dominate opinion as to prevent, or at least postpone, a new departure? These were the questions which engrossed all thoughtful minds on this side of the Atlantic.

As to Cuba, there could be no doubt. The war was undertaken in order to put an end to a government which had failed in its [illegible] duties, and had directly caused a wholesale destruction of life and the devastation of a rich island within a [illegible] steam of the shores of the Republic. Whatever steps [illegible] to establish order, to secure human liberty and [illegible] prosperity, would certainly be taken by the United [illegible] Armenia or a Crete lying a hundred miles from [illegible] would have been freed many years ago. More[illegible] of exercising authority over Cuba had grown fa[illegible] geographical position it was marked out as the cer[illegible] inheritance of the United States; its people and [illegible] were widely known; a protectorate or annexa[illegible] involve any entanglement of American "peace [illegible] the toils of European ambition, rivalry, humor [illegible] fleet, almost in home waters, could control its [illegible] In the case of the Sandwich Islands, also, the [illegible] comparatively simple. The group, though iso[illegible] removed from the centers of foreign naval forces [illegible] for its defence; the population was un[illegible] and already American influence was para[illegible] Captain Mahan seems to have believed that [illegible] consistently endeavored to thwart American [illegible] but, as I pointed out in February

of which the greater part was never paid.* Under the Treaty of Paris in 1763, with the total disregard of relative values which British statesmen have frequently displayed, Havana and the Philippine Islands were returned to Spain in exchange for Florida and the right of log cutting in Honduras. That, after a lapse of one hundred and thirty-five years, the Pearl of the Antilles and the rich islands of the China Sea should have again, and this time permanently, fallen under the sway of the English-speaking people, is a curiously interesting historical development. The United States have stepped into the place which might have been ours, and have fulfilled the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Whether the consequences of the supremely important new departure are realized seems doubtful. The United States have brought under their rule vast tracts of territory. The process of absorption has been carried on without effort and without apparent effect upon the machinery of government. It may naturally be thought that the placing of the Philippine Islands on the footing of a "territory" is a measure akin to that adopted in California in 1846—more difficult, perhaps, by reason of the distance and of the large native population, but differing in degree and not in principle. On the other hand, while American writers have dwelt upon the immensity of the task undertaken and laid stress upon the want of experience and of previous prep[illegible] of the United States for the discharge of their new obli[illegible] few have drawn attention to the moral gain thus arising. [illegible] John T. Morgan admits that "the situation imposes [illegible] American people a difficult and responsible task, in giv[illegible] direction to the future of those insular people that [illegible] left in a chaotic condition."† He believes, however, [illegible]ation will not be a necessary or proper result" of [illegible] military action taken at Manila, and he alludes to [illegible] necessity of preserving the peace in these islands [illegible] government of their people has been estab[illegible] foundation." We have heard of this "tempo[illegible] before in relation to India, to Egypt and to [illegible] have shown that a great and progressive power, [illegible] a proper direction to the future" of semi-

civilized or uncivilized peoples, and to establish over them "a rightful government" on a "safe foundation," incurs responsibilities which deepen and extend with the years. The United States cannot be content with occupying a fringe of coast line, and leaving great areas unexplored and undeveloped, as was Spain in the Philippines, as is Holland in Sumatra. Barbarism cannot be tolerated by a great power controlling territory lying close to one of the great highways of the world. The period at which the mixed population of more than seven millions will attain to a capacity for self-government lies far off in the dim future. Senator Morgan's idea that the islands, after a brief period of tuition, will be able to manage for themselves, directly contradicts the teaching of history.

To Mr. Andrew Carnegie the question presents itself in a purely commercial aspect. The islands "will yield us nothing and probably be a source of annual expense." * They will necessitate the maintenance of an "enormous army and navy." They may involve foreign complications, and so disturb the serene horizon of the United States. "The sagacious policy of keeping possessions and power concentrated" ought to be resolutely upheld, which would logically entail the abandonment of foreign commerce and rigid restrictions upon the employment of American capital abroad. Broadly speaking, Mr. Carnegie appears to dread expansion on the ground that it might, in some way not clearly defined, interfere with the material prosperity, the luxury and the security of the people of the United States.

In these two articles, written from a widely different standpoint, and in many others, I do not trace the faint glimmer of the great truth that the responsibilities of empire may be a moral gain to the nation which accepts them from lofty motives. Both Senator Morgan and Mr. Carnegie, however, unconsciously illustrate the urgent need of a new political departure. The [illegible] rejects the idea of any permanent occupation of the [illegible] "because the United States are, in every sense, American [illegible] these islands "are not within the sphere of American [illegible] influence, but are Asiatic, and should remain Asiatic [illegible] ticity is one of the virtues; but the man whose [illegible] responsibilities are limited to his home circle [illegible] maimed and stunted life.

* North American Review August, 1898.

Self-centered nations are incomplete organisms which can never attain full dignity and vigor. If the Senators of Rome in 260, B. C., after the subjugation of Italy, had set their faces against expansion, proclaiming that foreign territories were "not within the sphere of Roman political influence," they would have indefinitely retarded the progress of the world.

On the other hand, Mr. Carnegie would abandon the Philippines to chaos or to a scramble among powers to whom liberty, as we understand the word, is yet unknown, because "Americans cannot be grown there." In his view,* "the most grievous burden which Great Britain has upon her shoulders is that of India, for there it is impossible for our race to grow."

It is true that our race cannot colonize India, cannot become hereditary magnates, territorial or industrial, in any part of British Asia; but the task of governing India, heavy as it is, confers upon us a moral advantage which defies all estimate. The greatest gains of nations and of individuals cannot be presented in the form of a balance sheet. European peoples vaguely regard India as a perennial mine of material wealth, upon which Great Britain makes huge annual drafts. This is an absolute illusion; but to India we owe in great measure the training of our best manhood. India makes men, though it does not "grow" them, and the influence, example and education of the men whom India makes reacts powerfully upon the whole social and political structure of the nation.

A young civilian goes to India to find himself at once in a position of great individual responsibility, to represent justice and right among a horde of Asiatics in some isolated country station, to rise rapidly to the rule of many millions. A young officer joins a regiment from the military college and may shortly find himself the leader of native troops in a trying situation; or [illegible] occur—he may be placed in charge of a plague [illegible] in a great town, with duties calling for high administra- [illegible] combined with the utmost tact. In this way men [illegible] the continuous interchanges between England [illegible] number of relatives and friends who are care- [illegible] Indian career—even those that are humble— [illegible] idea of what our great dependency gives [illegible]. In a lesser degree, Egypt, South,

* [illegible] Review for June, [illegible].

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policy which he condemns. Isolation from the affairs of the world and abstention from the responsibilities of a great power are necessarily incompatible with "self-sacrifice made for others."

In redeeming the world from barbarism, many nations have taken part, with varying success. Russia in Central Asia and France in Algeria, Tunis and West Africa, have accomplished good work which, by reason of unfortunate international jars, has not been adequately appreciated in this country. Italy, after sad blunders, is now ameliorating the conditions of human life in her Red Sea province. Germany, in East and West Africa, and now in China, is removing abuses. In so far as the work carried out by these nations has been beneficial to native races, it has reacted upon themselves, for "mercy . . . is twice blessed."

Meanwhile, the United States, absorbed in the development of their vast territories, in the race for wealth, and in internal politics, remained self-centered. The late war swiftly infused new aspirations into the national life, and upraised nobler ideals. Sympathy for the perishing *reconcentrados*, warm appreciation of heroism by sea and land, kindly thoughts for the vanquished, indignation aroused by the easily preventable sufferings of the brave troops who had worthily upheld the national honor—such were the impulses which stirred the hearts of the American people. A wave of generous emotion passed over the land, and the mere politician was for the time submerged. The recent New York election is the significant proof of a new standard of merit and of the triumphant assertion of new and loftier claims upon the popular suffrage. Before the war Colonel Roosevelt's chances would have been nil. After the war, the gallant soldier and man of action could successfully hold his own against the wire-puller. [illegible] there is a distinct moral gain. It is a healthy and a [illegible] sign that the mind of the New York elector turned to the [illegible] field" before Santiago rather than to narrow local con[illegible]. Already, therefore, the effect of "looking outward" * [illegible]bly. And, as President McKinley has stated,† "mil[illegible] under the common flag and for a righteous cause [illegible] the national spirit, and served to cement more [illegible] the fraternal bonds between every section of [illegible]

[illegible] nation.

Henceforth the United States will occupy a new position among the nations of the world. They have, in effect, accepted responsibility for the righteous government of some ten millions of alien races. Their task, in the Philippines especially, will be difficult; but if it is approached with high aims and without seeking direct advantage, the difficulties will be successfully surmounted. The secret of the government of Eastern peoples mainly consists in the art of selecting agents of the right stamp, and the United States possesses men in abundance who are capable of regenerating the lost colonies of Spain. It is only necessary to make the selection without fear or favor, and with a single eye to the general good. The marvellous prosperity of the protected States of the Malay Peninsula, inaugurated by Sir Andrew Clarke and carried out by a few British representatives, acting through native rulers, and respecting native prejudices, shows what can be accomplished in conditions closely resembling that of the Philippine Islands. What we have done, Americans imbued with the same love of liberty and reverence for justice can undertake without doubts or misgivings, and the incalculable moral gain which imperial responsibilities have conferred upon us will be their reward. Reflex action upon the United States will be one of the most important results of the new departure.

A great nation once committed to expansion can neither draw back nor set a limit to its inherent energies. For the moment the future of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and the Sandwich Islands is the subject of speculation; but President McKinley touches upon two other questions, which will shortly assume great importance. "The construction" of the Nicaragua Canal, he states, "is now more than ever indispensable, and our policy more imperatively than ever calls for its control by this government." The interests of the world, no less than those of the United States, demand that this linking of the oceans shall be realized. Those interests also require that the waterway should be absolutely controlled by the United States. We do not want to repeat in the Western Hemisphere the political complications in which the Suez Canal is involved. But the policy [illegible] by the President will infallibly entail new relations [illegible] sponsibilities in regard to the Central American [illegible] in becoming an Asiatic power, the United [illegible] *to face* with the great problem of China. [illegible]

treatment of American citizens and their trade be found to exist, or be hereafter developed," states the President, "the desire of this government would appear to be realized." This is precisely the British view, and at last the English-speaking peoples stand side by side in upholding a principle of the highest international importance.

With the new year a fresh chapter in the history of the United States opens. The fair white pages await the impress of statesmanship, and I firmly believe that they are destined to bear the record of honorable work in the cause of liberty, justice and humanity. One European nation alone has cordially welcomed the new departure of America, and it is surely a happy augury that the English-speaking peoples have at this precise juncture recognized their need of each other. This suffices, and of the artificial and temporary arrangements miscalled "alliances," which provide occupation for European chancelleries, there is no necessity. Should a common emergency arise, we shall be able to undertake combined action with a full mutual understanding hitherto attained by no alliance. In war, the strength of the United States and Great Britain would be represented by the sum of their resources, and no correcting factor is required, because the genius of the two nations has a common origin. In peace, as Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out, if they "work together for the world's civilization, no reactionary forces can withstand their combined effort."

G. S. CLARKE.

Simultaneously with these experiments, Sir Frederick Abel was experimenting with compressed wet gun cotton, and he found that this explosive (tri-nitro-cellulose) when ground into a pulp, similar to paper pulp, and compressed while wet into slabs or blocks, could not be detonated by any ordinary means; that it could even be thrown into a white hot furnace with safety; but that it would detonate exactly like a fulminating cap, providing that a very large detonating charge of fulminate of mercury was employed, and this led to its universal adoption, not for use in large guns, but as the explosive charge in submarine locomotive torpedoes. However, it never has been used to charge projectiles fired from guns, except experimentally and on a small scale.

In 1884 I was consulted by a high Government official who told me that he had a quantity of German brown cocoa powder; he said that this powder produced remarkable velocities with phenomenally low pressures; it was a slow burning powder *par excellence*. He said that it was the easiest thing in the world to analyze it; he had given it to the leading chemists and scientific men to analyze, and they all agreed exactly as to the amount of carbon, sulphur and nitrate of potash present, but he added "when we make a powder here with the greatest care, containing the exact proportions that we find in this German powder, the results are totally different. Instead of high velocities and low pressures we get high pressures and low velocities, and still there is chemically no difference. There is nothing new in the chemicals employed, still we are asked to pay a very large sum of money for the secret. I have thought that perhaps you could put us on the right track and save the money. Can you tell us how the powder is made?" I replied: "You have already told me yourself, but I will come to-morrow and tell it back to you again."

[illegible] assured me that the powder was chemically the [illegible] powder made by the Government, I knew that the [illegible] by some physical condition due to the mechan- [illegible] material, and it occurred to me that in all [illegible] sulphur and charcoal were very finely ground and [illegible] that the oxygen bearing salt (nitrate of pot- [illegible] able size.

[illegible] nitrogen groups carrying the oxygen [illegible] are almost in chemical combination; [illegible] almost in actual contact; the dis-

tance between the centre of the store of oxygen and the centre of the material to be consumed is infinitesimally small, perhaps not more than one thousand millionth part of an inch; but in ordinary gunpowder, although ground extremely fine, the distance between any particular particle carrying oxygen and the material to be consumed is enormously great as compared with the distance in nitro-glycerine. Now, if we wish to make the powder still slower burning, we shall only have to increase this distance. So thoroughly was I convinced that this must be true that I at once went to an instrument maker and bought a micrometer to use with my microscope. I took two prisms of powder, one made by the Government and the other German prismatic; I polished the surfaces and examined them. The Government powder appeared perfectly homogeneous, the particles were so finely ground, so intimately combined and so firmly pressed together that it appeared to be all one body. I then tried the German prismatic, and it appeared under the microscope, exactly like what is known as brawn or hogshead cheese; the sulphur and carbon were finely ground, but the nitrate of potash had a granular appearance, the largest grains being 1-200th part of an inch in diameter.

The next day I took my instrument and the powder and showed it to the official. He congratulated me very highly and said I had done them a good service. However, about a year later, he informed me that the eminent scientist employed in the first instance, never would forgive me for what I had done with my microscope. The discovery, however, led me to further investigation. I went to a powder mill, and made a batch of powder; I carefully weighed the charcoal and carbon, and ground them together under an edge mill, quite as fine as they would have been ground in the ordinary way. I then added the proper amount of nitrate of potash in a granular form, thoroughly mixed it, and when it had been under the action of the edge mill for [illegible] minutes, I removed a few pounds. This I repeated at short [illegible] tervals for about four hours. Upon trying these [illegible] was shown that powder could be made slow burning to [illegible] quired degree; that there was a constant change in the [illegible] the mill for about one hour, after which time very [illegible] took place, that which was ground four hours being [illegible] more violent in its action than that which was [illegible] hours; while there was a great difference betw[illegible]

been in five minutes and that which had been in twenty minutes. Some of these powders were afterward granulated, others compressed into cubes and tried before Government officials, when my theory in regard to slow burning powder was fully borne out.

Having found that powder could be made slow burning, I next arranged it in such a manner as to be progressive—that is, I pressed the powder into blocks and cubes, and loaded cartridges in such a manner that the first powder to be burned would be slow burning, and the last to be burned quick burning, so that as the projectile moved forward in the barrel, the powder would burn faster and faster, thus maintaining the pressure and imparting to the projectile a high velocity without a high initial pressure. It was also found that the violence of the shock was much lessened by the use of progressive powder.

I then determined to construct a gun for throwing high explosives, such as nitro-gelatine and compressed gun cotton, from a powder gun. At that time, considerable discussion was taking place in regard to the utility of submarine torpedoes. Mr. Bryce-Douglas, who was then Chief Engineer of the Fairfield Shipbuilding Works, Glasgow, expressed it as his opinion that it would be almost impossible when ships were in motion to discharge a torpedo in such a manner as to hit another vessel except at very short ranges. He said that the eddying and whirling of the water would be such as to make torpedoes almost as dangerous to the ship throwing them as to the ship aimed at. At that time torpedoes were projected into the water by compressed air, [illegible] small powder charge, throwing them perhaps forty feet [illegible] the ship. Why not make this tube larger and throw the [illegible] through the air to the ship instead of throwing it in the [illegible] This would make the torpedo much cheaper, there would [illegible] certainty of hitting and the effective range would be [illegible]d. Acting upon these suggestions I constructed a [illegible] progressive powder arranged in such a manner [illegible] on its flight at a relatively gentle pressure [illegible] on the projectile as the torpedo moved [illegible] I also provided my torpedo with a peculiar [illegible] long distance from the fulminating cap, [illegible], permitting the projectile to enter [illegible] certain distance in the water before [illegible] experiments that almost any

gun, to throw the shot completely off the target. Still, it was believed that under certain conditions the gun might be useful for fortifications. In any compressed air gun of the Zalinski type, it will be evident that an increase in the atmospheric pressure is not attended by a corresponding increase in the velocity of the projectile, because the higher the pressure of the air the greater its weight and density, so that when the pressures are increased, we will say from 2,000 to 3,000 lbs. per square inch, the actual velocity of the projectile is only slightly increased. It occurred to me at that time that if the pressure could be increased without increasing the weight or density of the air a great improvement would result. I therefore constructed a gun in which I used only 1,000-lbs. pressure per square inch. The gun was arranged in such a manner that when the air passed from the reservoir into the chamber of the gun it took along with it a small quantity of gasoline, just enough to render the mixture explosive, the same as the mixture in a gas engine. The gun being loaded, in order to fire the trigger was pulled, which acted upon a large balance valve, which suddenly sprang open; the projectile was then driven forward in the bore with a pressure of only 1,000 lbs. per square inch. When the projectile had moved from 2 to 3 calibres, the charge of gasoline and air was ignited, and while the projectile was still moving forward, the fire ran back into the chamber, constantly raising the pressure, so that by the time the projectile had reached the muzzle of the gun the pressure had mounted from 1,000 to 4,000 lbs. per square inch, and the result was a comparatively high velocity with a short barrel. This gun was fired a [illegible] number of rounds in 1888, and found to be quite reliable. [illegible] feature was that the report of this gun was very loud [illegible] showing that the final pressure was very high, while [illegible] gun the report is very feeble, showing that the [illegible] low. But this gun never went beyond the experi[illegible] All the naval men with whom I came in contact [illegible] having any kind of high explosive on board ship, [illegible] objecting to compressed gun cotton used in [illegible] did not believe that torpedoes would [illegible] fight.

[illegible] series of experiments had been made [illegible] "Resistance." The name seemed to [illegible] old ship was torpedoed time and

again, patched up and made as good as new. The experiments demonstrated that the ordinary submarine torpedo was nothing like as destructive as one had been led to believe. Experiments were also made with lyddite (which is the English name for milenite) with projectiles loaded with various high explosives. Then black powder was tried, and I remember distinctly that it was said that, everything considered, old-fashioned black powder answered the purpose best; it appeared to be quite as destructive as any other agents employed, was more apt to set the ship on fire, and produced an immense amount of smoke, which was demoralizing to the men and enabled the gunners to see where their shots had struck better than any other form of powder.

The "Resistance" experiments were very discouraging to me at the time, and my aërial torpedo experiments were practically abandoned—especially so as I had learned from experiments made at Annapolis that compressed gun cotton, dynamite, nitro-gelatine and so forth, had little or no effect upon armor plates.

It was then that I commenced my experiments in smokeless powder. It was known that the French had a smokeless powder, and every one in England was anxious to find out what this powder was. I had witnessed the firing of many rounds from Maxim guns in France, and from the smell of the fumes while firing it occurred to me that the powder employed might be a gun cotton compound. It was gun cotton dissolved in a solvent, made into sheets, dried and granulated.

The first smokeless powder that I made in England was made in exactly the same manner as the French. I had obtained a quantity of true gun cotton, that is tri-nitro-cellulose (known sometimes as insoluble gun cotton because it cannot be dissolved in alcohol and ether like collodion cotton, di-nitro-cellulose). Some of this powder, when freshly made, produced fairly good results; quite as good as those produced by the French powder, but after keeping it for a few months the grains lost their [illegible] became quite opaque and fibrous, and it then burned [illegible] violence. Investigation showed that about 1 to [illegible] the solvent was still in the powder when the [illegible] whereas the drying out of this last trace of [illegible] pletely changed the character of the powder. [illegible] powder about 2 per cent. of castor oil, [illegible] castor oil remained after the solvent had [illegible]

so that the powder would keep any length of time—indeed powder made at that time (1889) is quite good to-day.

But I wished to produce still higher results. I knew nothing of what other experimenters were doing, but it occurred to me that it would be very curious if two violent explosives like nitro-glycerine and gun cotton could have the same amplitude of molecular waves passing through them when the explosion took place. It also occurred to me that if the two substances were intimately combined, made into a liquid and mixed together and then dried, it might be found impossible for a molecular wave to pass through both of them. For instance, if we should take a plate of ice two inches thick and put it in a glass box four inches thick, the light would pass through both the ice and the two inches of air space, but if we ground the ice very fine, so that it filled the whole space, *i. e.*, the ice and air being thoroughly mixed together as in light snow, a wave of light would not pass through the two; in fact, the mixture would completely shut out the light, giving a black shadow. I believed that if the nitro-glycerine and the gun cotton were intimately combined an explosive wave would not pass through the mixture, and experiments revealed that I was quite correct. All mixtures of from 1 per cent. to 75 per cent. of nitro-glycerine were experimented with, the result being that from [illegible] 15 per cent. was found to be the best, everything considered. If larger percentages of nitro-glycerine were employed, there was little liability of detonating when new, but it was found that the nitro-glycerine would gradually ooze out, or one might [illegible] evaporate out and condense in the cartridge case, forming [illegible], and a very little free nitro-glycerine was quite sufficient [illegible] the whole of the charge.

[illegible] experiments also demonstrated that when pressures not [illegible] 15 tons were employed, almost any degree of slow burning [illegible] obtained with these smokeless powders, and this again [illegible] suggestion that they might advantageously be employed [illegible] aerial torpedoes from large guns.

[illegible] part of the smokeless powders employed to-day [illegible] mixture of nitro-glycerine and gun cotton. The [illegible] about by the agency of acetone, a species of [illegible] dissolves both gun cotton and nitro-glycerine. [illegible] of this spirit is present the mass is of a [illegible] and may be squirted or spun through a

tities the rapidity of burning went on in geometrical progression, commencing slow at first, then as the pressure of the gas increased the heat, the heat increased the rapidity of burning, the rapidity of burning again increasing the pressure of the gases on the burning surface, which again re-acted upon the heat—thus action and reaction taking place in rapid succession. The rapidity of burning very soon approached to the point known as detonation. Others claim that the powder detonated on account of the presence of a considerable quantity of free nitro-glycerine which had been evaporated and condensed or had oozed out of the surface of the powder, it being remembered that the British Government powder contains 58 per cent. of nitro-glycerine.

Wishing to arrive at the exact truth in this important and interesting problem, I procured a considerable quantity of various grades of smokeless powder, the surface of all of them being quite free from exuded nitro-glycerine. I filled two large steel cylinders with this powder, placed them in close proximity to each other, and inserted a fuse with a very large detonating cap in cylinder No. 1. When the fuse was fired, both the cylinders detonated exactly like so much dynamite, making a deep excavation in the earth. Had I used only a small fulminating cap, the first steel cylinder would have exploded before half the powder had been consumed, and a large quantity would have been found unconsumed in the immediate vicinity, while the second cylinder would not have exploded at all. These experiments went to show that all forms of modern smokeless powder can be detonated, providing that the fulminating charge that sets them off is sufficiently large and powerful.

In one lot of foreign made rifle ammunition we had four cartridges out of a lot of 40,000 detonate and destroy Maxim guns. This was probably due to carelessness in putting two charges of [illegible] powder in the primer instead of one.

[illegible]cerine is slightly volatile—that is, air coming in con[illegible] nitro-glycerine will take up a very small quantity of it, [illegible] found that where English cordite with its large [illegible] nitro-glycerine is being dried (that is, deprived of [illegible] surrounding objects in time become coated

jectile, the erosion is still further increased, so that in some cases I have known guns to be destroyed after firing only a few rounds.

The next step was to prevent this cutting away of the steel from the inside of the gun by the action of the white-hot gases moving at a terrific velocity past the projectile. Various kinds of copper driving bands have been experimented with. These driving bands consist of a copper ring let into the projectile near its base, the periphery of the ring being of a sufficient diameter when pressed forward into the rifling to form a gas-tight joint between the projectile and the rifling, and at the same time give the necessary rotatory motion to the projectile. It will be understood that the copper band is the only part of the projectile which enters the grooves, or, as is said, "takes the rifling." These bands work very well while the barrel is quite new, but as soon as a small quantity of gas passes, the steel becomes very rough, so that the copper bands are cut away by the rough steel, while the passing gases from each successive shot make the steel still rougher, sometimes scooping out holes as big as a filbert after only a few rounds have been fired.

In order to obviate this trouble we have provided the projectiles with what might be termed an obturating band; that is, just behind the copper driving band we have placed a semi-plastic gas check. Behind it is placed what might be termed a junk ring, arranged in such a manner that when the gun is fired the junk ring moves forward and subjects the gas ring to a pressure 20 per cent. greater than the pressure in the gun—that is, if the pressure in the gun amounts to 14 tons per square inch the pressure on the gas ring is about 17 tons to the square inch. This is found to completely stop the passage of gas between the projectile and the bore of the gun; so we are now able to fire large [illegible] many hundreds of rounds with full charges before any per[illegible] wear takes place in the barrel. This will enable our [illegible]thorities to practice gunnery to almost any extent without [illegible] of wearing their guns out, and it is believed by many [illegible] near future no large guns will be fired on shipboard [illegible] employment of the obturating gas check.

HIRAM STEVENS MAXIM.

set to state with some precision in what sense the word luxury is here used. In ordinary speech we refer to necessaries and luxuries as contrasted with each other. Sometimes we speak also of conveniences and comforts, using these terms loosely to designate things intermediate between the extremes, necessaries and luxuries. The four-fold distinction thus vaguely shadowed forth in popular usage can be stated somewhat definitely, thus: A necessary is something indispensable to physical health; a convenience is something that relieves from slight pain or annoyance, not essentially detrimental to health; a comfort is something that affords positive pleasure, but is a common and inexpensive means of enjoyment; a luxury also is something that affords positive pleasure, but is an unusual and expensive means of enjoyment. Thus, for example, food of some sort is a necessary; utensils to eat with are conveniences; table linen and a table service are comforts; silver plate and cut glass are luxuries.

The first three classes make up together the standard of life. This includes, then, the amount of necessaries, conveniences and comforts which an individual, a class or a society regularly demands. Everything beyond this is luxury. Whatever an individual, a class or a society can dispense with, according to the prevailing standard, without injury, inconvenience or discomfort, may be termed a luxury. This definition, it will be noted, draws no hard-and-fast line between luxuries and non-luxuries. This is not possible. The line is a shifting one. The classification is relative to time and place; it depends on habit in the case of the individual, on custom in the case of groups of individuals. What is a luxury to one is a mere comfort, or even a necessary, to another. Luxuries tend in time to develop into necessaries. Shoes, once a luxury of [illegible] few, are now a necessity of the many. A place to sleep under [illegible] now regarded as absolutely necessary to physical health; [illegible] this becomes a luxury under certain conditions of time [illegible]. One thinks of Sir Walter Scott's Highlander, who, [illegible] open moor in the dead of winter, rolled up a ball of [illegible]; his companion at once kicked it away as a sign [illegible]. It should be borne in mind, then, that the notion [illegible] relative one, the line between luxuries and [illegible] shifting one. Indeed, the passing of [illegible] common comforts is only one name for

In most of the discussions of luxury that have come under my notice the verdict has been unfavorable. Luxury has fared rather hard at the hands of both economists and moralists. Occasionally, to be sure, an apologetic voice is raised in defence of luxury, but it is soon drowned in the general chorus of condemnation. The condemnations of luxury range all the way from the rhetorical fulmination of the pietistic fanatic to the sober indictment of the social philosopher. With the former we need not concern ourselves. The latter alone will claim our attention.

On economic grounds the indictment against luxury contains two main counts, closely related and yet distinct: First, luxury diminishes the industrial efficiency of the individual; second, luxury retards the accumulation of capital, and consequently the growth of society in material wealth. The first count may be dismissed. It has no force as an argument against luxury in general. It holds merely against particular luxuries, and in the case of particular persons. Whether a luxury diminishes industrial efficiency depends on what sort of a luxury it is, and what sort of an individual is using it. Because some luxuries are bad we should not leap to the conclusion that all luxuries are to be condemned.

The economist who indicts luxury on the ground that it makes men lazy loses sight entirely of the effect of the prospect of luxury in making men work. If luxury itself tends to slacken the energies of individuals, the desire for luxury tends to quicken their energies. The second tendency is at least as strong as the first. I am inclined to believe it the stronger. Men would probably work less rather than more if the prospect of luxury were taken away. A very powerful motive to industrial activity would thus be destroyed.

The second count in the economic indictment of luxury—that it retards the formation of capital—is next to be examined. It may be well to state at once that this charge is indisputably true. Luxury does diminish the accumulation of capital. You [illegible] both eat your cake and save it. But is it sound social [illegible] save as many cakes as possible? This appears [illegible] batable question.

The orthodox economist answers: "Yes; spend [illegible] as much as you can." The classic dogma [illegible] cence of saving is very dear to the heart of [illegible]

His ideal is the largest possible production of material wealth. The increase of production depends largely on the accumulation of capital. Capital is accumulated by saving. To save is, therefore, more virtuous, from the traditional economic point of view, than to spend. Luxurious expenditure means waste of wealth that ought to have been saved and added to the stock of social capital. The money squandered on luxuries, if saved and invested in productive enterprises, would give employment to labor and increase the production of wealth.

The wayfaring man, untrained in the principles of economic science, has always looked with an approving eye on the prodigal spender. He has a notion that liberal spending makes trade good. This notion the economist assures us is a popular fallacy. He reproaches with shortsightedness the men who condone luxurious expenditure. The latter "fails to see"—that is the economist's favorite way of putting this point—that the person who spends money on luxuries, although he may indeed benefit trade in a certain way, and cause some employment of labor, would confer a vastly greater benefit on the community if he saved his money and invested it in some business. The millionaire epicure who spends annually $100,000 on his table, gives employment, to be sure, to an army of cooks and bottlewashers; but, if he had not spent his money in this way, he might have built a shirt factory. He would then have given employment to an army of productive laborers, and would have added to the stock of useful goods in the community.

Now, this traditional doctrine of political economy regarding saving has of late been assailed with great vigor by a group of critics who hold it to be false to the ground.* These critics, in the opinion of the writer, have decidedly the better of the argument. They have successfully demolished the classic dogma of [illegible] beneficence of saving. They have demonstrated that [illegible] it may be sound policy for the individual, is not [illegible] to the community. It may easily be carried too [illegible] spent only the necessary minimum, saved as [illegible] and invested the savings in productive enter[illegible] demand for the products of these investments [illegible] the whole industrial machinery would be [illegible] A state of general overproduction, or un-

* [illegible] "The Fallacy of Saving."

in my opinion, sensible enough. When discussing this question of luxury one day, I expressed a wish that instead of having feet, which we must constantly protect from stones and thorns, as well as from the damp, we might have horses' hoofs, and so dispense with shoes and stockings and all their attendant discomforts. I was laughed at for this idea, and it was nicknamed Sabotism. But I persist in believing that our needs are so many weaknesses, which divert us from the ideal and overwhelm us in worldly interests. Without wants we might be like the lilies of the gospel, 'which toil not, neither do they spin,' or we might even resemble those persons of independent means who pass from one delightful spot to another, enjoying at their ease the beauties of nature."* From M. de Laveleye's point of view it must appear equally deplorable that we are not provided with hairy coats, so that we might avoid the irksome necessity of dressing; that our palates are not coarse enough to put up with hay, so that we might escape the grievous trouble of breadwinning. It is a sort of cow-philosophy which de Laveleye here voices. Without wants we should resemble rather the cows of the pasture than the lilies of the field.

The arraignments of luxury on ethical grounds, when pared of emotional extravagances, may be reduced to these two propositions: First, luxury demoralizes the individual, making him sensuous and self-indulgent; second, luxury wrongs the poor, through the waste of money that ought to have gone to charity. The ethical argument against luxury thus rests partly on an individualistic, partly on a socialistic, basis.

The first of these propositions is a wild generalization. It is not true that luxury *per se* is demoralizing. All depends on the kind of luxury in question. The right sort of luxury refines the individual, enriches his life, and heightens his social efficiency. In the main, luxury has exhibited itself as a great moralizing and [illegible] agent. The second proposition requires more detailed [illegible]. Luxury is condemned on the ground that it absorbs [illegible] that ought to be devoted to the relief of poverty. This [illegible] expression in the following passage from one of Mr. [illegible]'s essays: "When did wealth ever rear such en[illegible] luxury as it is rearing in England at the pres[illegible] remember one of those palaces, the most con[illegible] around. Its lord was, I dare say, consum-

ing the income of some six hundred of the poor laboring families around him. The thought that you are spending on yourself annually the income of six hundred laboring families seems to me as much as a man with a heart and a brain can bear." * From this point of view it appears sinfully extravagant to spend money on superfluities, when so many people are without necessities. The money spent for a box of Havanas would have supplied some underfed family with flour for a twelve-month. Luxury thus virtually involves robbery of the poor. There is a haunting idea in the background of this opinion that some occult causal connection exists between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many. The poor are getting poorer because the rich are getting richer. The millionaire is responsible in some mysterious way for the plight of the proletarian. "If one of my subjects is idle," said an emperor of China, "then there is somewhere in my state another who suffers from hunger and cold." Since, therefore, the rich man has obtained his wealth at the cost of the poor man, he owes the latter reparation for this injury. Charities are thus regarded as a kind of peace offering, incumbent on the man of wealth because of his supposed responsibility for the poverty of his neighbors. All luxurious expenditure is culpable, for it wrongs the poor.

This notion that there is necessarily any causal connection between opulence and poverty is too crude to require serious refutation. The wealth of society is not a fixed fund, of which, if one may get more than an equal share, some one else is bound to get proportionately less. It is rather a variable mass, which each individual can augment or diminish by his efficiency or inefficiency. If one man has more wealth than another, it is generally because either he or his ancestors have produced more. He is under no obligation to dole out his surplus. This does not mean that the possession of wealth carries with it no obligations. The man of wealth is morally bound to administer his trust in a way that shall promote and not retard social progress. This is an [illegible] commonplace which needs no emphasis. But it does [illegible] emphasis that the possession of wealth involves no [illegible] the poor which must be tardily made good by [illegible] is not wicked to be rich. The man of wealth is not [illegible] restitution to his poor neighbor. He cannot [illegible] spends his income on luxuries—in a judicious [illegible]

* Goldwin Smith: "The Labor Movement," [illegible]

Indeed, the man who spends wisely on luxuries does more substantial good to society than the man who gives indiscriminately for charities. The former creates employment for laborers; the latter pauperizes them. Even foolish extravagance is a lesser evil than reckless alms-giving.

This argument that we have just been considering is really an arraignment of the existing system of distribution, not of luxury. So far as the argument has any force at all, it turns against the justice of the present distribution of wealth; it has no bearing on the expenditure of wealth. If the present system does involve injustice, by giving too much to the capitalist and too little to the laborer, then it is a reform of the whole plan of distribution that is called for—not a mere readjustment of private expenditure. If, under the existing system, the rich man gets more than his fair share, the system should be changed so that he will get less. But he should not be morally enjoined from spending on luxuries. As applied to luxury, this argument is misdirected.

The sweeping condemnation of luxury *per se* by the Puritan moralist has very little ground to stand upon. No case can be made out against luxury on ethical grounds. But let us not rashly go too far in the opposite direction, and pronounce luxury in all forms to be wholly good. There are justifiable and there are unjustifiable luxuries. The question whether a particular luxury be justifiable or culpable turns upon two considerations—first, upon its effects on the individual, and, second, upon its effects on society. In general, it may be laid down that a luxury which contributes to the efficiency of the individual, in the widest sense, and which does not impose on society for the satisfaction of its demands an unwholesome and degrading form of labor, is perfectly justifiable. This sanction of luxury is not to be stretched to cover unlimited self-indulgence. The part played by rational self-sacrifice in the development of character is not to be overlooked. Constant self-indulgence is demoralizing. But, in general, a man has a right to spend money for anything that enriches and diversifies his life, and thus aids in the developing and rounding out of his personality, provided the labor that is required for the production of the articles in question be agreeable and innocuous. On the other hand, a luxury that demoralizes the individual, or calls for a noxious form of labor, is unjustifiable. This is rather a mild restriction. But it is as far as the cautious moralist will go in

OLD WAR PRISONS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, H.M. INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

THE treatment accorded to prisoners of war during the early years of the present century, by the two nations that were long the chief belligerents, was altogether at variance with modern humanitarian ideas. We can hardly imagine that the same horrors would be perpetrated, if hostilities as fierce and protracted were to disturb the world in these latter days. Public opinion, not only in the countries concerned, but throughout the civilized world, would certainly find voice to denounce any gross neglect or any cruel ill-usage of its captives by a callous and brutal government. Still, past experience contains many valuable lessons; and to know what was done in the past is some guarantee that it will not be done again.

Of course, the same conditions may not reappear. Fewer prisoners will probably be taken in future wars, certainly as the result of sea engagements; while modern science has multiplied the destructiveness of modern weapons, modern battle-ships are so many iron coffins that will sink, when worsted, with all on board. Again, we may never see the revival of the Napoleonic system, which was obstinately opposed to cartels and exchanges, and under which the prison population was constantly augmented as the war went on, yet rarely depleted save by natural causes. What this meant is best shown by figures. It has been calculated that, in the [illegible] years between 1803 and 1814, some 122,000 French prison- [illegible] were brought into England. Of these not more than 18 [illegible] were paroled or exchanged; about 10 per cent. died in the [illegible] the residue remained in British hands until the peace. [illegible] the same in France, although the numbers were [illegible] have been still less but for Napoleon's high- [illegible]tifiable detention of non-combatants on the

the sufferings endured by the prisoners of both countries. They had little hope of release by legitimate means, and this led to the overcrowding already mentioned, and stimulated attempts at escape, which, when they failed, entailed the harshest reprisals.

The earliest method adopted in England for housing the French captives was their confinement in the "hulks," the "water" or floating prisons—obsolete men-of-war converted into places of durance, and stationed mostly in the Medway, at Chatham, or in the harbors at Portsmouth and Plymouth. These were the "*pontons*" of Napoleon's bulletins, the target of his bitterest invective, the foul receptacles where his braves languished perpetually, although many might have been forthwith freed if he had changed his policy towards the English "leopards." The first hulks employed were not to be defended. After many due deductions for a certain exaggeration of statement, the pictures that survive of the hulks, drawn by some of those who were confined in them, are dark and discreditable. One, M. Louis Garneray, who was captured in the "*Belle Poule*," off the coast of Africa, by H. M. S. "Ramillies," found himself in the hulk "Porteus," a two or three decker, at Portsmouth, in 1806. On arrival, under military escort, he was "brutally thrust" into the midst of a wretched, hideous crowd; he might have been "among corpses" that had just risen from the grave, with "hollow eyes, wan, cadaverous complexions, bent backs, beards neglected, emaciated bodies, scarcely covered with yellow rags." The latter were the shreds of prison uniform he was now compelled to put on—skimpy, badly made jacket and trousers of coarse yellow cloth and a red waistcoat, all stamped with the letters "T. O.," in black, the mark of the Transport Office, the department of state that controlled all prison business, especially transportation beyond the seas.

The part appropriated for air and exercise was the [illegible] and "waist," a space 44 feet by 38 feet, called, by those [illegible] it, the "Park." It was not open to the sky, but boarded [illegible] strong planks, loopholed, through which the guards [illegible] could fire in on the prisoners in case of outbreaks or [illegible] Below, the prisoners occupied the orlop and lower [illegible] 140 feet long, by 40 feet wide and 5 feet high. [illegible] limits, some 700 persons or more slept in [illegible] them, each hammock containing a flock [illegible] blanket. Those who could pay for it [illegible]

a standing bed place of boards. These "between decks" were very dark, and the small portholes were obstructed by stout iron bars; the place was infested with vermin of the worst kind, and the ventilation was so atrociously neglected, the air became so poisonous, that the ship's officers, when they took off hatches in the morning, were afraid to breathe it and ran for their lives. At night the candles would not burn for lack of oxygen, and the prisoners lay naked on account of the intolerable heat.

The dietary was coarse, insufficient and repugnant to French taste. The daily ration consisted of one and a quarter pounds of dark bread and seven ounces of "cow beef;" a small modicum of barley and onions was issued, to make soup for each mess of four men. The dinner meal varied a little; one day in the week a pound of red herring with a pound of potatoes was given; another day a pound of salt cod. These allowances were enough in the gross, but they were diminished in weight by cheating contractors, or were so foul as to be unpalatable. The herrings were so detestably bad that they were often sold back to the contractor at a trifling price, to do duty again later as the authorized ration. The writer I am quoting, Louis Garneray, declares that the same herrings regularly reappeared for ten years. The salt cod was just eatable, but the bread was as heavy as lead, and often short in weight; to complain of it meant going without until the evening, when the superior official gave his decision as to quality and quantity. Water was brought off to the hulk in small boats, and it had to be pumped on board by the prisoners. Still worse stories were current as to the insufficiency of the food. In 1811 a mutiny occurred on board the "Samson," caused by the desperate hunger of the half-starved inmates. Some doubt may be [illegible] as to an incident that is alleged to have occurred at [illegible] barracks, used in connection with the Portsmouth [illegible] was stated in all seriousness that a military mounted [illegible] visited the barracks, and had been so imprudent as [illegible] at the gate, missed his horse when he came [illegible] killed, cut up and eaten raw by the famished [illegible] same fate, it was asserted, overtook the dog of [illegible] served the barracks—very inadequately, if the

Contemporary records have preserved for us many striking details of the conditions of life in these sorrowful retreats; the daily organization and discipline, the many moving incidents that from time to time broke the otherwise hopeless monotony. Some prisoners, by far the largest number indeed, met the inevitable with courage and commendable philosophy, striving bravely to make the best of their sad lot. Others, and they were not few, chafed so bitterly at their bonds that they spared no pains, faced any risks, to win free from them. The history of the old prisons is an alternation between desperate disturbance, determined and often successful attempts at escape, and the calm conquest of adverse circumstances by accepting and controlling them. Let us consider the latter aspect first.

To gain some ease was generally the aim of all. The possession of money meant everything to these poor creatures. It eked out their meagre allowances of food. It gave them better clothing, the luxury of gambling, always a most engrossing vice. Above all, the accumulation of a secret hoard of cash was a first step towards any bold stroke for freedom. Some few were supplied with funds from sympathetic friends in England, as well as in their own country; but most were dependent upon their own ingenuity and patient exertion. All manner of trades and handicrafts, old and new, were followed in the war prisons. The French prisoners were especially industrious and skillful. They invented manufactures, such as the elaborate plaiting of straw and hair into articles of use and ornament. They were adepts in turning out artistic trifles, chessmen, models of ships, boxes of filigree of elaborately carved ivory, wood and bone. Some knitted socks and woollen nightcaps; some followed tailoring and [illegible]-making; some made boots and shoes and musical instru-[illegible]. One clever fellow produced tobacco, "heaven knows from [illegible] one who bought it.

[illegible] was another class of work, however, in which they ex-[illegible] which flourished in spite of all precautions. Spanish [illegible] collected for them in great numbers by persons [illegible], and from every silver dollar they contrived [illegible] English shillings. There was maintained also [illegible] of spurious Bank of England notes, for [illegible] the guard furnished materials. So per-[illegible] even at the bank itself, the forged

notes often passed undetected. In order to stop this flagitious traffic, the guard was always searched before being relieved. Many thousands of the notes, however, were put into circulation in this manner. Such prisoners as were masons and carpenters were allowed to engage themselves on the works constantly in progress at the prison. Thus, two of the main prisons, and the walls of the chapel at Prince Town, Dartmoor, were entirely built by the French themselves, soon after their first removal from Plymouth. Prisoners found employment in repairing the roads, or as blacksmiths, coopers, painters and nurses in the hospital. All those privileged to pass beyond the enclosure wore a small tin plate in their caps, and worked under the eye of the guard. If any prisoner escaped, the working pay of the whole party to which he belonged was forfeited.

At most of the prisons there was a regular market held outside the first wall, to which dealers came to traffic. In the hulks these traders were permitted to visit the ships, and freely circulated among the prisoners, crying, "Who sells? Who buys?" The profit made must have been small, although high prices are said to have been paid occasionally for some peculiarly beautiful piece of work; and the more thrifty of the French prisoners are said to have got together very considerable sums during their long detention of seven or eight years. At the peace, indeed, some were reluctant to take their leave, and others carried off with them savings to the amount of one and two thousand pounds. There were other methods of earning money besides production; at the hulks, we are told, there were professors of fencing and music, dancing masters, teachers of languages and mathematics, whose lessons could be obtained at the modest rate of a halfpenny an hour. Instruction was carried out under very adverse [illegible] yet many made substantial progress; and it is affirmed [illegible] some cases, rude, ignorant seamen, who could not form a [illegible] letter of the alphabet nor read a single syllable, learned [illegible] and write fluently and obtained a competent [illegible] raphy and mathematics. Books and instruments [illegible] come by, and study was difficult because of the [illegible] overhead during the day, while at night [illegible] The most earnest scholars were often the [illegible] prisoners, and, being unable to buy [illegible] to make a lamp for themselves. At [illegible]

was bound to set aside every atom of fat in his food; this fat was collected in a large shell and, when sufficient, a wick was added. After night closing, the lamp was set above a table and surrounded by a wall of mattresses and blankets, every chink was stopped to hide the light from the sentries, who were ever on the watch through the portholes. The chamber within became so heated that the men at work sometimes fainted; yet all these precautions were rendered necessary by the stringency of the discipline. Whenever prohibited lights were detected in use, the culprits were sentenced to the "Black Hole" on limited allowance of food, and the whole of the school utensils were destroyed.

All the inmates of the war prisons were not, however, equally industrious, sober-minded, and eager for improvement. There was in every prison a large section of utterly reckless and improvident wretches, living constantly in the most absolute destitution and misery, to which they had been brought by their uncontrollable passion for gambling. These, in the hulks, were called *rafalés*, and they lived in seclusion apart from the rest. They had long since gambled away everything, hammocks, blankets, mattresses, even their clothes; many were all but naked and, when roll was called, two or three would hire among them an old blanket to cover them as they came on deck, for the use of which a halfpenny worth was deducted from their next day's rations. The rations of these *rafalés* were often pledged five or six days in advance, and then, pinched with cold and half-starved for want of food, they wandered about the piles of offal, grubbing up potato peelings and onion skins, now a herring head or a cabbage stump, anything that would satisfy their raging hunger. Yet two *rafalés* were known to have gambled for the possession of the scraps which each had discovered. At night, they lay closely packed, for the sake of warmth, on the deck, all of them on one side, and, when tired of the position, at the signal "Tack!" the whole turned over together. Terribly loathsome as was their condition, it yet possessed its attractions; for outsiders of the general body would occasionally ask to be admitted to the fraternity. The aspirant to be a *rafalé* was first obliged to sell all he possessed, to stand treat of beer and bread; then he was given a stone for his pillow and was fully admitted to the misery of membership.

Corresponding to the *rafalés* of the hulks were the Romans of

chased these articles wholesale in the market square. Next came the "labourers," the handicraftsmen already mentioned, who added to their means by their industry. Thirdly, there were the "indifferents," who idled and bore their lot without an effort to improve it. Then came the "*minables*" and "*kaiserlichs*," who thought of nothing but gambling, and who were but one remove above the Romans and the *rafalés* already mentioned. All these several orders, however, rendered ready obedience to their self-appointed officers, and these officers wielded absolute power. They were the interpreters of the prison laws, exercising general surveillance and calling all offenders to strict account. On one occasion, the careless cooks of a ward who had boiled a number of rats in the soup were condemned to death, but were subsequently respited. The sentence was, however, no figure of speech. It is known on unquestioned authority that many murders, *quasi* judicial and others, occurred in the war prisons. There were those among the strange heterogeneous elements congregated within who were versed in all the methods of secret poisoning, and the culprit or victim was often despatched without fear of detection by the authorities. It is charitable to suppose that these extreme measures were only adopted to check crime and disorder, petty thefts, or turbulence and disorder calculated to destroy the peace and quiet of the whole body. Personal quarrels were fought out according to the code of the period. Duels frequently took place, and, although the use of knives or swords was positively forbidden, the ingenuity of the prisoners provided lethal weapons for the deadly combat. Splinters of hard wood sharpened to a point made excellent foils.

A hunger for liberty—common to all captives—constantly beset the war prisoners, and many made repeated bids for freedom. Breaking prison was so frequent that special legislation was required to check it. An Act of Parliament prescribed [illegible] as the punishment for all who assisted or connived [illegible]. On the hulks a plan was adopted of making the [illegible] or squad responsible for the safe custody of [illegible] one fled the rest were punished. Indignant pro[illegible] raised against this barbarous regulation, [illegible] no worse than the French law which in[illegible] the galleys for a like offence—if offence [illegible] occurred, and some were of the

most daring and ingenious character. Stories are still preserved at Dartmoor of the Frenchman who allowed himself to be bricked up by his comrades in the new wall of a house and broke through at night; of another who, when mending a cupboard in the doctor's quarters, purloined his uniform and walked off wearing cocked hat and sword. At the hulks, a prisoner hid himself in an empty water barrel and was lowered into the small boat that had brought off the casks; this man remained in his cramped quarters till the next night and then got quite away. After this all water barrels were closely inspected before removal.

The combined action of a number was often tried, working with infinite pains at a subterranean passage. There was a notable attempt of this kind at Dartmoor in 1812, when a tunnel was carried for a distance of forty yards under the foundation of the prison. It was five feet below the surface, four feet in diameter, and it had all but reached the outer wall when the plot was discovered. These determined miners had conquered every difficulty, and were often compelled to make wide detours to escape the great masses of stone they constantly encountered. They had no tools but wooden spades edged with tin, and cask hoops made into scrapers. One of their chief difficulties was the removal of the earth extracted. This had to be brought up into the room they occupied, whence it was carried in small quantities into the gardens and spread upon the beds. The same difficulty confronted another set of fugitives, this time Americans. They disposed of the soil by throwing it into the prison water drains, which were continually flooded by the heavy rains, and thus the earth was carried off into the outer ditch. This [illegible] was a more gigantic enterprise than the first named. [illegible] tal length to be driven was a hundred and ten feet, and [illegible] passage was to be considerably wider. As the work [illegible] it was found that the immense pressure of confined [illegible] it impossible for the workmen to remain underground [illegible] than half an hour at a time, and, as the passage [illegible] became absolutely necessary to open up airholes [illegible] ground above, a work of extreme danger, as [illegible] whole of the prison yard. The work appears [illegible] tinued without interruption for forty nights, [illegible] ing in spells of two hours each, and [illegible] reach when one of the number revealed [illegible]

[illegible]. As a preliminary to the work, the prisoners engaged had bound themselves by solemn oath to keep the secret under pain of death. But one man was base enough to betray his comrades, and, for his reward, obtained immediate release, with a passport to return home. The disappointed fugitives first realized that their scheme had failed when they were marched into the prison yard, and faced by a strong force of military, who were soon employed in filling up the excavation. In doing this, the officer commanding could not refrain from paying a high tribute of praise to men who, "under so many discouraging circumstances, had not only managed to keep their gigantic work a profound secret, but had, by their indomitable perseverance, carried out the work almost to completion. Such men," he declared, "were well worthy of their liberty." According to the writer, George Little, from whose "Life on the Ocean" I extract this story, and who was one of the prisoners concerned, increased rigor was their portion after the discovery of this attempt at escape. He also tells us that a solemn compact was entered into by many of his comrades to take the life of the informer, if they ever encountered him.

We have another light on these Dartmoor days afforded by the American writer, Andrews, who was for some time a prisoner in Dartmoor. He tells us that his compatriots by no means accepted their imprisonment with the same philosophy as the French and other Continental prisoners. They were refractory, full of bravado, and scarce a day passed, he says, without some dispute or strife between turnkeys or guards and the prisoners. The [illegible], indeed, declared that four hundred Americans gave them more trouble than twenty thousand Frenchmen. It is ob[illegible] their condition was almost intolerable; the prisons to [illegible] were committed were very much overcrowded, and [illegible] of better stamp found themselves herded with [illegible] the American seaports—"a perfect set of outlaws [illegible] George Little calls them—and many colored [illegible] captain or officer entered one of these prisons [illegible] to keep aloof from the rest, he was [illegible] and ill-used. Cases were known in which [illegible] in his own ship was tied up and flogged [illegible] his own crew.

[illegible] occurred at the end of the war,

throughout France on parole. Verdun was the most aristocratic receptacle, filled chiefly with officers of both services and a large number of *détenus*, as the non-combatants, who happened to be in France at the declaration of war and who were arrested by Napoleon, were called. Many of these *détenus* were persons of rank and fortune. The Marquis and Marchioness of Tweeddale were among the number, which included a certain Dr. Jackson who, before settling in practice on the English coast, had taken a run over to Paris and was caught by the order to detain all Englishmen. As these *détenus* had often the control of considerable means, they were subjected to innumerable extortions by the commandant and his officers, who also encouraged gambling houses and other haunts of vice for their own profit, although nominally for the amusement of the prisoners. Drunkenness, gambling and debauchery were the order of the day. Many took to drink in the hopelessness of release; all who had the means or could raise money gambled at the *Café Thiery*, where there were *rouge et noir* and roulette tables, paying large taxes to the commandant. The man who held this post for years was a certain General Wirion, of the Gendarmerie, who long wielded despotic and baleful authority at Verdun. He was served by an army of spies and secret police, who made life almost intolerable to the prisoners. Wirion, by his exactions, amassed a great fortune; everyone was taxed, the smallest privileges had to be paid for. To miss the *appel* or sign the books at home, to obtain a passport to live outside the town, permissions to ride out in carriages or on horseback, to hold races—everything was taxed. The prisoners had to pay for alleged dilapidations to prison buildings, to defray expenses of recapture after an unsuccessful attempt at escape. There was considerable profit on the exchange between the franc, in which the allowances and drafts were paid, and the *livre tournois*, which was the circulating medium. Wirion was eventually called to account for his reprehensible practices. The repeated complaints of his turpitude, made by his indignant charges, at last reached the ear of the French War Minister. Clarke, Duc de Feltre, had succeeded Berthier, who had been Wirion's friend. Nothing could save Wirion. He was summoned to Paris to give an account of himself; Bernadotte pleaded for him, and Napoleon expressed his willingness to allow the accused to clear himself before a court martial; but he could

not face the music, and he adopted the advice given him by General Clarke, who had said: "If there is any truth in this accusation, you had better shoot yourself." Whereupon Wirion dressed himself in full uniform and blew his brains out in the Bois de Boulogne. His two *aides de camp* were dismissed. Courcelles, who succeeded Wirion, was no improvement. He is described by one of his own officers as ignorant, wicked, miserly and inhuman, and he was eventually superseded in his command and cashiered from the service. Other officials came to a bad end. There were more suicides, and two men, the lieutenant who governed Sarrelouis and the colonel at Montmidi, were condemned to the galleys. It is but fair to add that, after these exposures, the prison was put under Colonel Baron de Beauchêne, an upright, honorable officer, who introduced many reforms, and governed with humanity and justice.

Despite the extortions practiced, the freedom of those who lived in the town was ease and comfort compared to imprisonment in the citadel of Verdun. Here the prisoners occupied part of an old monastery with very limited accommodation; they were greatly overcrowded, sleeping two in a bed in foul and stifling atmosphere. "What with the shouting, the singing, the bewailing, the smoke of the lamps, the smoke of cigars and the consequent stench of the place, it was rendered almost unbearable," says one who passed through the ordeal. But there was a worse den in the citadel, the Tour d'Angoulême, or Round Tower, a circular building with only two rooms, one above the other. This was used for recaptured fugitives, who lay there on straw, heavily ironed, devoured by vermin, preparatory generally to their transfer to Bitche.

This fortress, which was known among the war [illegible] as the "Place of Tears," lies some thirty miles north of [illegible] and stands on a solitary rock a thousand feet high. In [illegible] of the fort were two large barracks, a small part of [illegible] appropriated to the prisoners. But a great number [illegible] underground, in vaulted rooms known as the [illegible] *souterrains*. These were damp, cold, cavernous [illegible] rocky wall at the head of the great bed was [illegible] sheet of ice, the moisture which oozed [illegible] hard. In summer they were hot, ill-[illegible] Here were collected the sweepings of all [illegible]

destitute, the abandoned, the profligate, the drunken, the very refuse of the other depôts." There was no distinction of persons; officers and privates, masters and seamen, lived side by side. In its early years, the place must have been a perfect pandemonium. Despair and misery had driven most of the inmates wild; they were like untamable animals, a terror to their guards and a perpetual plague to one another. Once, when a favorite comrade was carried off to punishment, the whole number turned out, armed with great staves torn up from the bed boards, and they would have overpowered the guards had not the commandant released the man. None of the gendarmes dared enter the *souterrain* at night, and even the veteran guards who garrisoned the fort hesitated to come in contact with them.

Both at Verdun and at Bitche, indeed everywhere, escapes were attempted and often successfully achieved. They had all a strong family likeness—the boring through of walls, iron doors undermined, the descent into deep ditches by cords cunningly prepared from bedding and clothes. In more than one case a tunnel was driven from the lowest *souterrain* into the ditch. Once, a prisoner escaped by hiding at the bottom of a well three hundred feet deep, and he was not detected because of the neglect of the gendarmes to draw up the bucket. A surgeon among the prisoners having a fluent knowledge of French, had ingratiated himself with the officers of the regiment in garrison, and they generously provided him with a complete uniform and a military passport, armed with which he made for the coast. Unhappily, the extreme watchfulness of the coast guard prevented him from obtaining a passage across the Channel, and he was compelled to return to prison. The penalty would have been [illegible] had he been taken in this disguise with a false pass[illegible] frequency of escape had led to very severe measures, [illegible] announced in the war prisons that all who broke their [illegible] attempted to escape should, if recaptured, be tried [illegible] tribunal and shot.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

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Whatever may be thought of the sincerity and truthfulness of this analysis of the foreign policy of Russia, the statement of the end to be sought—the care of the economic future of the country—is truthful and significant. M. Arthur Raffalovich, the accomplished financial agent of the Russian Government in Paris, in his valuable annual volume on the financial development of the world, *Le Marché Financier,* declares that the economic life of Russia has become the centre around which converges all the care of the government, the interest of the public, and the attention of foreign observers. "The country develops and concentrates its forces, and thus is able to accomplish the numerous reforms in other domains of Russian life, of which the need has long been felt." This is a correct diagnosis of existing conditions in Russia. The whole energy of the state is being bent to the creation of a nation capable of competing in the field of manufactures, industry, commerce and credit with the great Western nations and with the United States. Remarkable progress has been made toward this achievement. The present economic system of Russia is eminently paternal, but finds excuse in the comparative infancy of the nation in matters relating to commerce and credit. That this system has its evils and leads the promoters of new projects "to consider the treasury of the state as an inexhaustible reservoir" for aiding their plans, is admitted by M. de Witte; but it seems for the moment to be the most efficient policy for equipping Russia with the means for entering upon the competition for political and commercial supremacy with the other industrial nations of the world.

The absence of parliamentary institutions, in spite of its la- [illegible] gives force, directness and promptness to every meas- [illegible] upon for the development of the country. In a demo- [illegible], it is necessary to convince the majority of the people [illegible] great reform can be accomplished. In Russia it is [illegible] convince only the Czar and the Council of Min- [illegible] made up of men trained for statecraft and unde- [illegible] their economic convictions by the exigen- [illegible]. The leading statesmen of Russia are edu- [illegible] schools of economics of France and Germany, [illegible] the state for many years when their services [illegible] combined experience and wisdom is applied [illegible] with which the government has had to

deal in raising Russia from the condition of feudal times to a rank among civilized powers. There have been, within the limits of a little more than a generation, two striking illustrations in Russia of the difference between the power and efficiency of an absolute government in dealing with serious national problems, and a government where it is necessary to convince a majority of the people before action can be taken.

These two illustrations of the directness of the Russian government in proceeding toward an object, determined after consideration to be a desirable one, are of special interest to Americans, because they run parallel with two of their own great problems of the same period—the abolition of slavery and the restoration of order to the currency system. Russia liberated the serfs by a ukase of the Czar, at almost the very moment when the States of the American Union were plunging into civil war upon the same subject. She resumed specie payments upon the gold standard in 1897, after a series of well-considered steps which have made her currency system one of the most secure in the world. Each of these measures was carried out within a few years after the plans were matured, without bloodshed or popular upheaval, or paralysis of industry and credit. While the final steps were being taken for the liberation of the serfs, upon a basis which compensated the owners and set the liberated class at once upon the footing of responsible property-owning subjects, the great Republic of the West was fighting a costly civil war, whose result was the liberation of the servile race, but without providing homes or a future for its members. A generation later, when the Russian Minister of Finance was calmly proceeding by successive steps to plant the credit of Russia upon an unassailable basis, the American Union was again torn with dissensions, banks were failing and industry was paralyzed, and Congress was sitting in extra session to undo the financial blunders to which the [illegible] of special interests and political cowardice had led a few years before.

The liberation of the serfs was conceived by [illegible] soon after he succeeded to the power of Nicholas I. [illegible] time came for action, in November, 1857, he [illegible] authorizing the Lithuanian nobles to form [illegible] prove the condition of the serfs." He [illegible] some opposition on the part of the [illegible]

favorable to reform, and followed up his policy in Lithuania by giving similar authority to the nobles in other provinces. A declaration in 1858 defined the principles of his plan, by which the peasants were to buy their houses and gardens, with land in addition sufficient to making a living, and were to be aided in the purchase by advances from the government to the land holders. A ukase of February 19, 1861—the Russian proclamation of emancipation—crowned the preliminary work and declared the abolition of serfdom.

The details of the financial operations by which this great reform was accomplished were set forth in a recent number of that invaluable mine of Russian statistics, the *Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière et de Legislation.* The indemnity allotted to land-holders on account of the serfs from 1862 to 1891 reached the sum of 892,139,163 rubles ($450,000,000). Of this amount the government retained in various years 316,763,718 rubles to offset mortgage loans made to the land-holders, and issued the remainder in 5 and 5½ per cent. interest-bearing securities. The number of lots of land awarded to the serfs was 9,239,752 and the principal charged against them over a period of thirty years was 886,340,871 rubles. The aggregate amounts thus charged, including interest, from 1862 to 1891, were 1,040,167,863 rubles, and the amounts collected over the same period were 1,000,307,-140 rubles ($520,000,000). The land was taken in many cases by associations of the serfs, which afforded a guarantee for payment, and left the question of individual distribution to local assemblies. This great work was not without incidental blunders and complaints, but it was accomplished without shock to the [illegible] system, and has left the former serfs in no such position of irresponsible isolation as the emancipated race in the United States. The relative cost of the liberation of the serfs [illegible] and the war for the preservation of the Union in the [illegible] stands in the relation of about $500,000,000 in the [illegible] to $6,844,571,431 in the case of the United States.* [illegible]obos, in his recent "Political History of Contem-[illegible] after referring to the difficulties growing out of [illegible] granted to the serfs and the high valuation of [illegible] cases, says:

[illegible] to inflame the prejudice of the masses against the policy of the government; there were no windy demagogues stumping the provinces declaring that "the gold standard is a conspiracy against the human race." Short shrift might have been made of such orators by the absolute government of Russia, but intelligent discussion by responsible economic students was cordially welcomed and carefully weighed in the councils of the Czar.

The part which Russia has been playing since the early eighties as a grain-producing country is well known on the world's exchanges, and will be passed over here for a few references to her growth in more highly organized industries. It is worth noting, in passing, that in the production of petroleum, Russia has become within a few years a serious competitor of the United States. The production of 1881 was 663,001 metric tons against a production in the United States of 4,612,600 such tons, the part of the United States in the production of the two countries being 874 in 1,000. The production of Russia increased to 3,183,418 tons in 1888, while that of the United States remained substantially unchanged. Both countries have advanced with rapid strides during the succeeding ten years, but Russia is now practically abreast of this country in the production of the world's supply. The latest complete Russian figures were those of 1895, when the production of the United States was 8,835,181 metric tons and of Russia 7,056,537 tons, but the single district of Baku in 1896 and 1897 almost equalled the entire Russian product of 1895 and greatly exceeded that of 1894.

The most striking evidence of the entry of Russia into the list of competing capitalistic countries is afforded by the incor[illegible] of stock companies in recent years. A recent number of [illegible] Russe de Statistique brought the list of mining, metal [illegible] naphtha and salt companies down to June 14, 1898. The [illegible] of such corporations constituted under Russian [illegible] with an aggregate capital of a little more than 500,- [illegible] ($260,000,000). Of this number 125 companies [illegible] since January 1, 1895, and these include [illegible] companies with large capitals, ranging from [illegible] downward. This is only a part of the list of [illegible] Banking and credit societies are in [illegible] of 648, with a subscribed capital of 285,-

branches. There are 293 corporations devoted to commerce and public works, life insurance, navigation, gas and electricity, with a subscribed capital of 177,124,144 rubles. There are also 536 industrial corporations, with a capital of 596,550,501 rubles. These 1,377 corporations, with an aggregate capital of 1,058,886,301 rubles ($530,000,000) include all those paying the tax of five per cent. upon net profits, and the net profits reported averaged 13.06 per cent., running as high as 16.9 per cent. in the case of the discount banks, 36.8 per cent. in the case of the food societies, and to even higher figures in the case of certain special industries.

A statement of all the business enterprises subject to the patent tax (or business license) in 1895 shows transactions amounting to 8,739,087,700 rubles ($4,500,000,000) for wholesale enterprises, with profits of 316,547,450 rubles ($160,000,000), and transactions of 955,051,900 rubles ($490,000,000), for retail enterprises subject to the tax, with profits of 102,212,680 rubles ($53,000,000). The figures of the total transactions or receipts of various companies include about $1,700,000,000 on account of the money paid into banks in the course of current transactions, but even if this amount is deducted, a total industrial activity, important enough to be subject to tax, amounting to $3,250,000,000, represents no small volume of business for a country whose economic development is so recent as that of Russia. All these figures, moreover, are taken from the tax returns for 1895. The growth of economic activity since that time has enormously increased the number of corporations, the volume of transactions, and the collections on account of the government. The revenue collected from the patent and additional taxes increased from 28,934,339 rubles ($15,000,000) in 1887 to 42,760,721 rubles in 1895 and 46,577,000 rubles ($24,000,000) in 1897.

The development of Russia as a manufacturing [illegible]istic country is raising there the same industrial [illegible] have arisen in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, [illegible] United States. The Russian labor laws did not [illegible] recently any work except that of children, youths [illegible] the relation between the laborer and his employer. [illegible] path of other industrial countries was taken by [illegible] 1897, which fixed definite hours of labor [illegible] law was desired as much by large [illegible]

the competition of establishments having an excessively long day, as in response to the demands of the laboring men themselves. The working day is still long, but the system of limitation, having been put in operation, is likely to be continued, with the increased productive power of the laborer and the increase of his earnings, until the Russian factory hand stands upon a level with his fellow in Western Europe and America. The law of June 2 extended the regulations regarding the inspection of labor and contracts with laborers to the whole of European Russia and Poland. The numbers of inspectors of labor was increased from 151 to 171, and the labor laws were extended to all establishments which employ sixteen or more skilled laborers.

Technical education is finding a large place in the policy of the Russian government. There were twelve higher technical schools in the country in 1896, containing 5,916 pupils. Schools of commerce were opened in 1897 under a law of April 15, 1896, at Kiew, Odessa, Varsovia, Moscow, Kharkow, Nijni-Novgorod, St. Petersburg and Lodz. A school of navigation has just been opened at Odessa, which is recommended by the United States Consul for imitation in this country. Professional primary schools were opened in many other towns, and agricultural schools and schools of horticulture in the farming provinces of both European Russia and Siberia. Projects of law were recently under consideration by the Department of Finance for the revision of existing legislation on stock companies, the creation of corporations for popular readings and libraries, a new code for commercial paper, the regulation of weights and measures, the reduction of duties upon agricultural machinery and manure, and a new classification of the *octroi* charges in cities. The tariff rates on agricultural machinery were reduced in 1893 and 1894, and the value of the imports of such articles rose from 2,644,230 rubles in 1888 to 5,286,954 rubles in 1896.

One of the best tests of the economic progress of a nation is the extent and flexibility of its system of credit. The deposit and check system has not attained the development in Russia which it has attained in some other commercial countries, but is gaining ground at a remarkable rate. The discounts at the Imperial Bank were 132,578,530 rubles on October 23, 1898, exclusive of the accounts at the branches, and the deposit accounts included 61,-918,009 rubles payable on demand to individuals and 84,531,307

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do not meet the constantly growing needs of Russian commerce. The transportation of merchandise over the lines of the West has especially increased since the opening of the Trans-Siberian. The four existing ports are hardly capable of handling the commerce of the Baltic, and it has frequently happened that grain transports have been stopped on the way to these ports because proper provision could not be made for discharging and receiving their cargoes.

The most important achievement of Russian railway engineering—the result at the same time of enlightened political foresight—is the Trans-Siberian Railway. This long thread of steel, connecting European Russia with the Pacific, was a dream of Russian statesmen as far back as 1850. It was not until the opening of the Ural line in 1880, which joined Perm in European Russia with Tiumen, on the Tobol, which flows into the Irtish, that a long practical step was taken towards binding the empire together by a single railway system. Several parts of the line remain to be completed in Russian territory, but the most important uncompleted part is the Manchurian Railway, across the northern province of China. M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, who recently traversed the line, and describes his observations in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August 15, 1898, expresses the opinion that it will not be completed for ten years. The contract has already been signed, however, for obtaining the money from the Russo-Chinese Bank, and the control of the road, although under a Chinese president, is substantially under the Russian Minister of Finance.

The entire line, from the foot of the Ural to Vladivostock on the Pacific Ocean, will have a length of 6,613 kilometers, or about 4,200 miles. It will be by far the shortest route from Europe to the Orient. The time from London to Hongkong is now twenty-five days by the Suez Canal and thirty-three days by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It will be reduced to twenty [illegible] the Trans-Siberian. The advantage in the case of other [illegible] pean places and Asiatic ports farther north will be [illegible] The trip from Paris to Pekin can be made in [illegible] it now requires thirty-four days from France or [illegible] hama by the Suez Canal and twenty-five days by [illegible] The passenger charges, moreover, are [illegible] Beaulieu, including sleeping cars and [illegible] ($160) from Paris to Northern China, as [illegible]

of 1,800 francs ($360) by the present steamer routes. The charges will be less favorable upon bulky freight from Western Europe, but for the interior of Russia the opening of the railway means that the resources of the East are at her disposal, and that she can deliver in the East her own products at a great advantage over her Western rivals. Business men throughout Europe will benefit by the mail service over the new railway, which will deliver letters in sixteen or eighteen days, in place of the month or five weeks now required. But the Russian merchants will enjoy the advantage of quicker communication and nearness to their new markets. The opening of new routes of communication has often involved the rise and fall of nations. It will not be contrary to historic precedents if, in the course of years, the development of the great trans-continental route which binds European Russia to Siberia should shift the centres of trade in the East, destroy the importance of many existing ports in China, and create new commercial centres in the heart of Asia, around which will gather the civilization of coming generations.

It is not surprising that Russian statesmen, with the vista of the economic empire of the future within their grasp, hampered by no necessity for pandering to the clamor of the moment in order to keep themselves in office, should have determined that Russia would gain enormously in the race with other industrial nations by devoting her whole energies to economic development. Hence the proposition of the Czar, that the world lay aside its arms and give its people an opportunity to devote themselves to industrial pursuits, looks directly to the future dominance of Russia in the commerce and finance of the world. It would be useless for Russia to attempt to fight such a power as Great Britain in the East until the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway. She has accomplished wonderful results by the firmness and audacity of her diplomacy in China. When the railway [illegible], with the economic development which will come in [illegible] of ten years, she will be able to cope on land, if not [illegible] with any force which can be brought against her. [illegible] the advantage of occupying the inner line, from [illegible] strike at her enemies on the European or Asiatic [illegible] and directness of Napoleon when he was able [illegible] policy of separating and conquering hos-

AMERICA AND THE WHEAT PROBLEM.

BY JOHN HYDE, STATISTICIAN OF THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND EDITOR OF "THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE."

NOT since Tyndall shocked the religious sentiment of almost the entire English-speaking world, by proposing at the Belfast meeting in 1874 that certain wards of a hospital should be set apart for a scientific test of the efficacy of prayer, has the annual address of a president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science excited so general an interest, or provoked so much unfavorable criticism, as have the recent utterances of Sir William Crookes on the subject of an approaching scarcity in the supply of wheat.

In the United States, the warning—for such, rather than as a prediction, it should be considered—of the distinguished chemist has been received with a chorus of deprecation in which there was scarcely a discordant voice, the idea that the wheat-producing capabilities of this country are not practically illimitable being generally scouted as preposterous. Much of the criticism, however, was founded upon a telegraphic report, which, however creditable to newspaper enterprise, was not entirely accurate; and now that the address is available in complete form,* it may be worth our while to examine it with some degree of care, with a view to determining its actual bearing upon prospective conditions in this country.

The field covered by Sir William's argument is of immense extent. It is practically the entire wheat-producing region of the world, and the potentiality of every considerable portion of it is discussed in more or less detail and, in the main, conservatively. To follow the explorer, however, from Europe to Siberia, from

* British Association for the Advancement of Science. Bristol, 1898. Address by Sir William Crookes, F. R. S., V. P. C. S., President. London, 1898.

Canada to Australia, from South America to Africa, would be less useful, because less conclusive, than would be a consideration of the conditions, actual and prospective, in the United States, the country which, as he himself says, has for the last thirty years been the dominant factor in the world's supply. Sir William's references to the United States constitute less than one-twentieth part of his discussion of the wheat-supply problem, and are mainly embodied in the following statements:

> "Practically there remains no uncultivated prairie land in the United States suitable for wheat growing. The virgin land has been rapidly absorbed, until at present there is no land left for wheat without reducing the area for maize, hay and other necessary crops.
>
> "It is almost certain that within a generation the ever-increasing population of the United States will consume all the wheat grown within its borders, and will be driven to import, and, like ourselves, will scramble for a lion's share of the wheat crop of the world."

What it is sought to establish is that, not in the immediate future, but when almost a third of the coming century—practically a generation—shall have passed away, the wheat supply of the world, including the United States, will fall so far short of the demand as to constitute general scarcity, unless starvation be averted through the laboratory. This is Sir William Crookes' contention, and it is the object of the present article to consider, from a standpoint somewhat different from that either of the English chemist or his critics, what are likely to be the prevailing agricultural conditions in the United States a generation hence.

What were the conditions a generation ago? The country then had a population of about 34,000,000; now it has one of about 75,000,000, exclusive of the islands to be brought under its dominion as a result of the war with Spain. One hundred and ninety-one million bushels was the largest wheat crop on record; the average of the last three years has fallen but little, if any, short of 540,000,000 bushels. In the fiscal year 1865-66 the total exports of wheat, including wheat flour, were less than 16,[illegible] bushels; last year they exceeded 217,000,000 bushels. In [illegible] the corn crop was only 704,000,000 bushels, with [illegible] bushels as the high water-mark of previous production; [illegible] last three years the crop has averaged over 2,000,000,000 [illegible]

Were there really no limit to the agricultural [illegible] the United States, these enormous figures might [illegible] of index to the probable developments of the [illegible] liable to be led seriously astray if we [illegible]

years to come an increase proportionate to that of the thirty-three years last past. That the population of the United States in 1931, exclusive of colonial possessions or dependencies, will be at least 130,000,000 is as certain as any future event can be, but it is not nearly so easy a matter to forecast the agricultural production of that period; and yet the question that lies at the very foundation of any just criticism of Sir William Crookes' address is, what contribution, if any, our farmers will be able to make to the wheat supply of other countries, when the time comes that provision has to be made for the varied requirements of a home population more than twice as large as that at the last federal census.

Those requirements will include a wheat crop of 700,000,000 bushels, without a bushel for export; an oat crop of 1,250,000,000 bushels; a corn crop of 3,450,000,000 bushels, and a hay crop of 100,000,000 tons, all for domestic consumption; with cotton and wool, fruit and vegetables, dairy and poultry products, meats and innumerable minor commodities in corresponding proportions. The area necessary to the production of the three principal cereals alone will be over 15 per cent. greater than the enormous total acreage devoted in 1898 to grain, cotton and hay, while the mere addition of the two last mentioned products and of the minor cereals will call for an acreage exceeding the total area of improved land in farms at the present time.

But what, it may be asked, is to prevent either (1.) any necessary extension of the areas in farms, or (2.) the bringing under cultivation of that large residue of unimproved land which amounted at the last federal census to no less than 42.6 per cent. of the total farm area?

The great fact that underlies the enormous productive capacity of the United States to-day is, of course, the transfer from government ownership to individual proprietors, within a single generation, of a body of land hundreds of millions of acres in extent and for the most part of extraordinary fertility. But, amazing as has been the increase in the farm area of the country during the last thirty years, it has not been sufficient even to keep pace with the growth of population. The addition of 128,300,000 acres, or 31.48 per cent., to the area in farms between 1870 and 1880 only increased the area *per capita* of population from 10.57 to 10.69 acres. By 1890 the area, notwithstanding a further addition of

in Congress to permit of the continued destruction of the national forests, without regard to the needs of the future. It should also be borne in mind that, according to the U. S. Geological Survey, the entire water supply of the Pacific states available for irrigation is only sufficient for some 23,000,000 additional acres, or about one acre in four of the unappropriated public lands in those states. In the entire arid region the available water supply, as similarly estimated by the U. S. Geological Survey, is only sufficient for the irrigation of 71,500,000 additional acres, or one acre in seven and one-half of the area undisposed of. Commenting upon the difficulties encountered by the individual farmer in reclaiming land from its desert condition, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898, p. 72, calls attention to the fact that such reclamation amounts to "less than 125,000 acres annually, at which rate it would require nearly six hundred years to dispose of all the irrigable lands." Commissioner Hermann says further:

"In connection with these astounding figures, it should not be overlooked that much the greater part of the lands already disposed of are those bordering on small streams, where reclamation was accomplished principally through individual efforts.

"Nearly all of the waters of these smaller streams are now utilized, and the remaining lands depend for their reclamation upon the saving of all overflow waters, and the diverting of the waters of the larger streams, which can be done only by expensive construction. It is, therefore, but a fair presumption that the disposal of desert lands to individuals will annually decrease, unless Congress in its wisdom provides a means by which the annual overflow waters in the arid region may be saved and intelligently disposed."

The extent to which the total farm area of the country can be [illegible] by the reclamation of desert lands will therefore be seen [illegible] very small, if not absolutely insignificant; indeed, it is a [illegible] whether it will be sufficient even to counterbalance those [illegible] encroachments upon the productive area which arise [illegible] growth of cities,* the building of railroads, and the gen[illegible]ment of commerce and of non-agricultural industry.†

* [illegible] of 1890, of the counties containing the 28 most populous cities in [illegible] a smaller number of farms, and 23 a smaller farm area and [illegible] land in farms than they had in 1880. Of the exceptions, all [illegible] the increase in the number and area of market gardens, [illegible], were considered as farms.

† [illegible] the amount of land annually withdrawn from the [illegible], but the statistics of improved and unimproved land at the [illegible] that at least 4,500,000 acres of the former and [illegible] out of farms during the preceding ten years, an [illegible] acres per annum.

But what of that vast body of unimproved land already in farms, which amounted at the last census to 265,600,000 acres, or more than two-fifths of the total farm area of the country? Where is it situated, and of what does it consist?

If its distribution is not uniform with that of the area improved, it is no less general. No section of the country, large or small, has been too long settled, none has a too easily cultivable soil, none has too good a market in proximity to it, to be exempt from making a relatively substantial contribution to the unimproved acreage in farms. There was not one of the 2,783 counties at the Eleventh Census that failed to contribute to the grand total, whether situated in the richest part of the Mississippi Valley or embracing some great center of population.*

Between the international line and the 37th parallel (which runs through Hampton Roads, Va., Cairo, Ill., across the southern part of Missouri, and forms the northern boundary of Indian Territory and Oklahoma) and east of the 100th meridian, the census of 1890 found about 115,000,000 acres of unimproved land in farms, ranging from 15.8 per cent. of the total farm area in Illinois to 55.9 per cent. of that in West Virginia. South of the 37th parallel and east of the 100th meridian there were about 118,000,000 acres, ranging from 53.6 per cent. of the total farm area in Tennessee to 68.8 per cent. of that in Florida. Within the region that is absolutely arid were about 27,000,000 acres, ranging from 53.4 per cent. of the total farm area in Montana to 92 per cent. of that in Arizona, and in those portions of the Pacific states in which irrigation is unnecessary were found the remaining 5,500,000 acres.

The chief factor in determining the ratio of unimproved [illegible] in farms to total farm area is not the cost of the land—[illegible] facility with which it has been acquired—but the relative [illegible] of cultivation. The percentage of unimproved land is [illegible] all the New England states, except Connecticut, than [illegible] of the two Dakotas, with their immense areas of [illegible] farms, and it is higher in almost every southern [illegible] in Montana, Idaho, Utah or Nevada.

The enumerators of the Tenth and [illegible] structed to report as "improved" all [illegible]

* The counties containing the cities of New York, [illegible] and San Francisco, had 115, [illegible], 126, [illegible] and [illegible] respectively.

and grass in rotation, whether pasture or meadow, and all permanent meadows, permanent pastures, orchards and vineyards. As "unimproved" they were instructed to report all natural woodland and forest within farm limits, all unplowed land, and all land that, once plowed, has since been abandoned for cultivation, like the "old fields" of the South. They were specifically directed that rocky, hill and mountain pastures were not to be reported as improved land.

With this distinction clearly in mind, a brief survey of the conditions existing in the grand divisions above specified should prove instructive.

With regard, first, to the unimproved land in farms in the arid region, there will apply with almost equal force much of what has been quoted from the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office against the probability of any considerable increase in the total farm area. On irrigated lands, the yield per acre is relatively so high that the farmer in the arid region has every inducement to utilize, to the fullest extent, such portions of his farm as are irrigable. The land easily irrigated has, therefore, to a large extent, been already brought under cultivation, and is annually contributing to the fruit, grain and forage crops of the country. The developments of the future will be slow and costly. The average first cost of preparing the soil for cultivation in the arid region, as determined by Mr. Frederick H. Newell in connection with the Eleventh Census,* was $13.51 per acre, and the average first cost of water rights $8.23 per acre, making $21.74 as the average cost per acre of reclaiming such of the desert lands as were the most easily irrigated. In the eight states and territories lying wholly within the arid region the irrigated land constituted but little more than two-fifths of the land reported as [illegible] improved, so the chances for the reclamation of the [illegible] body of land upon which no improvements whatever [illegible] are exceedingly remote. They are for the most [illegible] and such they will doubtless remain.

[illegible] astounding assertions called forth by the [illegible] William Crookes' address is the statement that, [illegible] per bushel, the annual production of that [illegible] alone might reach 400,000,000 bush-

* [illegible] in the Western part of the United States [illegible] Newell, Special Agent. 1894.

and plantations and remaining in a state of nature constitutes no less than 44 per cent. of the total unimproved farm area of the country, or a larger proportion of the total farm area within which it is embraced than is to be found in any other group of states, not excepting even those of the arid region. The reason for this is not far to seek. Excluding Texas, the unimproved land of which is mainly prairie, of every 100 acres of unimproved land in farms in the states under consideration 86 were at the Tenth Census covered with forest and woodlands, the percentage ranging from 78 in South Carolina to 93 in Florida and Arkansas.

The soil of this forest area* is to a large extent of so inferior a quality that there is but little inducement to attempt its reclamation, and even after the merchantable timber has been removed from it but little effort is made to utilize it for farm purposes. This is owing to the fact that it is its mechanical rather than its chemical constitution that presents the most serious obstacle to such utilization. Containing, for the most part, an exceedingly large percentage of sand, the obstacle it presents to successful cultivation is not one that can be overcome by the use of commercial fertilizers, except for forage crops and vegetables.

While, therefore, each succeeding census will probably find some relatively small portion of it added to the cultivated lands of the various states, it cannot have the slightest bearing upon the much discussed wheat problem. For such wheat production as the farmers of the South are engaged in, the lands best adapted to the growth of that cereal are assigned, and yet in the ten years ending with 1897 the ten principal cotton states produced an average annual crop of only 23,610,671 bushels, the average annual yield per acre being only 8 bushels. Between 1880 and 1890 these states, together with Virginia, increased their area [illegible] by 5,630,000 acres, their area in corn by 1,140,000 acres, [illegible] by 1,320,000 acres, and the number of their milch [illegible]. Their area in wheat, however, showed a decline [illegible] acres, a fact that need occasion no surprise when it [illegible] that the average value of farm products per acre of [illegible] in these states is in inverse ratio to the extent of [illegible] production.

* [illegible] Production in the United States, by E. W. Hilgard, Ph.D., [illegible] Census Reports. Forestry Conditions and Interests of [illegible], U. S. Department of Agriculture, 18[illegible], may also be [illegible] use of pine lands for agricultural purposes.

There are writers who seem to imagine that the price or exchangeability of a product is the sole factor in determining the extent of its production everywhere and at all times; but this certainly does not hold good where the cultivation of the product is so difficult and precarious as is that of wheat in the southern states. For this reason, were wheat to be worth a dollar per bushel, no largely increased production need be looked for in the South. From 1879 to 1883, inclusive, the average price of wheat in Chicago was $1.08; and even the average December farm price was $1.01. During these five years, however, the total wheat production of the ten principal cotton states averaged only 24,270,000 bushels per annum, or but 660,000 bushels more than the average during the ten years ending with 1897. It is not, of course, contended that $1 per bushel fifteen or twenty years ago was the equivalent of the same price at the present time, but simply that a relatively high price failed to increase production, owing to the limitations imposed by physical conditions.

In discussing agricultural potentialities much misconception arises from taking the state as the geographical unit. From the fact that North Carolina contributes annually some four or five million bushels of wheat to the total production of the country, it might be supposed that its production could be very largely increased; but an examination of the statistics by counties discloses the fact that the crop is grown almost entirely on the high lands on the western border of the state, adjoining the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains; and with regard to the adjoining state of South Carolina, no less than 97 per cent. of its wheat crop at the last census was produced in the counties embraced within the Piedmont and Alpine sections of the state. Still, the average annual yield per acre in the two States for the last 10 years has been only 6.3 and 5.9 bushels, respectively.

In Tennessee, Texas and Oklahoma the conditions are [illegible] what different from those obtaining in the other [illegible] the 37th parallel, but the favorable conditions that [illegible] ble the larger production in these states are [illegible] and no really great extension of this branch of [illegible] be looked for within their borders, even under [illegible] high prices. This is equally true of Indian [illegible] that lies wholly within the Lower Austral [illegible] and increasing cotton production of [illegible]

strongest argument against the possibility of developments in the production of wheat that will be more than a mere drop in the bucket. Nature has decreed that a profitable return on the cost of cultivation shall become less and less to be depended on the farther the departure from the region to which the plant is indigenous, and the operation of this law can be arrested, in the case of wheat growing, only by topographic conditions—chiefly that of elevation above sea-level—that do not exist in Indian Territory.*

It is the firm belief of the writer that with a more diversified agriculture—in the direction of which a gratifying tendency is already observable—and with the continued development of its manufacturing industries, the South will soon enter upon an era of great prosperity, but its contribution to the wheat crop will continue to be but small.

This brings us to the consideration of that marvellous agricultural region extending from the international line to the 37th parallel and from the Atlantic Ocean to the 100th meridian—a region containing only 30 per cent. of the entire land surface of the country, but yet embracing 59 per cent. of its total farm area and nearly 71 per cent. of its improved farm acreage. The twenty-six states in this division contributed last year 82 per cent. of the total corn crop, 76 per cent. of the total wheat crop, 91 per cent. of the total oat crop, 83 per cent. of the total hay crop, and a correspondingly large proportion of the total production of every other agricultural product, save cotton, sugar cane, and the tropical and sub-tropical fruits, grown in the United States. It is obvious, moreover, that this is the region that must continue to furnish the principal proportion of all these necessary commodities.

The fact that at the census of 1890 these states contained [illegible],000 acres of unimproved land in farms would sug[illegible] agricultural possibilities, but unfortunately these [illegible] are to some extent delusive. Here, as in other parts [illegible] the distribution of the unimproved land is any[illegible], and the extent to which such land might be [illegible] for cultivation likewise differs widely. In Illinois [illegible] between 15 and 20 per cent. of the total

* [illegible] had a very creditable exhibit of wheat at the recent [illegible] at Omaha, but it was grown at an elevation of several

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nesota and the Dakotas, averages of from 26 to 40 per cent. are mainly attributable to the more recent settlement of those states.

Assuming that the entire region will, under the influence of high prices, have 85 per cent. of its total farm area brought under cultivation within the next 30 years, there will be added to the productive area in this region about 60,000,000 acres, with state and railroad lands to the possible extent of 20,000,000 acres in addition. This will fall so far short of the requirements of our own population that it is neccssary to seek other possible additions to the cultivable area.

Not for the purpose of growing wheat, but under the influence of those generally higher prices which any considerable and long-continued increase in the price of wheat would bring about by reducing the acreage in other products, the South might conceivably add to her productive area as much as 30,000,000 acres. Ten million acres might be added on the Pacific coast and 3,000,000 acres in the arid region. This would make the gross addition 123,-000,000 acres, against which must be set those continual withdrawals of land from agricultural uses which not even a high degree of agricultural prosperity would entirely prevent. Assuming the annual rate of diversion to be diminished by one-half, the loss during the next thirty years would amount to about 15,000,000 acres, making the net increase 108,000,000 acres.

This will constitute an enormous addition to the productive capacity of the farms of the country, and one the contemplation of which, aside from the question of consumption, might well appal our much-discouraged farmers. Considered, however, in the light of the requirements of a population of 130,000,000, the figures assume an entirely different aspect. On the basis of our [illegible] actual consumption as a people, to the entire exclusion [illegible] export trade, the country will require by the year 1931 the [illegible] additional acreage: for wheat, 13,500,000 acres; for [illegible],000 acres; for oats, 23,700,000 acres; for the minor [illegible],000 acres, and for hay, 40,500,000 acres, a total of [illegible] acres, without making any provision for the propor[illegible] consumption of vegetables, fruits and other [illegible], therefore, of the probably largely increased acre[illegible] prices or proving unprofitable to the farmers, [illegible] deficiency of at least 50,000,000 acres. Indeed, it [illegible] this, since it cannot be supposed for a moment

that the unimproved lands left to the last are anything like equal in natural fertility to those first selected for cultivation. On the other side of the account, however, we have to place whatever increase in yield per acre may be brought about by improved methods of farming. But whatever agricultural science may be able to do in this direction within the next thirty years, up to the present time it has only succeeded in arresting that decline in the rate of production with which we have been continually threatened.

From 1878 to 1882, inclusive, the average yield per acre of wheat was 12.8 bushels; from 1883 to 1887 it was 11.9 bushels; from 1888 to 1892 it was 12.8 bushels, and from 1893 to 1897 it was likewise 12.8 bushels. While it has been remarkably uniform when considered in 5-year periods, it would unquestionably show a slight decline, were it not for the very high averages obtaining in those states and territories the crops of which are irrigated, and which have appeared in the list of wheat-growing states only within the last fifteen years. The average yield per acre of corn for the 10-year period, 1878 to 1887, was 24.40 bushels; from 1888 to 1897 it was 24.42 bushels. Of oats the average yield was 27.2 bushels in the former and 25.7 bushels in the latter period. Of potatoes the average yield per acre declined from 77.6 bushels to 76.0 bushels; of cotton it declined from 181 pounds to 172 pounds, and of tobacco from 727 pounds to 726 pounds. Of hay the latter period shows an increase of one one-hundredth of a ton per acre per annum, and there is also a slight increase in the case of barley, rye and buckwheat.

While there is but little satisfaction to be obtained from these figures, it must be borne in mind that it is only to a very small extent indeed that scientific methods have as yet been employed in the growing of field crops. It is unquestionably to the laboratory that we shall have to look for relief, except in so far as it may be afforded by the Government undertaking the construction of storage reservoirs in the arid region that might reclaim not to exceed 71,500,000 acres, less whatever small area might in the mean time have been brought under cultivation in that [illegible] through private enterprise.

So much as to the prospective crop situation [illegible] as to the question of wheat production? That [illegible] most readily convertible into money that, all [illegible] equal, the farmer will give the preference in [illegible]

will grow, needs no proof. The cultivation of wheat at the expense of other necessary crops will, however, be held in check by two very powerful influences. The first will arise from the fact that a reduction of the acreage under any product of general use below the actual requirements of the country will instantly—perhaps even prospectively—affect the price of that product, possibly in a proportion even greater than that by which its acreage is diminished, and may even be sufficient to constitute it a competitor with wheat on equal terms for the farmer's favor. The second check will be found in the fact that the American farmer, north, south, east and west, has at last fully awakened to the safety, stability and, in the long run, increased profit resulting from a judiciously diversified system of farming. The one-crop system has passed away, never to return, and before wheat can be extensively cultivated at the expense of other products it will not only have to command what would now appear to us as an excessively high price and afford a reasonable assurance of its continuing so to do, but would have to do this without affecting to any considerable extent the price of other products.

There is yet one more factor to be considered, namely, the possibility that, to a much larger extent than has ever yet been attempted or contemplated, the farmers in the different sections of the country will restrict their products to what they can raise most abundantly and most cheaply, so that the regions best adapted to wheat shall raise wheat, and so on through the entire category of farm products. This, however, would also be to a very large extent counter to that system of diversification which the writer regards as the most encouraging feature of the agriculture of our time, and while some change may be looked for in this direction, it is doubtful if it will play any very important part in our new rural economy.

To discuss the extent to which under conceivable conditions the United States may, notwithstanding this somewhat dubious outlook, still continue to contribute to the food supply of other nations, would be little more than speculation. It is sufficient for the writer's present purpose to have called attention to the enormous prospective increase in the requirements of our own population and to some of the changes in the agricultural situation which such increase will involve.

JOHN HYDE.

the precedent we established against ourselves by the capture of enemy merchant vessels, we used such belligerent rights vigorously for the purpose of prosecuting these wars to a successful end.

To-day, when we are gradually assuming, by the extension of our insular territories, and still more by our far reaching and increasingly complex external interests, the *rôle* of a great possible belligerent, it behooves us to examine closely all such questions, and to study them in their relation to ourselves, and to our future complications in the arena of the world. We should not hastily restrict our war powers.

It is interesting to review the conduct of the last great land war between two highly civilized European states—the Franco-German war—with respect to the question of the exemption of private property on shore from capture. During that war, it has been authoritatively stated that the French, with their overwhelmingly superior navy—a navy that caused a paralysis of German commerce—captured ninety merchant vessels, the value of which did not much exceed six millions of francs; while, during the same period, the German armies in France took private property, by methods of systematic, but unrecompensed, requisitions and contributions, valued at more than six hundred millions of francs, not counting the damage, more or less unavoidable, caused by the march and encampment of the armies in the field. This levying of contributions and requisitions was practically a confiscation of [illegible] property, in an orderly and well distributed manner per[illegible] and duly claimed as among military necessities; but no more [illegible] and well considered, and no more necessary, than the cap[illegible] enemy merchant vessels and cargoes at sea, confiscated only [illegible] trial, by civil courts, presided over by duly appointed and [illegible], and with full opportunity for defense and appeal. [illegible] true, has been done away with; but when in its [illegible] well-ordered requisitions, without payment, for such [illegible], beer and wines, to be furnished by the inhabi[illegible], it cannot be said that on land private property [illegible] exempt from capture. It must be understood, also, [illegible] of France did not attempt to reimburse the [illegible], except very partially, and only in cases of [illegible] distress.

[illegible] represents the probabilities of the future, as

well as the modern soldier of the immediate past, stated that he was, by no means, in accord with any manifesto which declared that the weakening of the regular military forces of the enemy constituted the sole legitimate procedure in war. "No," he said, "it is necessary to attack the resources of the government of the enemy, his finances, his railways, his provisions (stores) and even his prestige." How such objectives as these can be reached without disturbing directly and indirectly private property, it is difficult to see.

France did not suffer upon the sea in that war; but none the less was the loss of private property by the French people, by the heavy hand of the German invader, a cause for the termination of the war and for a universal cry for peace. While it is not proposed to advocate such severity, its influence for the prevention of wars cannot be ignored; and, compared to this severity, the capture of merchant vessels at sea, though effective, is certainly much less harsh.

Deliberately ordered devastation on land and the exemption, by ransom, of unfortified towns from bombardment, cannot even yet be considered as matters outside of the pale of civilized warfare.

So high a military authority as General Sheridan, in speaking of his operations in the Shenandoah Valley, treats of the whole question of the effectiveness of the destruction of private property in such a manner that I cannot refrain from quoting his remarks as not without pertinence. He says:

> "I do not hold war to mean that lines of men shall engage each other in battle and material interests be ignored. This is but a duel, in [illegible] combatant seeks the other's life. War means much more, and is far [illegible] than this. Those who rest at home in peace and plenty [illegible] horrors attending such a duel, and even grow indifferent to [illegible] struggle goes on, contenting themselves with encouraging all [illegible] bodied to enlist in the cause to fill up the shattered ranks [illegible] them. It is another matter, however, when deprivation [illegible] brought to their own doors. Then the case appears [illegible] loss of property weighs heavy with the most of [illegible] than the sacrifices made on the field of battle. Death [illegible] the maximum of punishment in war, but it is not [illegible] brings prayers for peace more surely and more [illegible] struction of human life, as the selfishness of man [illegible] than one great conflict."

Turning from the land to the sea, [illegible] *of the merchant* vessel and its cargo [illegible]

[illegible] military value of its capture by the other belligerent.

In the first place, as to the ship: In modern maritime war between two naval powers, as soon as the declaration of war is known, there will be in most, if not all, cases, a cessation of the deep sea sailing trade, and the vessel that is likely to be captured —after the period of exemption generally allowed upon the outbreak of war—will be the merchant steamer, either a passenger or cargo carrier. Now, the merchant steamer has many possible belligerent uses in modern naval warfare. She may not be made into a vessel for the line of battle, it is true; but, with little or no material change, she may become a cruiser or a scout, or one of the many valuable and almost essential auxiliaries that are now demanded by maritime warfare. Transports, colliers, supply ships, torpedo depot vessels, floating machine shops, water distilling vessels, and telegraph cable layers and grapplers, are or can be made from innocent merchantmen.

As to the cargo, it also can be said to have a direct belligerent value to the enemy. In most, if not all, commercial countries, it would contribute directly the "sinews of war" to the enemy government through the customs duties paid from it. Our gold interest-bearing bonds of the period of the civil war, depended almost entirely for their value upon the duties levied by custom houses. War loans are not infrequently based upon customs receipts. There is no question as to the increased cost of war in modern times. Warlike appliances, afloat and ashore, cost much in a money sense in these times, and financial resources and superiority count vitally in modern warfare.

Unrestricted commerce affords an enemy these opportunities for increasing his revenue and resources, in such manner as to [illegible] of war to bear less hardly upon the people con- [illegible] by any other method. These sources of revenue are [illegible] for carrying on war; their forced cessation is a great [illegible] war to close. It may be urged that, as a neu- [illegible] enemy's ship is now free from capture, through [illegible] the Declaration of Paris, the neutral cargo will [illegible] revenue. But it must be remembered that, [illegible] ship is captured, the neutral cargo does not go [illegible] It must go at first, and remain for some [illegible]. Hence, this detention, and the loss it

American vessels to the English flag in the civil war. The Confederate States could not bring such cases, for manifest reasons, before prize courts, and to avoid complications the Confederate cruisers, as a rule, allowed such vessels to go free.

It must be noted, also, that the principal maritime nations of the world have given a governmental character and subsidy to various large merchant steamer lines for present and ulterior service—the ulterior uses being of a belligerent character. These vessels, constructed under governmental supervision, with a view to naval uses, have often a large proportion of their officers and crew regularly enrolled as a part of a naval reserve. They are, nevertheless, until taken by their government into belligerent service, merely enemy merchant vessels, privately owned, and as such would be free from capture, if such property were duly exempted.

I will repeat what I said in the earlier part of this paper—that I am distinctly opposed to the payment of prize money, as such, for the capture of enemy merchant vessels on the high seas. I have endeavored to show that the practice should be continued upon its merits as a military measure; it should be rewarded only in the same way as other military measures are rewarded that are incidental to a maritime war. It certainly should have no greater reward, in a material sense, than that given to phases of naval warfare in which life, limb and reputation are jeopardized.

In conclusion, I will quote from the remarks made upon this subject by one of our most distinguished civilians and publicists, the late Mr. Richard Henry Dana of Boston. He says:

"Merchandise sent to sea is sent voluntarily, embarked by merchants on an enterprise of profit, taking the risks of war; its value is usually capable of compensation in money, and may be protected by insurance; it is in the custody of men trained and paid for the purpose; and the sea upon which it is sent is *res omnium*, the common field of war as well as of commerce. The purpose of maritime commerce is the enriching of the owner by the transit over this common field, and it is the usual object of revenue to the power under whose government the owner resides."

CHARLES H. STOCKTON.

THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY S. A. KNOPF, M.D.

"It is in the power of man to cause all parasitic diseases to disappear from the world." These words, spoken by an immortal master of modern medicine, the late Louis Pasteur, have to no disease a more just application than to tuberculosis. To the lay mind it may seem like a paradox to say that, though nearly every sixth individual is tuberculous, and though pulmonary tuberculosis, commonly called consumption, is the most fatal and the most frequently contracted of all diseases, one-seventh of all deaths being due to it, it is nevertheless the most curable of all chronic ailments. But not only is consumption the disease which can be most frequently cured, especially when the invalid submits himself to treatment during the earlier period of his affliction, but it is also the disease which can be most easily prevented. Indeed, it is the disease which the power of man could cause to disappear from the world with more certainty than any other.

Tuberculosis is a parasitic disease *par excellence*. The [illegible] is the *bacillus tuberculosis*, discovered by Robert Ko[illegible]
It is a minute organism, in the shape of a cylindr[illegible]
with a high power microscope only after [illegible]
agents have been applied to it. This micro-o[illegible]
to the order of schizo-mycetes or fission-fung[illegible]
of vegetable life, is the specific microbe of [illegible]
its presence there is no tuberculosis. Its [illegible]
organism is two-fold— local, by destroying [illegible]
secreting toxins which poison the entire [illegible]
tuberculosis may enter the human [illegible]
that is to say, through food coming [illegible]

secondly, by inhalation, that is, inhaling dusty air laden with bacilli. Such an atmosphere we may encounter wherever consumptives are careless in the disposal of their expectoration. A tuberculous invalid expectorates, at times, as many as seven billion bacilli per day, and it has been demonstrated again and again that the dried and pulverized sputum of consumptives is one of the most frequent means of transmitting this disease. The third method of infection is by inoculation, that is to say, the microorganisms enter directly into the circulation through an open wound. The most frequent way in which this occurs is through handling a broken glass or porcelain spittoon that has been used by a tuberculous individual.

Let us see what has been done, and what can be done, by the State, the community and the individual to prevent the propagation of this disease, and ultimately to eradicate it.

One of our best American authorities on this subject, Dr. F. W. Smith, of the Tuberculosis Committee of the State Board of Health of New York, wrote me some time ago that, in his opinion, the first great step toward the prophylaxis of tuberculosis in man should be to stamp out the disease in cattle.

Martin, of the Royal Commission to investigate tuberculosis in Great Britain, is of the same opinion; and so are many of our most distinguished American physicians and sanitarians who have studied the question of tuberculosis. But how far removed we are, in this country, from effectually stamping out tuberculosis in cattle, may be gathered from a report which I submitted last year to the Section of State Medicine at the forty-eighth annual meeting of the American Medical Association,* from which I [illegible] few extracts here.

"There are fourteen States which have bovine laws and regu[illegible] and in which circulars are issued for public instruction in [illegible] tuberculosis in man, viz.: California, Colorado, Connec[illegible], Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New [illegible], New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia and [illegible] two which have bovine laws, but where apparently [illegible] to stop the spread of tuberculosis in man, viz.: [illegible] South Dakota; one which has bovine laws, but [illegible] for lack of funds, and where thus far the

* [illegible] Preventative Means Against the Spread of Tuberculosis [illegible] the Union, Critically Reviewed." *Journal Am. Med.*

and to enforce the registration of all tuberculous cases. The great majority of the medical profession has opposed any attempt in that direction as untimely. Still, the careless and ignorant consumptives should be controlled and prevented from doing harm. The same board and many other city boards have passed ordinances forbidding expectorating in street cars or on the floors of public buildings, and some even make it punishable to expectorate in the street. But anyone who observes at all will be surprised to note how little these ordinances are heeded. From a sanitary point of view, I am inclined to think that a more general use of the pocket flask, not only by those who are tuberculous, but also by those who have a simple cold or grip, would solve the problem of expectoration. The boards of health, the hospitals and dispensaries should distribute such flasks free of charge to all pulmonary invalids coming under their care. They should preferably be made of some light metal (aluminum or nickel) to protect the patient from the danger of inoculation through breakage. The use of the handkerchief for this purpose, while better than spitting on the floor, is certainly not very sanitary, and I have no doubt, at times, is the cause of a severe reinfection of the nasal mucous membrane.

The general public, however, does not always see things with the same eyes as the sanitarian, and some pulmonary invalids will absolutely refuse to adopt a course which would attract attention to their infirmity. The only remedy in such cases is to tell them to have pockets of impermeable material and carry with them a sufficient number of cheap handkerchiefs, squares of muslin or Japanese paper handkerchiefs, for the exclusive purpose of expectorating therein. These handkerchiefs should be burned as soon as possible after use. Of course, such patients take their chances of infecting their hands by manipulating the soiled handkerchiefs, and they should be enjoined [illegible] touch any food with their hands without having thoroughly [illegible] them.

[illegible] matter of preventing the spread of tuberculosis [illegible] educational work on the one hand, and on the [illegible] the State and municipal authorities, in the care [illegible] poor and those of moderate means.

[illegible], aided by the teacher of hygiene in our [illegible] inculcate upon the pupils the ordinary prin-

ciples of how not to become pulmonary invalids. Respiratory exercises, outdoor singing and declamation when the weather permits, will form an important part in this work. The Board of Health will have to educate the public by circulars and general instructions, and by offering gratuitous disinfection of apartments, bedding and wearing apparel. Such educational work has been most creditably done during the past years by the New York City Board of Health and in Philadelphia by the Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. But the greatest amount of good, the work which will be educational, preventive, and curative at the same time, must be done by the State and municipal authorities, aided by wealthy and generous citizens, by creating and maintaining a considerable number of special institutions, sanatoria,* hospitals, dispensaries, etc., for the exclusive treatment of tuberculous patients.

The need of such institutions has been demonstrated again and again; but, strange as it may seem, in this country we have fewer sanatoria for tuberculous patients, absolutely and relatively to our population and to the number of consumptives, than either Germany, England or France. The only State institution of this kind in America was recently opened at Butland, Mass., with a capacity of 300 beds, and is called the Massachusetts State Hospital for Consumptives. The great city of New York, with its 10,000 tuberculous poor, has not enough accommodation for 500 consumptives, unless they are placed in the general hospitals, where they are a constant menace to their fellow patients suffering from acute diseases. It is not rare that a patient with typhoid fever, entering the ward of a general hospital, leaves it cured from that disease, but taking with him from the hospital the germs of tuberculosis, the invasion of which his enfeebled organism will not withstand. Still, there are in this country statesmen, physicians and philanthropists who doubt the need of special institutions. To such I would suggest a visit to the consumptive poor in the tenement districts of our large cities, and to study the hygienic and social conditions of these sufferers in their surroundings. Let them watch some of the [illegible]

* Contrary to the custom of many English-speaking [illegible] United States, I call these establishments sanatoria [illegible] (sanatorium), from *sanare*, to heal, gives a better [illegible] anstalt," the word used by the originator of this [illegible] word sanatarium, from *sanitas*, health, is [illegible] considered simply as especially healthy, a favorite [illegible]

families. After lingering a year, either the mother or father dies of consumption, and the remaining partner, having become infected by nursing the companion, dies a year later, after having buried half of the children, who have succumbed to tuberculous meningitis. I am sure these visitors will emerge from the dark, dreary rooms and the crowded, unclean houses which serve as habitations for millions of poor people, thoroughly convinced of the urgent need of measures to relieve these consumptive sufferers. Let these doubters also experience the difficulty of gaining admittance as a tuberculous patient into a general hospital supported by private charity, or let them watch the rapid decline the poor consumptive often makes, even if he has been fortunate enough to be admitted to a general public hospital, and they will become still more convinced of the urgent need of creating special institutions for this class of patients. It will be clear to them that something must be done in the interest of the sick, as well as in the interest of the still healthy portion of the community.

But how can this be done, and done effectually? What class of patients should the State or municipality take care of? Only the curable, or only the incurable ones? Only the poor, or also those of moderate means? If any government is in earnest in its endeavor to combat tuberculosis effectually, besides its regularly enforced laws against bovine tuberculosis, its thorough hygienic measures against tuberculosis in man through sanitary regulations and public instruction, it must take upon itself the care and treatment of the curable and incurable cases of tuberculous patients, among the poor and among those of limited means. I mean here by limited means a financial condition which does not permit a tuberculous patient to enter a private sanatorium, or to have at home such medical, hygienic, and dietetic care as will [illegible] him the best possible chance of recovery.

[illegible] point to be considered would be how to recruit the [illegible] and how to discriminate between the proper and im- [illegible]

[illegible] which I was invited to deliver recently be- [illegible] annual conference of the State and Provin- [illegible] Health of North America,* I made the follow- [illegible] to these questions:

* [illegible] Care of Consumptives." *Medical Report*, Sep-

against the coldest winds by higher mountains, and preferably surrounded by a pine forest. A farm in the vicinity, where the thoroughly convalescent patients could do light work, might make the institution in a measure self-supporting. To this place the selected incipient and the improved cases from the city sanatorium should be sent to complete their cure. To the mountain sanatorium there should also be attached a department for children suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis.

4. Several seaside sanatoria for the treatment of children afflicted with tuberculous diseases of the joints and other tuberculous (scrofulous) manifestations.

5. A maternity sanatorium where tuberculous mothers should be received a few months previous to their confinement and surrounded by the best hygienic and dietetic care. They should also remain in the sanatorium for some time after childbirth. It is only by taking away these mothers from their unsanitary tenement homes, and placing them under constant medical supervision in such an institution, some time before and after their confinement, that the fearful mortality among tuberculous mothers after childbirth can be reduced.

The beneficial effect on the woman's and child's constitutions through such an arrangement can hardly be overestimated. Leaving aside the physical well being thus largely assured to mother and child at a period when their organisms need the most tender care, the hygienic training which the mother will have received in such an institution will be of lasting utility to herself and child, to the family and to the community.

These maternity sanatoria need not be situated at a great distance from the city. All that would be essential is that they should be erected on good porous ground, preferably somewhat elevated, and in a locality where the atmosphere is as pure as possible. The buildings should be constructed according to the [illegible] of modern obstetrical science and modern phthisio-[illegible]. The physician in charge should be experienced in both [illegible] of medicine.

[illegible] foregoing it will be seen that I am in favor [illegible] tuberculous patients near their homes, and [illegible] nearly the same climate as that in which [illegible] live and work after their restoration to [illegible] such principles are founded on

the experiences of all modern phthisio-therapeutists, who have demonstrated that the hygienic and dietetic treatment in special sanatoria is feasible and successful in nearly all climates. I know from personal observation that cures of pulmonary tuberculosis effected in our ordinary home climates, which are on the average not considered as especially favorable to this class of sufferers, have been more lasting and more assured than cures obtained in more genial climes. And, with all due deference to the opinion of others, I do not believe there exists any climate which has a specific curative quality for any form of pulmonary tuberculosis. Climate can only be considered as a more or less valuable adjuvant in the treatment of consumption, but not a specific.

It is, furthermore, my firm conviction that for social and economic reasons the majority of tuberculous patients will have to be treated near their homes.. Only by adhering to this principle can we expect to cope successfully with tuberculosis—this disease of all climes, but which is most prevalent in large centres of population, where civilization has seemingly attained the highest standard.

That from the presence of properly conducted sanatoria for consumptives not the least danger can arise to the locality where such institutions may be placed, I have demonstrated in several of my previous writings,* from the official statistics concerning the mortality from tuberculosis for forty and for one hundred years, respectively, before and after the establishment of a sanatoria for consumptives in certain villages in Germany. I will only summarize these statistics here.

In the two villages, Goerbersdorf and Falkenstein, where five of the largest sanatoria are situated, the mortality from tuberculosis has actually decreased among the village people more rapidly and more largely than anywhere else, it being [illegible] third less than before the establishment of those institutions. Thus we see that properly conducted sanatoria for consumptives not only serve as hygienic educators to individuals and families, but as instructors in hygiene to whole communities. [illegible] ple in scrupulous cleanliness set by employees and [illegible] sanatoria thus bears the best fruits. For, in [illegible] tuberculosis is not a contagious disease; the [illegible] touch of the invalid, is not capable of [illegible]

* "Are Sanatoria for Consumptives a Danger [illegible] Record, October 2, 189[illegible]; Revue de la Tuberculose, [illegible]

it is the ignorant, unclean, or helpless patient, who, by his mode of disposing of his expectorations, endangers the life of others. The breath of a consumptive is not to be feared, it does not contain the tubercle bacilli, nor its spores, nor other dangerous organisms. Thus it is more correct to call pulmonary tuberculosis only a highly communicable disease, and we repeat, from living or coming in contact with a clean, conscientious, tuberculous invalid, nothing whatsoever is to be feared. At that excellent American institution, the Adirondack Cottage Sanitarium at Saranac Lake, under the direction of Dr. E. L. Trudeau, not one of the nurses or medical attendants who have worked in it in the past fifteen years has ever contracted pulmonary tuberculosis.

To create the large number of institutions needed to combat tuberculosis by isolating the hopeless cases in special hospitals, and sending the curable ones to sanatoria, the State and municipal funds are scarcely sufficient at present. While it is to be hoped that the respective authorities will do their share, the need of a number of large sanatoria in this country is so great that we must appeal to the wealthy and philanthropic citizens to come to our aid in establishing sanatoria for the consumptive poor.

In England, Germany and France the government has created some institutions, but the majority of the sanatoria existing in these countries have been created and are maintained by the generosity of individuals. Recently, in England, the Prince of Wales has given the matter his attention. He presided over the first meeting held at Marlborough House, a few weeks ago, for creating and maintaining sanatoria for the consumptive poor. Some of the crowned heads of Europe, such as the Czar of Russia, the Empress of Germany, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Saxony, the King of Sweden and the young Queen of Holland, have placed the sanatoria for the consumptive poor under their high protection, and have opened their private purses for their support. The nobility and the leaders in finance, art, and literature have been eager to imitate the noble example set by their sovereigns, and they, too, have given freely toward the erection and maintenance of such institutions.

Shall this great country, with all its wealth, with its many generous and patriotic philanthropists, remain behind in the onward march of effort to eradicate a disease to which rich and poor, old and young, fall victims by thousands every year? In

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COLORED SOLDIER.

BY W. THORNTON PARKER, M.D., LATE A. A. SURGEON, U. S. ARMY.

WHEN colored troops were enrolled, soon after the close of the War of the Rebellion, the Southern States were in a chaotic condition. Troops occupied the strategic centres, and "carpet bag" politicians and adventurers swarmed into the conquered territory, their thirst for money making them willing to risk somewhat of safety in order to arrive early upon the field to reap the harvest that cruel war had placed within their reach. The negroes, freed from slavery and intoxicated with the license which they knew not how to use reasonably, were ready for almost anything except wage labor.

The war being at an end, the profession of arms, with the showy uniform and military pomp, offered them a tempting experience. To recruit a colored regiment was therefore not a very difficult undertaking, especially so when ignorance and savagery were no bar to acceptance by the recruiting officers. Hundreds of freed negroes flocked to the recruiting stations and were quickly transformed into recruits for the United States colored regiments. The fiat had gone forth that the freed men were no longer to be merely enrolled as soldiers to do duty as teamsters for the quartermaster's department, but that they were to appear as soldiers, drill, and do guard duty, with equal rights with the white veterans of the late war. In compliance with this idea, an expedition assembled and marched westward from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in the early spring of 1867, over the Santa Fé trail, through the "great deserts," which were then occupied by the active and warlike Indians. Their advent astonished everyone. The frontiersmen looked upon them as a military caricature, the

fruit of some political deal, unexplained and unreasonable. The officers detailed to serve with them were half ashamed to have it known. The white soldiers who came in contact with these recent slaves, now wearing the uniform of the regular army, felt insulted and injured; and their redskin adversaries heaped derision upon the negroes by taunts and jests, and loudly called them "Buffalo Soldiers," and declared they were "heap bad medicine" because they could not and would not scalp them.

Such was the very unpromising advent of colored troops to do service as soldiers on equal terms with regular veterans. A detachment of this regiment was ordered on duty at Fort Craig, New Mexico, and shortly after their relief from quartermaster's duty they were, to the astonishment and disgust of the white troops, detailed for guard duty. This was more than the white soldiers could endure, and so general and open was the opposition that a condition of things bordering on mutiny resulted. Great anxiety existed among the officers as to the outcome, and the gravest fears were entertained.

The threats of vengeance against the "nigger soldiers" were so openly made in the hearing of officers that bloodshed was seriously anticipated, and earnest consultations concerning postponing the colored guard detail were held. It was finally decided, however, that the colored new guard should march on at all hazards, and when guard mount sounded the entire garrison was in a state of anxiety never before experienced. The old guard was assembled and instructed and warned, the men listening in sullen silence. Never before had it been necessary for their officers to appeal to them. They had served long and well together; [illegible] spect and confidence were genuinely entertained for each other to a degree almost unknown among the troops east of the [illegible] These veteran Indian fighters would follow their [illegible] fully and persistently through any danger or [illegible] it came to being "obliged to salute a nigger in [illegible] proud soldierly spirits rebelled at the thought, [illegible] openly their intense aversion to this [illegible] guard mount sounded shrill and forbidding [illegible] with a sullen determination on their [illegible] to take part in a critical event in their [illegible] guard marched on in a shuffling, [illegible] wished it were over. As they [illegible]

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severed, and the brave veterans were released. They were too lame and injured to hold a rifle then, but it was agreed that thereafter military courtesy should be shown to those wearing the uniform.

This incident at Fort Craig illustrates the discord which then existed between the white and colored troops of the regular army.

South of Fort Craig, beyond the river, stretched the lonely desert known as the Jornada del Muerto, or Journey of Death. Ninety-nine miles, without wood, water, or grass, leads the straight road to Fort Selden. Here another detachment of the 37th was stationed. Continuing the march, the remaining detachments pushed on through sixty-five miles of desert to Fort Cummings, N. M., where they relieved the garrison, consisting of two companies of the 125th U. S. Colored Volunteer Infantry. Here, isolated in the desert, stood a fortress built of adobe. It was designed by General McClellan, and was constructed with strong walls completely surrounding the garrison buildings, a feature quite uncommon among the so-called Western forts. Generally speaking, the forts of the frontier are merely collections of buildings about an oblong space, which serves as parade ground.

To the north of Fort Cummings, Cook's Peak rose in its majestic grandeur, and, beyond, the cañon extended away for miles. Through this a road led in the direction of the Rio Mimbres, twenty miles away. But to the west and southwest stretched the limitless prairie, dreary and desolate. The only green things visible in the landscape were the few stunted trees at the spring, half way between the Fort and the entrance to Cook's Cañon. [illegible] marching for days and weeks through an enemy's country, with the rough mess-kit of a campaigner, with the horror of a visitation of cholera, to which their brave surgeon and his [illegible] victims, these ignorant colored soldiers, who had been [illegible] with delusive hopes on leaving the fertile lands of [illegible] themselves in this dreary, prison-like abode, [illegible] discomforts of a home in the desert, and to all the [illegible] powerful tribe of merciless Apaches, forever on [illegible] was enough to sadden the hearts of the best [illegible] is no wonder that dissatisfaction rapidly [illegible] disciplined state a mutinous spirit developed [illegible]

The veteran volunteers, with [illegible] marched away; and, with the exception [illegible]

a squad of the 3d U. S. regular cavalry, there were no white men to give their influence towards preserving order.

In the early days of colored troops in the regular army, it was essential, to get the best results, that they should serve with white troops, so that discipline could be enforced when necessary. It was a decidedly risky experiment to attempt making soldiers of such people. They needed the object lesson of contact with white troops. Naturally of an imitative disposition, the colored man took the white soldier as his pattern, carefully watching every gesture and movement with inquisitive concern. Recruited from the most dangerous and shiftless of the freed negroes, they were naturally lazy, and disinclined to do the work required of them. They spent all their leisure time in gambling, drinking and quarrelling. Every possible punishment employed in the discipline of frontier posts was inflicted upon them. They were stood on barrels, they were "bucked" and gagged, they were marched about the garrison with heavy planks tied to their backs, bearing the word "gambler" in chalk. Everything was done to discipline them, every means taken to make soldiers of them. But so rapidly did the mutinous spirit develop in the command, that only by the merest chance was a tragedy averted.

Through the confession of a servant it was discovered that these colored men had entered into a plot to kill every white man in the garrison, to capture the horses and such property as they might desire, and to carry off the officers' wives as their slaves. The details were so completed that every match was to be dampened so that no light could be made, and the caps were to be re-[illegible] from every revolver.

With remarkable coolness, the officers prepared to face the terrible situation. A rumor was purposely circulated that the [illegible] had arrived. The colored soldiers were ordered to be [illegible] the parade without arms. It had been previously ar-[illegible] the squad of white cavalry were to secretly occupy [illegible] the colored men and to prevent at all hazards their [illegible] their rifles. The cannon had been loaded to [illegible] grape and canister, and two of the officers de-[illegible] the mutineers should occasion require. [illegible] with the officers and white non-commis-[illegible], appeared before the command, and [illegible] plot had been fully discovered; and

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have not disheartened them. It is the same old story: th
won again the respect of friend and foe. "The colore
fight bravely."

W. THORNTON PA

And now, after the sleep of centuries, we look upon the awakening of China, the stir of new life among her rulers, the impact of new forces upon her social and intellectual institutions. It has been long in coming, many obstacles have been encountered, many more yet remain to be overcome; but the crisis is at hand, and the movement has begun. The forces that have wrought to this end have come from many sources, some without, some within; they have worked without collusion, without mutual recognition, but they have conspired to one end.

The contact and encroachment of foreign powers by commerce and by war; the travels and studies of leading Chinese in foreign lands; the natural effects of freer diplomatic intercourse with other nations; the long, widely spread, persistent and increasing influence of Western missionaries, teaching, embodying and exemplifying their faith and mental culture and spiritual life; these, and things like these, have wrought their work and reinforced each other, and made a steadily deepening impression upon the mind and heart of this vast people. And, at last, the war with Japan, so brilliantly successful on the one side, so humiliating and stunning on the other side, made further inaction impossible, let loose the convictions slowly gathering strength, and demonstrated that new ideas, new forces, new modes of life, must come or the nation sink in ruin. The shock, though rude, was necessary and wholesome, and we are looking upon its first results.

It would be folly to say that all the attention now given to China and the unfolding of her destiny is disinterested; obviously the great powers of Europe are more bent on making [illegible] fortunes than on aiding China in her need, on guarding [illegible] standing and future than on maintaining any interest of [illegible]. Nevertheless, the spectacle of China's awakening, [illegible] fact, commands the eyes and thoughts of Europe [illegible]. Even though the movement is at the beginning [illegible] doubtful whether the Celestial Empire can [illegible] and independent development, we cannot turn [illegible] draw off our thoughts, or cease to speculate, [illegible] we consider what issues are involved [illegible] may be.

This world-wide interest is only [illegible] remember the territory involved, [illegible] miles, fronting the sea by a coast [illegible]

within the temperate zone, of singular variety, fertility and resources; when we recall the people, four hundred millions of souls, one-fourth of the human race, a people of great powers, noble history and rare endurance; when we note these things, it is not strange that our minds are fascinated as the destiny of this great land and people unfolds before our very eyes. No drama of deeper meaning or wider interest has ever been enacted on the great stage of the world's history, and in few has the stake of other nations been so great.

The political elements that enter into the movement are only a part of the whole; the question at issue is not simply who is to possess the soil and rule the people of China. What are the Chinese to become, what part are they to play in the future, what share are they to have in the life and intercourse and thoughts of coming ages? It were strange, indeed, if questions like these were not to stir our hearts and touch our minds with an enduring interest. For the nations of the earth have a common life, and share a common destiny. No nation liveth to itself, and no nation dieth to itself. It deeply concerns America, England, Russia, Germany, France, what becomes of China and her hundreds of millions; in truth, these nations, severally and together, have no small share in determining the fortunes of this oriental world.

Many things conspire to show that the old order is changing, that a new life is rising in this land of seeming stagnation and [illegible]. Some of them are due to outside forces acting upon the [illegible] or the people, some spring from within, from new [illegible] and hopes that agitate the foremost minds of the land. [illegible] these, we note the opening railways in different [illegible] the Empire. The time is not remote when the effort [illegible] railway in China was met by popular uprising and the [illegible] demolition of everything connected with the enterprise. [illegible] is forever past, and the hand of the imperial gov- [illegible] sternly crush any popular attack upon the railways [illegible] in actual operation. A road three hundred miles [illegible] Peking to Tientsin and thence to the sea, and to [illegible] mines in the northeast, has been built for some [illegible] trains a day and carries thousands of passengers, [illegible]. A line connecting with this, from Peking to [illegible] and ten miles, has just been completed [illegible]. Shanghai is now connected with its sea-

port, Woosung, by rail. Many other lines are projected, and some of them are sure to be built; from Paoting-fu eight hundred miles southward to Hankow, an interior trunk line, connecting the capital with the rich and populous valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang; from Hankow nine hundred miles southward a continuation of the trunk line from Peking to Canton through the very heart of the Empire; from Paoting-fu some five hundred miles westward to the vast coal measures and iron mines of Shansi, giving these mineral riches access to the sea and to many other provinces; from Tien-tsin five hundred miles southeastward to Chin Kiang, traversing the fertile and crowded province of Shantung; from Peking three hundred miles northeast to New Chwang, connecting with the great Russian transcontinental line. It is foreign capital that is building these extensive lines; but the Chinese government favors the enterprises and forbids popular molestation. Nothing indicates more sensibly the awakening of the nation, nothing aids and intensifies it more directly. The straight lines of the iron road will compel a readjustment and limitation of the almost omnipresent cemeteries of China, and will pay small respect to the sensibilities of the Dragon god outstretched beneath the ground; the shriek of the whistle, the roar of the trains, will break effectually the sleep of ages, and will set the pulses of the people beating to new feelings and purposes; travel will widen the thoughts of men, and correct ignorance and cement a real unity of life and interest between all parts of the land. The navigation by steam craft of the great interior waterways of China, which is already revolutionizing passenger traffic and the transportation of freight, still further serves the same purpose, and belongs to the same order of things.

Closely related to this quickening of communication is the introduction of manufactures and mining operations. A half-dozen cotton mills, in dimensions like those of Lowell and Manchester, running with full power night and day, are already in operation at Shanghai, a significant beginning of new industries in the Empire. An Anglo-Italian syndicate has obtained a concession for exploiting the vast coal measures and iron mines of Shansi; and the railway projected thence to Paoting-fu will carry their products to the markets of the world. Foreign capital and enterprise are also occupied with these undertakings; but they create a great demand for native labor, they will multiply the

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wherever these fertilizing streams are flowing. This is an agency of revolution and improvement of the very first importance.

The edicts of reform issued within the year by the Emperor are perhaps the most striking evidence of the reality and character of the awakening that is abroad in the land. They indicate remarkable insight into the causes of China's weakness, and equally remarkable courage in applying the needed remedy. The new regulations in regard to government examinations made an absolute revolution in the educational and intellectual standards of the country. Hereafter every candidate for a government degree, all who ever expect to have a share in the government of the Empire, must sustain an examination in the sciences and history of Western nations. This at once created the necessity of schools to teach these branches. A central university is to be opened at Peking, under two presidents, one a Chinese, the other Dr. Martin, many years a missionary of the American Methodist Board. Dr. Martin is charged with the duty of finding teachers for the new subjects and of directing the work of instruction. He must bring in at once twenty or more highly educated foreigners, either missionaries or men of like culture and sentiments. The best men trained in our mission colleges will be in great demand as teachers in the affiliated schools all over the Empire. Temples are to be placed at the service of these secondary schools, the priests to be turned adrift, and government fees support the schools. In all this we have the public recognition that Chinese learning as heretofore regarded is found wanting, and that the learning that thrives in the Occident, which has yielded Japan such resources, which the missionaries have embodied and taught for many decades, must hereafter be the light and mainstay of this mighty nation.

The enforced resignation or imprisonment of the [illegible], who sent out this edict will not entirely abolish it [illegible] it of its power. The Empress, though a powerful [illegible] the head of the conservative influence, is not believed [illegible] enough permanently to arrest this new and progressive [illegible] if she really desired to do so. The nation is [illegible] ment from Burmah to the Great Wall, from [illegible] Hindoo-Koosh, and the old order can never [illegible]

Other progressive edicts are equally [illegible] the political, economical and intellect[illegible]

Roman Empire, so we may say of the *coup d'etat* which has put the Empress Dowager temporarily in power: *Nebecula est, transibit.* Meanwhile, the capacity of the Chinese to conceive and put into execution great measures of reform has been demonstrated beyond question or doubt.

One additional source and evidence of China's awakening is found in the spread and success of missionary work. This is a liberalizing influence of incessant and unmeasured activity; it is exerted on large numbers, mainly the youth, in all grades of society from the lowest upward, and over a great extent of country. It is a training in knowledge and virtue, according to the world's highest ideals, under conditions favorable for deep and lasting results. It is a leaven cast into the bosom of society, not for a day or a year, but for generation after generation, slowly but surely leavening the whole mass. It reaches further and penetrates deeper, and abides more permanently than any merely external influence. By its very nature the Christian society tends to increase and gather strength, and overcome opposing strength, and become the controlling and inspiring force. Already at not a few points this potent social influence is in the ascendant, in many others it is steadily advancing to the supremacy. There are no minds so eager for the best things, so devoted to the nation's welfare, so proud of China's true glory or so able to lead her on to win and possess it, as those which have been trained in the mission churches and schools from one end of the land to the other. In these centres of aggressive life new China has her camps, her captains and her soldiers of the line. They are making ready to do for her what the churches and schools of Canterbury and Winchester, of London and Oxford, of Lincoln and York, did for England in the seventh and eighth centuries. Any study of China at the present time that leaves these out of the account fails to grasp the whole problem.

Nothing could be more interesting or more important [illegible] vealing the motives and development of the political [illegible] enacted in Peking during the last six months, [illegible] reported interview with one of the leaders of the [illegible] Kang Yu Wei, who was fortunate enough to [illegible] overtook his associates, and reached Hong K[illegible] this interview was given. This young Can[illegible] deeply imbued with Western learning and [illegible]

of events, and it is one of the sacredly cherished [illegible] and those who share his views, to rescue the Emperor from his present thralldom and to help him reorganize the government upon a sounder and more permanent basis. The letters he has received from the Emperor since their last interview, which he makes public, are pathetic and inspiring. If there is any way by which the present dynasty can be made serviceable to China and the Empire saved from decay, it must be through such plans and measures as this reformer cherishes, reinforced, if need be, by the aid of friendly foreign powers.

The Chinese move slowly, and some have mistaken this fact for inability to move at all. But many things combine to show that changes are firmly maintained if once they have been intelligently made. And the process of educating the Chinese mind in the facts and principles of modern life is now going on upon a wide scale. The outcome of the war with Japan has compelled the governing class to inquire into the causes of Japan's victories, and to study the arts and sciences of the West. The multiplication of scholars in the government schools who know English and are thus brought into contact with the life of progressive nations, tends to the same end. Diplomatic intercourse with the great nations of the world is a constant stimulus to wider knowledge and more liberal views. The efforts of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Literature have multiplied the number of readers of Western books in all parts of the Empire. The influence of the various schools and other labors connected with missionary work has wrought [illegible] widely and steadily to create enlightened views and to [illegible] modern ideas of manners and laws and life. And a goodly company of men and women around the numerous and [illegible] tered mission stations is already in active sympathy [illegible] forces that are awakening the thoughts and [illegible] and institutions of this great Empire. In this [illegible] many others, the Emperor's thoughts pursued [illegible] and recognized facts, when he contemplated [illegible] Christianity for the state religion, as the [illegible] atmosphere of the best life and arts for the [illegible]

Everyone who considers the matter [illegible] impressed by the evidence here given [illegible] form have so considerable a hold on the [illegible]

China, and that they are animated by a pure patriotism and high personal aims. It is said that the six companions of Kang Yu Wei who have suffered death at the hands of the Empress, all of high rank and position, friendly to reform, familiar with the life and learning of other nations, might have saved themselves if they had preferred life to honor and country. One of them, Kang Kuang Jên, a brother of Kang Yu Wei, being offered protection in a foreign Legation, is reported to have replied: "No reform can succeed but by the shedding of blood; I am ready to die." Their death for devotion to reform and what they deemed the welfare of the nation, sheds a real lustre on the Chinese name, and adds to the common wealth of the world. A cause for which such men are willing to die cannot perish in their destruction; others will arise with the same spirit to take up their cause, and in a happier time, under more favoring conditions, perchance, will see it carried on to victory, as the principles of the Puritan Revolution, which seemed to be overwhelmed in the Restoration under Charles II., under the tyranny of James II., emerged and reasserted themselves, and set the throne of England permanently in harmony with the freedom of the nation and with righteousness.

The friends of China, nay, the friends of liberty and progress in the earth, must desire to see the autonomy of this great people preserved, their government freed from superstition and inherent weakness and adjusted to the new sentiments and relations of these later times, and its future development carried on under a native dynasty. When we consider this remarkable country—its vast extent, its enormous resources, its imperial position; and the people themselves—so numerous, so capable, so industrious, so fitted for great deeds, with a history prolonged through three thousand years; the reformation of their government, the universal spread among them of the best learning and institutions and faith of the world seem things to be ardently desired, freighted with blessings of supreme import to the world and the ages.

JUDSON SMITH.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

BY THE HON. SERENO E. PAYNE, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMIT[illegible]
ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"WHOSOEVER commands the sea, commands the trade; wh[illegible] ever commands the trade of the world, commands the ric[illegible] of the world, and consequently the world itself."

The fathers were early imbued with the wisdom of these w[illegible] of Sir Walter Raleigh, and at the very beginning of our nat[illegible] existence adopted measures for the upbuilding of the Ame[illegible] merchant marine. They had experience under the restrictive [illegible] of Great Britain, which allowed American ship yards to b[illegible] nothing larger than sloops that could not take part in the [illegible] carrying trade to any great extent. Under this policy, prior to [illegible] adoption of the Constitution, we were carrying only about [illegible] per cent. of our foreign commerce in American ships. The [illegible] Congress passed an act imposing discriminating duties upon [illegible] imported under a foreign flag. They also imposed [illegible] nage taxes on vessels sailing under foreign flags. On [illegible] of September, 1789, Congress provided that none but A[illegible] built vessels should receive an American register [illegible] American flag. This act has remained in full force [illegible] an exception only having been made in the case [illegible] York" and "Paris" in 1893.

This last act has afforded complete [illegible] ing and lake trade. Under its fostering in[illegible] has increased to immense proportions. No [illegible] domestic trade that equals it. It furnishes [illegible] portation in the world. It has been [illegible] in keeping alive the shipbuilding indus[illegible] the last half century.

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half of the American ships from the ocean. Since that time the change in construction of vessels from wood to steel, the cheaper construction in British yards, and the almost entire absence of any legislation to encourage the American merchant marine, has caused a gradual and pitiable decline, until now we carry only about eleven per cent. of the commerce of the United States.

This has entailed a great loss upon our people. The estimated annual freight receipts in our foreign carrying trade is placed at a low figure at one hundred and seventy millions of dollars. This condition means much to all our people. It means the drain of that much gold every year. Could it be distributed in this country, it would add this vast amount toward national wealth. It would go to the artisan, the merchant and the farmer.

The attention of thinking men has been directed for many years to the decline of American shipping and the problem of its restoration. Just now our attention is called to it in a striking manner by the development of Asiatic trade. Japan is furnishing such a market that we are unable to charter ships under any flag sufficient to carry the steel, cotton and other goods required of us. Hastening events are opening wide the doors of trade in China. Now is the opportunity to get into these new markets of the world.

Trade follows the flag. We are ready to compete with the world in everything made from iron, steel and cotton, and a hundred other things. We want a market for the cereal products of the Northwest and the Pacific slope, without sending them to Liverpool, and paying toll to Great Britain, before they reach Asiatic ports. The same is true of the South American markets, both on the Atlantic and the Pacific. To reach these markets [illegible], we must send our mail, and often ship our goods, by the way of Liverpool. This is a terrible handicap to our trade. [illegible] vessels, manned by Americans, would result in great [illegible] in marketing American goods. All admit the [illegible] purely commercial standpoint, of building up our [illegible] rine.

In case of war between Great Britain and [illegible] that carry our commerce would be driven [illegible] cannot estimate the interruption to [illegible] ence and loss to our foreign trade that [illegible]

vantage, in time of a war of our own, in having great ships that may be turned into cruisers and transports was demonstrated in our late affair with Spain. The four auxiliary cruisers from the American line, thoroughly manned with experienced seamen and engineers, ready for duty at a moment's notice, saved us many times all the money we have ever paid to maintain this line. Panic in our coast marine service followed the starting of Cervera's fleet. The sailing of our merchant cruisers, and the fact that they could locate and report the Spanish fleet, in ample time for Sampson to intercept them, restored confidence and saved our coastwise trade.

The necessity being demonstrated, the question presents itself, What course shall be adopted? Some of our citizens suggest free ships. That would open the door and allow vessels built in a foreign yard to be registered and sailed under the American flag. It is unquestionably true that a steel steam vessel costs more, built in the United States, than on the Clyde. The materials from which it is made, in the advanced state of manufacture at which they are laid down in the ship yard, cost about the same here as in Great Britain. But the difference is in the cost of labor. On the Clyde, the material constitutes about two-thirds the cost of the ship and the labor one-third. In the best ship yards in America, the labor in the yard equals one-half the cost of the ship, while the material equals one-half. In other words, labor here costs fifty per cent. more than the price abroad. Could we employ our American yards to their full capacity, this difference would be greatly reduced. Go further, and give Yankee ingenuity and inventive genius full play in our American yards, and the time will soon come, as it has already [illegible] all processes for the manufacture of iron and steel, when [illegible] improved method and machinery will counterbalance the [illegible] wage paid in this country. Already the use of pneumatic [illegible] American invention, is doing much to reduce the cost in [illegible] ship yards. Certainly it would not seem wise to reverse [illegible] and close our ship yards with the admission of free [illegible] getting in a way to make the best ships that

[illegible] would not overcome this difficulty. It costs [illegible] under the American flag than under a for- [illegible] by owners of vessels similar in ch-

acter, sailing under the American flag and under foreign flags, giving the details of expenses, show that the sailor of an American vessel receives about double the wages paid to those sailing under the foreign flag, and that by the same owner. A foreign sailor will cross the dock from an English or a Norwegian vessel, and, shipping under the American flag, will demand double wages and the full American bill of fare. Our navigation laws require a better and more expensive fare, and every charge of maintenance is increased. If our ship owners could buy to-day where they please, it would not tend in the least degree to solve the problem.

A return to the discriminating duty of ten per cent. upon all imported goods is suggested. This worked well at the beginning of the century, but conditions have changed. In the first place, we would be required to abrogate all our treaties, for in them we have agreed to make no discrimination of duty. This, by the provision of each treaty, requires a notice of at least twelve months; in many of these it requires a notice of at least two years. It would take over two years to get such a law in operation. Meanwhile, British and German merchants, sending their goods under their own flag, would have become firmly intrenched in the Asiatic markets; and the present opportunity would be lost. Close following upon the abolition of the treaties would come retaliation. Discrimination would be restored against us, if not in tariff, in tonnage and other dues. This method of relief seems impracticable.

Another suggestion has been made, that we pay export bounty upon all the commodities sent out of the country in American vessels. Here, again, we are met with treaty obligations that must be abrogated. But even if these were abrogated, each other country could impose an import duty equal to our export bounty, just as we are to-day doing in our tariff laws upon all bounty-paid sugars. Such a provision as this could be [illegible] that it is not worthy of consideration.

This leaves, then, as the only alternative, a [illegible] equalize the conditions of running American [illegible] the American flag, by the Government paying [illegible] pensation to the owners to make up for the [illegible] men's wages, provisions, and so forth, [illegible] vessel under the American flag. We [illegible] American built vessel costs more than [illegible]

twenty-five per cent. of Americans in their crews, and that the vessels may be used by the Government in times of war. It also requires the instruction of a number of American boys as sailors.

The expenditure under the bill will not be large for the first year. The Commissioner of Navigation estimates that it would amount to about five million dollars in the fifth year, and to eight million dollars in the tenth year of its existence. By a proposed amendment, no contract can be made under the bill after ten years from its passage. The latter figure, eight million dollars, represents the total expenditures of France for a similar purpose in 1897. Great Britain spent as much as six million dollars a year as late as 1870 for a similar purpose, and is spending more than five million dollars now. She spent two hundred and fifty million dollars in fifty years.

The result aimed at is one to be greatly desired. The saving to this country in money paid as freight, would amount to many times the expenditures under this act. The saving in money which must necessarily be paid in carrying our mails, especially as the result of our growing commerce, would prove a large offset to the amount paid under this bill.

As a matter of national defense, the expenditures under the bill will accomplish far more than the like amount of money spent in additions to our navy.

In 1793, Mr. Jefferson, after speaking of the value of the merchant marine from a commercial standpoint, added: "But it is as a resource of defense that our navigation laws will admit neither neglect nor forbearance."

Mr. Arthur Sewall, in advocating this bill before a committee of the House recently, said: "Pass this bill and dot the [illegible] of the Atlantic and Pacific with busy ship yards. Never mind your navy; with the facilities afforded us by these ship yards, we could build a navy in ninety days."

We have reached the period of a new development in Ameri[illegible] can industries. The beginning of the next century [illegible] nation making giant strides toward capturing [illegible] the world. The conditions are all favorable [illegible] reached that stage of perfection in manu[illegible] recommend themselves. We can make the[illegible] can make them at the lowest price, and [illegible]

ods we are swiftly reaching that point in all lines. Brought face to face with the problem of cheap production in supplying our own market, the American mechanic is thinking out the best methods, the best machinery, and is accomplishing the best results.

But we must provide the means of transportation under the American flag.

When we do this, our commercial victory is won, and there can be no limit to our commercial achievement.

SERENO E. PAYNE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE EXISTING COURT-MARTIAL SYSTEM.

THERE is an old saying: "Courts Martial are organised to convict." Recent events in the experience of at least one country across the water, have lent some color of justification to the remark. To the honor of America, be it said that no stigma akin to the Dreyfus outrage has ever scandalized our military courts. To the civilian mind, however, the constitution and procedure of courts martial present some strange anomalies. It is with no desire to criticise that the writer feels impelled to call attention to some of them, but rather with the purpose of asserting the right of a military defendant to the same privileges and safeguards guaranteed to a civilian on trial for alleged offence against the law. Theoretically, there obtains in courts martial the same right to a trial by jury as in courts of law, and the same rules of evidence are adopted; practically, the operation is far different.

First, let us consider the constitution of the court. Once selected by the appointing power, right of challenge is allowed for cause only; military law does not seem to contemplate, nor does the practice, so far as the writer has been informed, permit any preliminary examination prior to the statement of the cause of challenge. It will readily be seen that unknown or latent circumstances affecting the fitness of a member, the presence of which would be revealed only by preliminary examination, are apt by this method to be concealed; and the defendant is at disadvantage in consequence.

Second, the court exercises a dual function: In its judicial capacity it passes upon all propositions of law; as a jury, it passes upon all matters of fact. It is an anomalous system, which adopts as its [illegible] the rules of evidence as defined by Mr. Greenleaf and other [illegible] legal authorities, and leaves the interpretation and application [illegible] those rules to a body of laymen; and whatever may be the [illegible] members of the court in their own profession, the system is [illegible] lous. No one would expect a lawyer, in the absence of special [illegible] enter the field of therapeutics and undertake to expound the [illegible] medicine to disease. Why, then, should a soldier or a sailor [illegible] terpret the law and apply it to the facts? A good judge, [illegible] physician, is the product of many years of exclusive [illegible] sion. Why, then, should a body of gentlemen, whose [illegible] spent in other lines, be invested with judicial functions [illegible] for the most delicate legal distinctions? A lawyer [illegible] drill could hardly be expected to pass judgment [illegible] involving the construction of Upton's tactics; [illegible]

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reasons are too apparent to require discussion. Furthermore, a judge will not sit on a case in which he has at any time been counsel. Thus careful and delicate is the law, in drawing the line for the protection even of property interests, however small, as well as in matters wherein the higher claims of name, fame and life itself are involved. Why should the position of a defendant in a court martial be less advantageous than that of a defendant in a court of law? As I have intimated, if all Judge Advocates were perfect men, then, and only then, would the present system operate fairly to the defendant. We may assume that a Judge Advocate is subject to the frailities and motives characteristic of the race. Now an advocate is a partisan; and so also is a prosecutor; a judge must not be a partisan, whatever else he may be. The Judge Advocate's functions are incongruous, when considered even theoretically; when considered practically, they are not only incongruous, but dangerous to justice as well. A prosecutor desires conviction; a lawyer wants to win his case. When a prosecutor is invested with semi-judicial functions, so that he may advise the court as to the competency or relevancy of testimony introduced by himself, as well as by his opponent, and is still expected to at all times discharge that function properly and righteously, a difficult task is set for human brain and human heart.

Again, a good advocate requires one order of intellect; a good judge requires another. Few names which are luminous on the bench shine with equal brilliancy from the bar; and *vice versa.* Human experience has shown how widely different is the endowment for a judge from that required for an advocate; and that wide difference constitutes a gulf which should forever divide the one function from the other. For one man, whatever his endowment of mind or soul, to be clothed with both functions in the same case, is to ignore the lessons of human experience and to gravely imperil the administration of justice. A perfect man could hardly respond to the demand; and Judge Advocates, it may be assumed, are not perfect.

But it may be argued that, while the Judge Advocate may advise the court on matters of law, the court is not bound thereby, but has full power to decide all questions for itself. It is true that such power exists, but it exists without the proper legal knowledge necessary for its accurate and intelligent exercise; and power without knowledge is the most dangerous kind of power; it is worse than impotence. The power of a mob is power without knowledge. The good name, liberty or life of no American citizen should hang upon such a slender thread.

It is not the province of the writer, or necessarily within the range of this discussion, to indicate the remedy for these apparent evils. A few suggestions, however, may not seem altogether out of place.

First: Extend the right to challenge members of the court, and alter the rules of examination permitted, so as to have a system similar to that in civil courts.

Second: Abolish the judicial functions of the members of the court, but confine them strictly to the jury function.

Third: Let the Judge Advocate be a prosecutor only.

The adoption of the above suggestions would involve provision [illegible] certain conditions arising as a consequence of the changes. [illegible] judicial function denied to the members of the court [illegible] otherwise. In trials for offences reaching a certain [illegible] Federal judge might be called in to pass upon points of [illegible]

lesser offences, some person skilled in the law might be regularly employed by the government to act in the judicial capacity, and with that as his sole duty: or other courses might be pursued, such as should seem best calculated to procure the results desired. We have to do with the abolition of the evil, not the suggestion of a remedy; for the evil once clearly recognized, the government will discover the remedy and be quick to apply it.

We have the most superb army and navy on this earth: in courage, in *morale*, in proficiency, intelligence and patriotism, no finer bodies of men exist anywhere. Their achievements gleam like stars in the firmament of our national glory; they deserve the best we can give them in all things—the best ships, the best guns, food, clothing, the best protection. And the best protection means not only armor for their ships and walls for their forts; they are entitled to protection in life, liberty and reputation. These men did not leave behind them all these things, so dear to every citizen, when they entered the army or navy; in proceedings where all or any one of these three jewels of American citizenship are involved, the soldier and the sailor should be given the same privileges and should be hedged about with the same safeguards as are demanded by the law for the protection of all other American citizens.

EARL M. CRANSTON.

HOW HOLLAND HELPS THE HELPLESS.

THIS is an age when man has assumed the office of his brother's keeper more vigorously, perhaps, than at any previous period. Sociology—the science of living so as to obtain for all and from all the best results of living—engrosses public attention as much as it did in that theory vortex of the French Revolution, with this difference—the application of theories is insisted upon more strongly than their evolution. It is well, then, to turn our eyes to an object lesson presented by the most practical nation on earth. The difficult problem of assisting the poor without pauperizing them seems to have been successfully met by the Dutch. A model in miniature exists of a community where those who have lost their hold on prosperity are restored to at least a semblance of self-support, family ties are preserved, education is afforded the young, and, in short, the utmost possible is made of the most unpromising material.

The Poor Colonies of Holland, four in number, are not, as might be supposed, a government institution, though at one time co-operation with the government was attempted which resulted quite injuriously to the undertaking. These colonies owe their origin entirely to a Society of Beneficence ("*Maatschappy van Veldadigheid*"), organized in 1818 to meet [illegible] of destitution entailed on Holland in common with the rest [illegible] wars of the Napoleonic era. After passing through many [illegible] and various stages of growth, the charitable enterprise at present [illegible] property to the amount of a little over 5,000 acres of land in the [illegible], Steenwyk, the nearest town, being five miles distant.

[illegible] subscriber or group of subscribers paying into the treasury of [illegible] sum of [illegible] annually, is entitled to send a family to one of [illegible] which are named respectively Frederiksoord, Wilhelm-[illegible], and, wherefore is unknown, Colony Number Seven. [illegible] individual forced to enter on life as a beneficiary of the [illegible] a house for himself and his family; also with the

immediate necessities of living, and, above all, with work, from the proceeds of which he begins to repay in small weekly installments the advances made to him. Wages such as are current at the time in the neighborhood are paid weekly, and there is deducted from them, as an installment on the debt, house rent, not exceeding twenty cents, one cent infirmary fee for each inmate of the home, four cents for a clothing fund, and a sum amounting to ten per cent. of the gross earnings for a reserve fund against family emergencies. A valuable contribution to each household is the ewe sheep provided by the colony, and also to be paid for by due economy. Its milk, equal to goat's milk in quality, supplies food, and its wool is woven into garments. The family, it will be observed, is always maintained in its entirety, the importance of the family life being, as is known, ever highly esteemed in Holland, while the large infusion of Jewish blood into the Dutch is believed to have also a strong and favorable influence upon the system.

"No idleness" is the watchword of the colony. Children even while apprentices are taught to make salable articles, which are purchased from them, the compensation being proportioned to the excellence of the workmanship, and each child, when not engaged in learning a trade, must attend school. It is a curious fact that, though the free school originated within the borders of Holland, school attendance is compulsory in these colonies only, so dear is the liberty of the individual held.

Two years of successful probation as a workman on the farms of the colony, or in its shops or factories, entitle a man to an individual farm, of 7.7 acres (small enough in our eyes, but in Holland large enough and fertile enough to support a family), and to the franchise of the colony. That of the State is his inalienable right, in common with every other descendant of "the free Frisians," but he thus becomes a voter upon the affairs of his little world—a "vrijboer" in fact. If his occupancy of his farm should begin in mid winter, the new farmer is furnished with fodder for five months, enough rye to sow 2.4 acres, and 33 bushels of potatoes—these being charged to him on account. At other times he inherits some planted crops.

The best advice as to the character of produce to which his land is adapted is constantly at hand, for the government has located one of its agricultural experiment stations within the limits of the Society's domain, and inspectors of the colony visit him to see if the utmost possible is being obtained from the farm. A cow is also supplied him, and the manure, if carefully husbanded, will save him the expenditure of $14 yearly for fertilizers required by the regulations. For rent he pays $20 annually, and $4 upon his indebtedness. For each payment tendered before it is due a remittance of 10 per cent. is made, and every inducement is held out to encourage thrift and stimulate industry.

The farmer is lord of his own land, with the understanding [illegible] he will use it to the best advantage, and he has a vote in the election of [illegible] four delegates to the council of the colony which co-operates [illegible] Director, Secretary and Treasurer in the management of its [illegible] tenure is life-long, except in the case of flagrant misconduct, [illegible] have frequently retained farms and continued to work them.

The Society endeavors to have all the houses alike [illegible] ground as desirable as every other. After the Holland [illegible] barn and house of the farmer are all under one roof, [illegible] jected to the proverbial Dutch cleanliness. The [illegible]

hensive humanity and the serious and momentous fact that, instead of multiplying beggars, this charity multiplies citizens, the children of the first tenant almost always acquiring an energetic and provident spirit which renders them independent of all assistance.

[illegible] B. [illegible].

OUR FISH SUPPLY AND ITS DEFICIENCIES.

LAST year, according to Cousin Bull's sombre publications, aptly termed blue books, there were landed upon his shores nearly 800,000 American tons of fresh fish, but for our knowledge of Uncle Sam's supply we must await his census; he enlightens us only once a decade. London's consumption of fish in 1895 was nearly 221,000 tons, whereof two-thirds was haddock. We prodigal Americans do not itemize our transactions so particularly, there being no figures, census or otherwise, indicative of the consumption of Greater New York. Its approximation, however, to that of the British Metropolis is unlikely, despite the superiority of our table fish, our two favorites, cod and bluefish, excelling in such regard the lowly haddock and herring, that respectively lead in London. Popular choice, however, is governed by its purse, but no European epicure has our command of such marine delicacies as Spanish mackerel, pompano, sheepshead, shad, red snapper and whitefish, all ordinarily of moderate price. Nevertheless, the British flatfish are worthy objects of our envy, especially the turbot, brill, and, above all, the peerless sole, with which we have nothing to compare. Our repeated efforts to establish this gastronomic treasure in our waters have been abortive, but it is regularly imported, retailing at seventy-five cents a pound. In our off-shore waters there is no lack of fine flatfish, but beam trawling, as practiced by the British, is expensive, and we have so many other species of fish that are finely flavored, abundant and cheap that it will not pay to drag the sea bottom, even for the rich harvest that awaits such gathering. Among these choice objects of our neglect is the pole flounder, practically unknown in our markets, but which, in flavor and quality, almost equals the kingly sole. Some day our score species of nearby flatfish, together with other neglected but easily obtainable deep-sea species, will be accorded their meed of public favor, and vast stores of finny provision, now lying undisturbed, will enlarge and vary our dietary. With a diversion to the fisherman of a due proportion of the profits now absorbed in inefficient marketing methods, a long-hoped-for and not improbable reform, our many fallow fishing grounds can become the basis of profitable operations.

The alimentary value of fish is indisputable: it is wholesome and [illegible]tious, and in its wide range of quality and flavor affords [illegible] coarsest as well as to the most refined palate. Moreover, in [illegible] is the cheapest of flesh foods, and should, therefore, be the [illegible]ment, everywhere a staple dish upon the family board. To [illegible] it is substantially a luxury; in many localities it is not [illegible] so falls into public disfavor; but even where presented in [illegible]tion, the accommodation is usually effected with difficulty [illegible] involving a corresponding limitation of sale. Thus it is that [illegible] is dissatisfied, the dealer is not content, and the [illegible] man, rightly bewails his lot, for he profits least. It [illegible] that there is no branch of civilized effort wherein [illegible] small a proportion of the ultimate or consumer's [illegible]

of the sea for the unchanged product of his labor. Our New England fisheries have declined one-third in value within the last fifteen years for lack of a remunerative market, and yet proper facilities of distribution would enable the thriving millions of our inland population to absorb the entire catch at advanced prices. The meagreness of the returns will be appreciated by the following quotations of recent wholesale prices: In 1897 the average price of haddock in London was about two cents a pound, the rate in Boston and New York closely approximating the British, and in the two American cities cod has frequently been quoted at the same figure. Abroad, the marketing of catches of herring for less than a cent is a common occurrence, and in this country so scant is the pecuniary return that a portion is converted into fertilizers. All that the Irish fishermen received last year for their catch of mackerel was, upon an average, less than one and a half cents. At the height of every season upon the Columbia River shad falls to a cent, much of the catch being thrown away, a common disposition of fish that fails to command a remunerative price. In July and August last the following staple fish, in prime condition, were more or less frequently quoted at a cent a pound—bluefish, weakfish or squeteague, porgies or scup, pollock, mullet and yellow perch; and from such prices the inefficiency of our marketing methods may be inferred.

It should be remembered that this is the day of the refrigerator car, the cold storage warehouse and the chill chambered ship; that from Chicago and from remote Argentina, Australia and New Zealand many millions of carcasses of beeves, sheep, rabbits and poultry annually reach London in excellent condition, and finally, that such portion of the carnal aliment as is transported in a chilled, rather than a refrigerated state, is received by the British consumer in even better flavor and quality than when first embarked upon its voyage of thousands of leagues. The great mass of the American people are ignorant of the excellence of their many varieties of marine fish, and are denied the opportunity, for lack of obtainable facilities, of giving them the appreciation that is their due. Nor does the limited fraction of the public that is so favored command its finny luxuries at a reasonable price; every housekeeper is sensible that her market bills diverge widely from the average rates accorded the retailers, whose rendered accounts never hint at a tumble of bluefish to a cent a pound.

The fishmonger is the public's servant, and it must be said, in justice to him, that his master is capricious and exacting, indisposed to go out of his way to secure any advantage of service, but, whenever the humor seizes him, must be accommodated at his very door. Co-operation with the factor in marketing a big catch is not to be thought of; the customer will not be troubled in any way, and, if incommoded, easily avails himself of a varied market to effect a satisfactory substitute. The business talent and splendid organization that have so amazingly developed the meat industry of Chicago and the West could probably achieve results almost as wonderful if directed to the systematic distribution of our fresh fish. Not only would millions of our vast population be thus benefited by their easy attainment of a cheap, wholesome and palatable flesh food, but the declining fisheries of our Atlantic seaboard would be revived, inland transportation and other [illegible] industries would be stimulated, and capital find a field of profitable [illegible] employment. France expends annually immense sums [illegible] her fishermen, with the object of maintaining a nursery of [illegible] marine. It would seem judicious to provide for the

probably increased future requirements of our navy, not by wasteful subventions to our fisher folk, but by promoting the establishment of a home market for the much-needed product of their languishing industry.

It is the fastidiousness of the appetite of civilization, perhaps equally with increase of population, that excites the concern of thoughtful men as to the adequacy of our future wheat supply. For the civilised world is becoming a hive of bread and meat eaters; it is forsaking the food staples of its fathers and cleaving unto new idols; it is the nicer taste, in addition to the multiplication of its peoples, that causes consumption to tread so closely upon the heels of a production that has discernible limits. Half a century ago potatoes were the mainstay of the mass of the Irish people, oatmeal was the earlier dependence of the Scotch, and to-day as yet unjoined to the ever swelling army of breadeaters, we find, even in our Southern States, a frequent retention of the ancestral "hominy and hoe cake" to the exclusion of the modern staff of life. The rate of individual meat consumption has increased as markedly as that of wheat, but it is likely that the limit of the production of edible flesh will be sooner attained than that of the leading cereal. The ultimate absorption by our steadily increasing population of the large surplus of wheat now exported seems certain, with the inevitable result of establishing a higher range of prices. No food return from land is so scanty and unprofitable as that derived from the raising of cattle, and the conversion, therefore, of much grazing into cultivated land, with a consequent meat scarcity, may be anticipated as the natural outcome of a probable permanent advance in wheat. From the inexhaustible sea we could, however, continue to reap a harvest of unfailing abundance, for in its depths lie, as yet undisturbed, vast reservoirs of excellent but unfamiliar food fish. We have ventured only to the threshold of the treasure house of the deep, but its future revelations of novel alimentary wealth will enrich the dietary of our posterity, and form an ample store of varied sustenance.

The popular preference for meat, while to some extent due to its variety of culinary adaptation, is based in greater degree upon a confidence in its superior sustaining and stimulating power. This confidence is probably not misplaced, for the tendency of a meat diet to make animals savage, as well as the greater restlessness of carnivora in general, would indicate that it was a greater nervous excitant than fish, the latter being [illegible] as fodder to cattle in Norway and formerly also upon Cape Cod, without apparent impairment of the animal's temper. Upon human beings [illegible] to meat its effects are more noticeable, and as to the confirmed [illegible] of animal flesh it is asserted that his pulse is quicker and his average [illegible] shorter than that of the total abstainer. While a larger [illegible] would perhaps be to the dietetic advantage of our nervous [illegible] more evident that land adapted to the agricultural support of [illegible] cannot be indefinitely devoted to the raising of cattle. Such [illegible] pation will cease whenever the multiplication of humanity [illegible] fullest cultivation of its available soil, and thus it may [illegible] pated that meat and not fish will occupy the subordinate [illegible] of the future civilization. We know not how the problem [illegible] of its ever-increasing millions will be faced by our posterity [illegible] assured that while the maintenance of an adequate food [illegible] more of human effort than at present, it will not be [illegible] relaxed that gaunt famine will stalk through a [illegible]

of the Middle Kingdom at the door of the death chamber would not matter, because it would not hasten the fatal moment. But under the actual circumstances it is different. It is not merely that what has been taken has whetted the appetite for more, but that the ability to strike quickly when reparation has to be obtained for the hostility of Chinese mobs, the perversity of the mandarins, and even the sluggishness of the central government, has brought into vogue new methods of diplomacy that must accelerate the process by which China will gradually break into pieces. The murder of a missionary or a merchant, in a remote province entirely beyond the control of the central government, may now well entail the loss of a whole province and hasten the arrival of the general cataclysm.

As to how the dissolution of China will be effected, or among whom the immense carcass of the moribund empire will be divided, it is too soon to speak; but I have thought it right to place at the front of this article the main conclusion to which my study of the question has led me, and that is that the dissolution of the Chinese Empire is inevitable and not remote. It is from that point of view that I would ask the American public to consider this great question of our far East, which they are now for the first time seriously approaching from their far West, and with regard to which they cannot help being an important and [illegible] a deciding factor.

At a moment when words of peace are on the lips of the masters of armed millions, it is proper to note that the [illegible] that has come over the fortunes of China is entirely due to [illegible] tions of war, and that in an exceedingly short space [illegible] has been debased from a position of proud, and [illegible] isolation into one of such utter prostration and [illegible] be the apparent prey of the first or the boldest [illegible]. Japanese war exposed the military weakness and [illegible] of China, but the most severe blow it dealt the [illegible] country was in showing that there did not exist [illegible] ism among its inhabitants. The American [illegible] not without its influence on the ultimate [illegible] placed the American people in possession [illegible] archipelago, which will justify, and [illegible] States Government in asserting a [illegible] *destiny*. Even international peace [illegible]

China gentler treatment than she can establish a right to, and in the contest of pretensions those who would be moderate will be forced by the more exacting into measures of aggrandizement. Thus, for instance, it is clear that the British Government has reached the limit of patience with which it can regard the progress of French influence in Southern China. If France, with or without adequate cause, obtains further concessions in Kwangsi and Yunnan, England will in her turn have to secure compensation in Yunnan and Szechuen itself, so that the road of Anglo-India to the Yangtse-Kiang shall not be barred. But for China the result must be a double loss of territory and diminution of authority.

Passing from a general consideration of the question to specific points, we find that Russia enjoys a position more favorable than any other power for the absorption of large portions of Chinese territory on the dissolution of the old empire. Whereas other governments will have gravely to consider how far the acquisition of Chinese as subjects may be regarded as beneficial, or even as prudent, Russia has fear of no such questions in the early stages of her operations, for the regions that lie immediately at her disposal are thinly populated. In Kashgaria and Mongolia, Russia has to conquer an expanse of territory, and not a closely packed people; even in Manchuria there is, despite Chinese immigration of late years, no dense population. Russia knows very well that no Power is likely to make the occupation of any of those Chinese dependencies a *casus belli*, however much several Powers may insist on obtaining compensations at the expense of China for those Russian spoliations, when secured. Her decision to carry these projects into effect will depend on the stage reached by the great Trans-Siberian Railway and by her other means of communication in Asia. She has planted by sea her strong garrison at Port Arthur, but she will not be disposed to move until she has completed the railroad linking it with Europe. When she does move, we must recognize that she will not need to strike a blow for the whole of the Chinese posssessions outside the Great Wall to fall into her lap. Russia will be as firmly planted on the vast trans-mural possessions of the Empire as the maritime Powers will be on the sea, when the final break-up takes place. This prospect is the more certain of realization because England has not the will or intention to prevent it, and Japan has not the power.

The possession of this exceptional position by Russia, coupled with the deflection of the Siberian railway from the original Vladivostok route to the one traversing Manchuria and Liaotung, was the root cause of China's break-up. It becomes, therefore, the imperative duty of those who have a vital interest in preventing China's becoming a Russian dependency, to neglect no means of averting so dire a calamity for the rest of humanity as would be the passing into the hands of an aggressive military power of the largest, and perhaps the finest, recruiting ground in the world. What, it may be asked, are the other States interested to do, when it is admitted that no one is likely to oppose Russia in the early stages of her operations? The answer to this question is very simple. While Russia is preparing the way for the conquest of China, those who are bound to hope for the failure of her plans can either themselves absorb some of the provinces of China, and thus anticipate her, or, better still, they can either undertake themselves the defence of China or co-operate with some new Chinese government in that object. For the execution of this arrangement it is only necessary that England, the United States and Japan should come to an agreement and form a plan for concerted action. The moment for proceeding to action has not arrived, but the hour for planning and agreeing as to what the action shall be is certainly with us.

There is the choice of two courses. We can take that of indemnifying ourselves, at the expense of China, for the ambitious acts and intentions of Russia. In that case England will take under her protectorate the provinces between Shanghai and Hankow watered by the Yangtse-Kiang; America will secure some point, perhaps Foochow or Amoy, perhaps both, and claim the hinterland; Japan will appropriate Tientsin and Pechili. In respect to a policy of indemnification, such seizures of territory would be a very solid compensation for anything Russia could obtain on her side; and, as the three countries would bind themselves to defend each other's possessions, Russia would find herself in face of a formidable triple alliance. There [illegible] serious objections to this course. In the [illegible] States would voluntarily and precipitately [illegible] a policy of conquest, which may indeed [illegible] which none of them, it can truly be said, [illegible] place, the annexation, or even the [illegible]

in power may remain undisturbed. The first point to be cleared up is that the existing government of the Manchus is beyond reclamation. It is moribund in itself, and the sooner some other institution is discovered to take its place and do its work the better it will be for China and for us. There is neither obligation nor necessity for us to contribute towards its downfall, but we have to accept the fact of its weakness and unworthiness as the justification for our search for something better in the way of an administration and a responsible government in China.

If the dynasty and existing *régime* cannot be utilized for the benefit of China's true interests, it necessarily follows that nothing can be accomplished at Peking, which is entirely in their hands. Russia will be supreme there, because her policy is to pander to the people who wish to keep China in a weak and disorganized state. To concentrate our efforts on that spot of the Chinese Empire would be to play the game of Russia, and one, moreover, from which she would be sure to emerge as victor. Peking has always been the capital chosen by a northern race of conquerors, and the national Chinese dynasties have always fixed the seat of their authority far to the south, and more often than elsewhere in the valley of the Great River. It is nearly twenty years since General Gordon advised the Chinese to transfer the capital to Nanking, which is for many reasons the best site that could be selected in China. It is central, it occupies a splendid position on the finest navigable river in the country, and it possesses traditions as the residence of the Ming dynasty which would make it a popular selection with the Chinese. The Chinese have to be encouraged to devise for themselves a new government, and the first step is to provide them with a rallying point. Shanghai, but for international claims and competitions, would be the best choice, and under all the circumstances preference must be given to Nanking. The reader must not suppose these are theoretical propositions; they are indications of what will be attempted, and I may even go so far as to say that has been begun.

If Manchu influence is supreme in the north, [illegible] case in the Yangtse Valley. At Nanking and at [illegible] stalled two Viceroys who are not Manchus, or [illegible] Empress Dowager, or the tools of Russia. Liu [illegible] Chih Tung, the Viceroys at those two places, [illegible] men of blood and iron of whom China [illegible]

are honest and well meaning, and they realize the dire straits to which their country is reduced. It is uncertain, and Lord Charles Beresford's mission has not cleared up the point, whether they have yet been brought to see that the acceptance of English advice and the co-operation of British officers furnish the best means toward insuring an improvement in the lot of the whole nation. However alarmed and anxious, they are still typical Chinese, wedded to the past; they shrink from so bold a measure as rebellion against the constituted Imperial authority. On the other hand, they know that that authority has at this moment no real value, that the young Emperor is a prisoner in his own palace, if he is not in his coffin, and that the directors of the ship of state pay no heed to its course or its security. They have also their personal grievances. Their advice has not been heeded, and their provinces have been saddled with the charge of the whole of the Anglo-German loan of sixteen millions. Notwithstanding these considerations, they may still decline to take the lead in a new movement. They are free in this matter to follow their own judgment, but they will be obliged to come to an immediate decision on the practical point submitted them—that is, the training by British officers of a small body of Chinese troops at both Hankow and Nanking. It is to the formation of such a contingent in the Yangtse Valley, at Wei Hai Wei and Hongkong, that we must look as one of the first and best means of insuring China's stability. The precedent of the Ever Victorious Army is there to show that the Chinese can be converted into excellent soldiers.

At the same time, the creation of the modest military force referred to, supplemented by a British river flotilla, is not enough for the occasion. Russia has not yet broken over the frontier, but if we wait until she has actually done so it will be too late to form any plan. The Philo-Chinese Powers, of whom England, by her position, takes the lead, are bound to be ready in good time. The contingent should be formed with regard to political considerations, as well as on a military basis. It might be made the nucleus of a political and social, as well as of a military, reform. As the force would be practically independent of the Peking authorities, it should have a distinctive badge, and none would be more effective for the immediate purpose, or for that of increasing the confidence of the Chinese in the advent of a new era, than the

selection of one that would signify a social development. For two centuries and a half the pigtail has been the badge of conquest. The new force should give up the token of defeat and subjection and, like the Taepings, be allowed, or, rather, compelled, to wear the hair long. The consequences of this simple project would be far reaching, and the reformed troops would be the forerunners of a civil reform propaganda which would include the abolition of the contortion of women's feet, and of an antiquated system of education and public examination.

Enough has been said on this branch of the subject to show that there is no necessity yet to think of the conquest of China. We have to develop the latent sources of strength in it for the purpose of its preservation, and the task need only be abandoned when experience has shown it to be futile. Two movements of an exactly opposite nature may be looked to, to accelerate the progress China will make towards either deliverance or subjection. The first is the introduction of foreign capital for the construction of railways, the working of mines, and for other public works of a remunerative or promising character. Not merely will such enterprises develop the resources of the country, but they will bring foreigners into parts of it where they would otherwise not think of going. There will certainly be a railway from Canton to the Yangtse, and another inland from Shanghai. The French say they are going to spend eight millions in a line from their Annamese possessions into Yunnan. They may carry these words into effect, but it is quite certain that their immediate consequence will be to expedite the railway from British Burmah into the same province. There is to be a great mining undertaking in two of the most important and least known provinces, Hounan and Shansi, and this will bring us into direct collision with the prejudices of the people in regard to the disturbing of cemeteries and the assumed injury of the Feng Shui, or spirits. It is probable that disorders and contests must arise from this cause, as there is no reason to suppose that the antipathy of the Chinese to foreigners has been exaggerated by the mandarins, or that they have any desire to cultivate our friendship. As it always has been, at every [illegible] Chinese question, the Western races are forcing [illegible] inhabitants of China and endeavoring to wring from [illegible] mission of the principle of equality. It is [illegible] that experience will show the necessity [illegible]

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It is at this juncture in a great human question that the United States of America are called upon to step into the arena and play their part like men in a difficult and dangerous contest. They may feel sure at the outset that the regulation of the Chinese question will entail strenuous action, and, it may be, considerable sacrifices on the part of those who claim, and, indeed, cannot forego, a voice in the matter. Their conquest of the Philippines is only the first step. That group of magnificent islands will, under wise administration, reward the fortunate owners. If Americans will only take as their example Sir Stamford Raffles, whose work in Java was of a very similar nature to that lying before them in the Philippines, they cannot fail to realize the value of their new possessions, and that within a brief space of time. I would the more wish to draw the attention of the great reading public of America to the career of Stamford Raffles, because he has never been appreciated in his own country. As an administrator and statesman, I do not hesitate to place him on a level with Clive and Warren Hastings, while as a philanthropist and benefactor of infirm races he stands alone among all the Pro-Consuls, past or present, of the British Empire. In four years he increased the revenue of Java seven-fold, and I have no doubt that similar methods will produce similar results in the Philippines. I published, little more than twelve months ago, a detailed biography of Sir Stamford Raffles, with much unpublished official correspondence; but, although no book could have been more extensively or more uniformly commended, it has hitherto met with only a *succès d'estime*. Sir Stamford Raffles is not yet one of the heroes of the British public; he is a neglected worthy. Perhaps it is reserved for the American people, who are planting their feet on the skirts of that archipelago where his genius soared supreme, to place him on his true pedestal.

The possession of the Philippines, which the American people are never likely to allow to become such a *damnosa* [illegible] Formosa is proving for the Japanese, will not merely [illegible] will even oblige, the Americans to participate actively in the [illegible] ment of Chinese affairs. At first that participation will [illegible] be confined to the moral support of Great Britain in its [illegible] to keep the commercial field open for the whole [illegible] same time to prevent a great military power [illegible] quiring the control of the vast resources of [illegible]

she would have no difficulty in obtaining the mastery of the world. On the same side in this alliance, formed for no selfish or excluding purpose, would be and is Japan, the country destined, no one can doubt, to civilize and reform Corea. In the early phases of the question England and Japan will necessarily have to take the lead; but their action will be inspired by greater confidence, and will prove more efficacious in the result, if it is assured that they enjoy the moral support and diplomatic co-operation of the United States, and that when the need arises there will be naval co-operation too.

The natural development of the latent resources of China will offer abundant and profitable opportunities for the capital of both America and England. Each country has an equal interest in preventing their diminution or contraction. Neither can tolerate the idea that Russia is to be allowed to establish her right to regard China as her preserve. Travellers bring back from Russia the tale that all intelligent Russians, with scarcely an exception, do not conceal their hope and their conviction that they will seize the whole of Asia. Peter the Great aspired to conquer India and to control the wealth of China. His descendants are even more ambitious and insatiable. Nothing less than the whole of Asia will suffice, even if a hollow peace conference is necessary to procure for them the halting-place needed for the final and irretraceable spring.

The American people are entering into the contest of commercial and political equity—I will not use the hackneyed phrase of supremacy—in China at a highly interesting moment. Not merely is the problem, which has been more or less on the carpet since the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, in a most interesting phase, but the period cannot be far remote when the momentous decision will have to be made as to the point at which the further progress of Russia will have to be arrested. The advent of that crisis is inevitable. Let it not find those who would suffer by the triumph of Russia unprepared. In the temporary break-up of the Chinese Empire, which is inevitable, Russia can appropriate a vast expanse of territory without risk, because the population is scanty, and the only obstacle in her path will be the space she has to cover. But such successes will leave the real Chinese question untouched. There is still time left to approach it deliberately and to solve it in a worthy manner. The dissolution of the

Chinese Empire, which I foresee, and with regard to which I have offered a few suggestions, is one that, if we are wise and vigilant, need not prove more than temporary—a passing episode in the life of the oldest state in the world; and perhaps it might even turn out the means of solidifying and strengthening that empire. The object of Americans and Englishmen should remain as long as possible the saving of China from foreign annexation. Let it break in pieces if it must, but let each of us preserve the fragments, so that in time some true Chinese reformer and leader may rivet them together once more. That will be an honorable and a safe policy. If it does not work, we must try another; but until we have tried it we cannot pronounce it a failure. It should not be a failure if Russia is indeed the only wolf preying on the Chinese fold, for then the dogs could easily keep her off.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

probation, as one who "would probably have insisted that this did not extinguish, though it limited, his moral freedom."

But scientific thinkers are nowadays accustomed to see domain after domain swept away in which free-will was not so long ago held to have full sway. The process has crept from the physical world to the intellectual; and now it is creeping on into the moral. The man whose father was a negro, and whose mother was a negress, has no choice but to be a negro; and that not only in the color of his skin, but also in the various weaknesses and strengths of his mind. He will be a negro, not only in body, but also in the general tone of his intellect, and in those emotional susceptibilities that underlie his moral character.

But there are hosts of people who grant the full prevalence of causal relations in the physical, and even in the intellectual, domain, who yet strenuously combat the application of the same principles to the moral domain. They allow that our stature, color, sex and so forth, are fixed for us by stern necessity, and that no amount of discontent with them on our part will effect a change. They allow that our mental capacity is beyond the scope of our choice; that it is not open to any of us, by merely willing it, to sit down and write a "Macbeth" or an heroic symphony. They allow that the fundamental features of our intellects are matters of birth. But, in the realm of morals, they apply utterly different standards. They see the son of a vicious father and a mean-spirited mother, and tell us that, if he only chooses, he can be a frank, generous, high-souled man, of the noblest moral type.

Educated men who hold these views now say, like Professor Goldwin Smith, that, while much is fixed beyond our power to alter, there is, nevertheless, a margin left for the play of free-will. The negro must have a dark skin; but he may dress himself becomingly to suit his dark complexion. The schoolboy may be no Newton; still, he may do much to overcome his natural defects by means of assiduity and zeal. The boy or girl may be born with a mind incapable of reaching the heroic virtues of a Washington [illegible]
a Florence Nightingale; but it is possible by [illegible]
improve. Yet these people fail to see that the [illegible]
comingly, the zeal and industry that try to [illegible]
different mental gifts, the desire to [illegible]
models, are all inborn qualities. People [illegible]
unable to create them for themselves. [illegible]

much to cultivate the growth of them, but when we make due examination of the influence of heredity, and of these external motives, both of them beyond the control of the individual, we find that the margin left for free-will shrinks and shrinks till it practically vanishes.

In morals, as in physique and intellect, to heredity we must ascribe the primary influence. It determines the species to which each of us belongs. Environment will only so far modify us as to settle whether we shall be fine or inferior specimens of our type. The genuinely frank and honest nature can never, by any circumstances, be made essentially a deceitful crawling creature, unless actual brain degeneration has occurred. But a person born to be selfish, tricky and mean, will remain so in spite of the accidents of his education. These will determine only the phase that will be presented by his inherent meanness; whether it is to pick pockets and live on the base earnings of women; or to promote bogus companies, and lie volubly to electors; or, perhaps, to intrigue for selfish ends upon church committees; or, it may be, to palter with principle in order to retain a pulpit. When you see a man change suddenly from a libertine to an ascetic, you think that a fundamental revolution has occurred in his character. But, if you knew him thoroughly in both conditions, you would find him to be as much an egotist in one as in the other. Circumstances modify the specimen, but they do not radically alter the type. The seed will determine the kind of tree, but, if dropped into the soil of Labrador, it will be stunted and poor; if planted in Yucatan, it will be a giant of the forest. So, too, the moral type to which we belong has been settled for us by heredity, profound though the influence of our environment may be. Darwin and Pasteur under no conditions could have emulated the crimes of a half-witted anarchist; and the anarchist, on his part, is by birth incapable of reaching their moral standard.

But when we say that to heredity must be ascribed the primary influence, it is not by any means meant that we reproduce our parents' character. In a majority of cases the disposition of father and mother will be largely blended in the offspring. But each of us had 1,016 ancestors of the tenth degree, all living about 300 years ago. They have bequeathed to each individual their own characteristics in one most intricate blend; and how these are distributed, which is predominant, depends on causes not yet as-

certained, though workers like Francis Galton are making some interesting first approximations.

But, at any rate, this is certain; that the basis of our moral characters is as much fixed as that of our bodies and of our mental capacities by the transmitted qualities of our progenitors. In so far, then, we are creatures not of free-will, but of strict necessity.

And now as to the influences of environment. They, too, are independent of our free-will. It is not of our own choice that we were born in these modern times, and not in mediæval Europe; that we were born in this country, and not in that; that we imbibed in youth the prejudices of one faith, and not of another; that our parents sent us to a particular school, to be under the influences of this teacher and not of that. And the person who seems to fight against his circumstances and raise himself out of them, does so by virtue of traits in his character to which he was born, and by the attractiveness of motives outside of him which he never created, any more than he created the affinity that exists between them and his innate disposition.

In short, we must apply to the domain of morals the same law that is known to be in force in all others, that every effect arises out of some cause, and that that cause had its antecedent cause; and that so we may trace backward and backward, through our lives, till we find the whole train of actions rooted in some cause or other that is exterior to ourselves. Thus we are in no sense free-will agents, but creatures of necessity.

But, on the other hand, if all this be true, what shall we say of that sense of responsibility which is felt to be the very basis of social order? If the thief has been born with the nature that makes him steal, how can we, with any pretence of justice, punish him? And yet we must. It is this consideration which makes so many people fidget and grow unhappy when they clearly perceive that there is no escape from these necessitarian principles. But the idea of justice in connection with punishment is merely a popular misconception, groundless, though useful. When I [illegible] my kitten for stealing my cream, there is no real justice in the process. Given the kitten nature and the cream [illegible] result is sure to follow, unless there operate some [illegible] motive, and this motive will be the memory of [illegible] fear of another.

When a child of nine months has [illegible]

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for their acts inconsistent with the philosophical [illegible] necessity under which they act. Responsibility [illegible] ment that may accompany it are no more than [illegible] pedients whereby society so bends round the [illegible] motives as to make his actions conduce to the general [illegible]. Suppose that a cashier has come to the parting of two ways; this way is integrity, that way embezzlement. Toward the [illegible] path certain money troubles and the solicitations of opportunity strongly move him. To the path of honesty he has other attractions. If these latter are sufficient to bring out the balance on the right side, there is, in his case, no need of punishment, or even of a threat of punishment. But, where the balance is less fortunate, society inserts its various make-weight motives. For want of straightforwardness, there is the reprimand from his employer; for small peculations, there is dismissal; for large ones there is the gaol. That cashier will, of necessity, act as the influence of all these varied motives on a mind of his particular class will determine. He is a creature of necessity; but society holds over him the influence of responsibility merely as another element of that necessity.

The man who is half convinced by these inevitable facts often angrily shakes himself clear of a logical conclusion. "What," he says, "would you reduce me to the level of a mere automaton?" And he feels the same indignation as he felt thirty years ago when told that he was the descendant of inferior mammals. But these arguments of mere personal vanity, mighty though their weight may be for a time, continually tend to disappear, as people brace themselves up to face the truth. Science is more and more humiliating us in our unwarrantable prides, while it gives us better grounds for newer, if humbler, self-satisfactions. The Castilian sort of pride that made our ignorant, and often dirty, ancestors of mediæval times regard themselves as the pivot round which suns and stars revolved, has gone by for all men of sense. So, too, the time is passing when a man of any education [illegible] throw his arms wildly about and say, "I, at least, [illegible] automaton. I do all that entirely of my own accord [illegible] ceive that there was a cause for every movement [illegible] it may have been, and realize that he too is [illegible] with ordinary causal relations.

The steamer that crosses the ocean [illegible]

her own path. The steersman controls her. But the steersman is controlled by the skipper, and the skipper by a few main influences and a large tangle of obscurer ones. The man who chooses to walk on the right side of the road, instead of the left, is moved thereto by causes that sway him, even when he thinks his choice is arbitrary. We never move a finger but the act has sprung from some cause which itself was the effect of another cause, the links receding into that inconceivable past which we call eternity. Responsibility is only an added motive, which arises from the perception that we must abide by the consequences of our acts—among which consequences is to be numbered the resentment of society, if we harm it.

There are other topics which Professor Goldwin Smith introduces in his paper; but, though I think that they could be successfully argued from my point of view, I shrink from the appearance of bandying words with a veteran writer of his eminence. But the subject of necessity and responsibility has wide-reaching practical influences. More and more each year it tends to thrust itself insidiously into our law courts; and eventually the question must be fought out between the lawyers and the doctors; between those who point to the shape of a murderer's head and those who insist upon the safety of society. And if the doctors win while preaching the doctrine of necessity, the lawyers can also, with perfect consistency, win on their side, while holding that the practice of responsibility is essential to social existence.

ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE SUGAR CANE INDUSTRY.

BY CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

This country is now confronted with a problem of the greatest difficulty—the assimilation and development of a large extent of tropical territory, inhabited by alien races, and impoverished by ages of misrule, in such a manner as to secure the material prosperity of the new peoples, without endangering in any way the interests of our own citizens. Notwithstanding the fact that this problem has occupied the arena of public debate since the close of the war, calling forth the most diverse ideas from eminent authorities in political economy, the most important point of view has been wholly neglected. The solution of the problem of successful colonial expansion by the United States will be found in the rehabilitation and development of the tropical sugar cane industry.

The United States of America is the largest consumer of sugar in the world, with the single exception of Great Britain. Of the world's total production of seven million tons, we absorb over two million tons, of which only three hundred thousand tons are of domestic production. We send abroad annually over eighty million dollars for this food product, so that it is our largest single [illegible] of foreign expenditure. With the hope of diminishing this [illegible] upon our resources, the Government has for many [illegible] the domestic production of sugar, and not entirely [illegible] cess, for the Louisiana industry has greatly [illegible] industry, under the encouragement of the Depart[illegible] culture, has made considerable progress and [illegible] ing in California. To sorghum sugar we [illegible] sad though the parting may be to those [illegible] years of labor in its behalf.

posed to be merely storehouses of starch, have lately been found to contain notable quantities of sucrose or saccharose, the specific name used by chemists to distinguish the substance in question from its congener carbohydrates possessing a sweet taste. The popular name for this substance, however, cane sugar, indicates the plant containing it in sufficient abundance to first attract the attention of mankind. This plant, *saccharum officinarum*, probably originated [illegible] Asia, whence it has spread gradually to all tropical regions, its easy propagation from eyes on the cane itself assisting materially in its dissemination. The cultivation of this plant for its sweet qualities stretches far back into the past, "sweet canes" being mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, and its use in China probably antedated even this mention; yet the extraction of sugar from its juice, and especially the use of the substance as a separate article of food, is a matter of comparatively recent date. For centuries it was used in Europe only as a confection or as a medicine, and it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, a hundred years or more after it was first cultivated in the Eastern hemisphere, that it began to be an article of commerce and was imported to any extent into Europe. Once begun, however, its modern development down to the present day, when it constitutes one of the world's greatest industries, the product of which reaches the consumer for the greater part as a chemically pure article, is little short of marvelous; in truth, its history cannot be surpassed in interest by that of any line of human endeavor.

Of this story of industrial progress, probably the most interesting chapter is furnished by the rise and development of the beet sugar branch of the industry. Until the beginning of the present century the cane reigned supreme as a source of sweetness; then began the first struggles of the lowly beet to make a place for itself in the field wholly occupied by its towering rival. Aided by the lifelong devotion of Marggraf and Achard in Germany, and by the despotic decrees of Napoleon in France, slowly but [illegible] it made its way; until the end of the century finds its [illegible] indolent superior entirely dethroned, and the once [illegible] occupying the coveted position of the leading [illegible] plant in the world. The story of the contest [illegible] and need not be entered upon in detail here, [illegible] well be forgiven in view of the general [illegible]

in America. How many persons may be met here to-day, men of intelligence and information, who are not even aware of the single pregnant fact that nearly two-thirds of the world's consumption of sugar is obtained from the beet root? This ignorance is due partly, perhaps, to the fact that the industry is practically a foreign one, having obtained a bare foothold as yet in this country, so that its dimensions are not so forced upon public attention here as they are abroad; and it is also largely due to the relatively rapid development of the beet industry. It was not until 1887 that it passed the cane industry in preponderance of production.

If inquiry be made into the causes which have contributed to the remarkable result just indicated, we will find there is no good and sufficient reason for supposing that the present advantage of the beet will be other than a temporary victory, or that the sun of prosperity will never shine again for the tropical plant. The development of the sugar beet industry has proceeded, as is well known, along two distinct but parallel lines, agricultural and mechanical. When first taken in hand by the manufacturer, the root contained only four or five per cent. of sugar, of which but one-half could be extracted as finished product. By the application of scientific methods to its culture, the cross breeding of varieties and the selection of seed with reference to the sugar content of the mother beet, this amount was raised to an average of 15 or 16 per cent., and modern methods of economical manufacture obtained 13 or 14 per cent. of the weight of the raw material as crystallized sugar.

When we seek for evidence of like progress in the cane branch of the industry, what do we find? In the factory, absolute stagnation and adherence to primitive methods for years, which gave place to action at least only when the industry was threatened with total extinction by the increasing pressure of the beet competition. Even then, the advancement consisted chiefly in the adoption of the improved methods which had been devised and perfected by the beet workers. Not a single important improvement in methods of manufacture is native to the sugar cane branch of the industry. In the field the comparison is still more discreditable. The sugar cane is probably no richer in sugar now than it was in its wild state; at least, there has been no apparent improvement in recent years. Indeed, it is often called, in contempt, "a tropical weed" by the scientific admirers of the European plant. The discovery in Ja-

maica of fertile "arrows" or seeds, and the rearing of new varieties from them, is an indication of possibilities in the future; but it has accomplished nothing as yet, and the same may be said of some promising experiments in Louisiana in the selection of seed cane with reference to sugar content.

Yet the cane is infinitely superior to beet as a sugar producing plant, from both an agricultural and manufacturing standpoint, even in its present undeveloped condition. It can be grown at less expense under the proper climatic conditions, and the sugar content can be obtained at a smaller cost of manufacture; and, while the beet has, probably, almost reached the climax of its development, the margin of possibility in the case of the cane is wide and inviting. By the expenditure upon it of one-tenth of the study and energy which have been devoted to the service of the beet, the cane would soon overtake and outstrip its pudgy rival in the race for supremacy.

The beet owes its present success solely to the fact of its being grown in a temperate climate, where the talents and enterprise of an energetic race can be applied to the problem of its improvement. When the ingenuity and "push" of the American nation are added to the natural advantages possessed by the tropical plant, there will be formed a combination which will indeed prove "hard to beat." Some hint of what we may accomplish when we turn our hand to sugar cane culture may be found in the Hawaiian Islands, where the yield, both in tons per acre and pounds per ton, exceeds that of any other cane growing country. In Louisiana, likewise, the results achieved are remarkable in many respects, when the great obstacle of climate is taken into consideration. The question of the relative merits of the two plants has also another side which is worthy of consideration. There is something very persistent and repulsive about the natural taste and odor of raw beet sugar. It is "of the earth, earthy," and even the refined product often retains traces of this, as will be manifest to any one who will try the simple experiment of opening a can or glass receptacle containing beet granulated. Raw cane sugar, on the other hand, has a most agreeable flavor, second only to that [illegible] of nature," maple sugar, as will be readily [illegible] among our readers whose memory goes back to the [illegible] head sugar from Louisiana or the West Indies. [illegible] absolutely requires refining to fit it for use, [illegible]

"In spite of the above advantages, the size of [illegible] to many, while elsewhere the industry must be [illegible] agricultural adaptability of the country, however, [illegible] of labor is low, and the sugar houses have a larger daily [illegible] of any other country."

We may now pass to the consideration of the ways and means by which the desired end, the rehabilitation of the cane sugar industry, may best be promoted and accomplished. The first and foremost step should be the granting of some measure of protection to colonial sugar, in the shape of a discrimination in favor of its importation. This is absolutely essential to any scheme of development, and must not be objected to on the ground of its being political, and therefore artificial, aid. Fire must be fought with fire, and sugar has been entangled with politics from the time of the first Napoleon down to the present day. It is from her inability to adopt such methods, on account of her free trade policy, that England's sugar producing colonies have fared so ill, as evidenced by Jamaica's half expressed threat to knock at our portals for admission. We have already made the precedent in recent tariff acts by discriminating against bounty-fed sugar. This is the thorn which is rankling in Germany's side, and which is well known to be the chief cause of her unfriendly attitude toward us of late years. Cane sugar already enjoys the benefit derived from the discriminating section of the present tariff just mentioned, by virtue of which beet sugar pays an additional duty equal to the bounty it has received from the country of production. An additional protection, in the shape of a colonial differential of half a cent a pound for a limited period, would be no more than fair for the new possessions, and would still leave an ample margin for the proteotion of domestic growers in our own country. Hawaii should, of course, be placed upon exactly the same basis as the other colonies.

Next in importance comes the establishment of an agricultural experiment station in each of the colonies, to study the special problems of soil, climate and cultivation presented there, and to combine in the scientific improvement of the plant. [illegible] ditions, pertaining to the cost of labor and of [illegible] population, transportation facilities, etc., will [illegible] plan to pursue in each case; whether the [illegible] methods of the West shall be used to produce [illegible] low cost, or whether the careful and [illegible]

rope, with the practical divorce of the grower and manufacturer, would give best results in the end; but many other questions of development can be determined only by a careful comparison of results obtained under diverse conditions. If the initiatory assistance of the Government be given to the extent indicated above, a half cent difference in duty and the establishment of agricultural experiment stations, the further solution of the problem may safely be left to American capital and enterprise. The talent for invention, which seems to be the birthright of the American manufacturer, may be relied upon to overcome in time the temporary handicap which the careful and economical methods of the beet technologist have given him.

It may not be considered as too wide a digression from the subject to say a few words in closing upon the subordinate problem of the retention of the Philippines. The bearing of the proposed solution of the sugar question upon the minor problem is obvious, and it is highly important that it should receive consideration at the hands of the Congress, upon whom rests the responsibility of its settlement. At first sight, it would seem that the influence of the sugar expansionist would all be cast upon the affirmative side of the argument. The Philippine Islands enjoy excellent advantages in respect to climate, soil, etc., for the growing of cane, yet, of all the raw cane sugar product of the world that comes to the refineries their's is probably the crudest and worst; their methods, both of culture and of manufacture, are the most primitive. They offer, therefore, the greatest margin for development, and would seem to be the most attractive field of operations on this account. But they are so far removed from our shores, the conditions of living, of labor and of transportation are so inimical, that the possibilities of development are nearly, if not quite, overbalanced. Internal discord and civil war are disastrous to any industry, but doubly fatal to the sugar industry, as is evidenced by Cuba's present condition. This arises, of course, from the nature of the work, which requires the erection of costly machinery in places remote from the centers of population, where they are at the mercy of the outlaw and guerrilla. No country, however great its natural advantages, can offer a fitting home to modern sugar making, unless it is able to guarantee absolutely permanent peace.

Another point to be considered is the high degree of special

training required of the superintendents, engineers and many of the employes in the factories. A large number of such specialists cannot be obtained at once, and the rate of development of the industry will probably be more retarded by this difficulty than by any other single cause. It would be the part of wisdom, therefore, to concentrate our energies upon the West Indies, which are right at our doors, rather than to waste effort by spreading it out over so large an extent of distant territory. The proposed exchange of the Philippines for the British West Indies would be a most admirable settlement of the problem from a sugar producing standpoint, and is certainly not without its advantages in other respects. It is all the more a matter of surprise that the misguided and shortsighted natives should assume an attitude of hostility to American domination, whether permanent or temporary. The future prosperity of their country depends upon the development of their chief industry, which they may soon accomplish as America's ally—never as her rival.

CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

of the colored people. To set them free [illegible] them without the means of protecting themselves in their civil and political rights appeared unjust to the negro and unsafe for the nation. This apprehension was strengthened by the disposition shown by the Southern whites towards the new freedmen. In nearly every one of the seceded States the Legislatures, meeting before the reconstruction acts went into effect, passed what are known as "black codes" and vagrancy laws. Mississippi gives one illustration. The vagrancy law enacted in that State provided that no colored man could leave the county where he last worked without the consent of his last employer; and in case he had not hired himself within the first twelve days of the new year his labor for the ensuing twelve months was to be sold to the highest bidder. This was apparently the re-establishment of slavery in all but the name.

But what form national protection of the ex-slaves should take was the occasion for long and serious debate. The first plan suggested was a constitutional amendment granting universal amnesty to all who had participated in the war against the Union in return for universal suffrage. This proposition was, however, rejected by the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Congress, known as the Reconstruction Committee. Then the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution was passed by Congress and sent to the States for ratification. The purpose of this amendment was to induce the Southern States themselves to give the negro the ballot, by threatening them with a loss of representation in Congress and in the Electoral College in proportion to the population denied the suffrage. Tennessee, however, was the only one of the eleven Southern States, treated as having been in rebellion, which accepted the amendment. The refusal of the other ten States to ratify apparently convinced Congress [illegible] radical steps must be taken to protect the colored [illegible] reconstruction act was accordingly passed March [illegible] viding a method by which the seceding States could [illegible] their position in the Union. This act established [illegible] the ten un-reconstructed States, and gave the [illegible] with the enfranchised whites in framing the [illegible] under which these States were to be readmitted [illegible] The fifteenth amendment, which was passed [illegible] ruary, 1868, and declared a part of the [illegible]

1870, applied to the whole Union the same suffrage rule which the reconstruction act had applied to ten Southern States. The present period of negro suffrage, then, may be dated from March, 1867.

The first phase of colored suffrage lasted ten years, or until the spring of 1877. It is not a decade to which any man or party can look back with encouragement or satisfaction. Had the Southern whites themselvès undertaken in patience and sympathy the political leadership of the colored people and not left them to become a prey to the adventurers who swarmed into the South from the North, the story of negro suffrage might have read differently. But as it is, it is a story of incompetency on the part of the black man, and of extravagance and corruption on the part of the white man, who used the ex-slaves for selfish purposes. There would in any event have been an era of demoralization in the South following the war for the Union. Business had come to a practical standstill, the old order of society was broken up and political alignments were disarranged. In such a period crime and corruption are sure to flourish. And as this period of change in the South was coincident with negro control, all the evil results occurring then have been charged to black supremacy. But, making full allowance for this, there is enough left to mark this period as one of the most humiliating in modern history. One proof of the extravagance and corruption prevailing is the increase in the debts of the states which were at any time ruled by the blacks. The following table shows this increase:

States.	Debt at close of war.	Debt at end of negro control.	Increase.
Alabama	$7,945,000	$52,761,917	$44,816,917
Arkansas	2,084,719	19,398,000	17,313,281
Florida	370,617	15,797,587	15 426,970
Georgia	2,670,750	42,500,500	39,829,750
Louisiana	11,000,000	40,021,734	29,021,734
North Carolina	12,689,245	34,887,464	22,198,219
South Carolina	4,407,958	22,480,516	18,072,558
Texas	2,000,000	14,930,000	12,930,000
Virginia	33,248,141	47,090,866	13,842,725
Totals	$76,416,430	$289,868,584	$213,452,154

Two-thirds of this increase of $213,452,154 in the public debt of these nine states can be justly charged to the extravagance and corruption prevailing under negro-Republican rule, and a fair idea of the capacity of the negro to govern can be gained from it.

South Carolina offered the most humiliating [illegible] lic debt was increased fivefold and its Legislature [illegible] composed almost wholly of blacks. This [illegible] earned for it the title of the "prostrate State." [illegible] subject at any time to colored-Republican control [illegible] creased also at such a rapid rate as to threaten the [illegible] tion of property within a few years.

But this condition of things could not continue. It [illegible] ural and intolerable. The pyramid of society was [illegible] apex and the law of gravity was sure to assert itself. The [illegible] balance between ignorance and corruption on one side [illegible] gence and property on the other had to be restored. But the [illegible] in which this was done created another condition [illegible] the one it superseded. The remedy was no better [illegible] disease. Instead of using moral force, brute force was [illegible] the instrument for securing white supremacy. White [illegible] fraud were pitted against black ignorance and corruption [illegible] former won. The colored voter was intimidated by the [illegible] ing Ku-Klux-Klan and frightened away from the polls by [illegible] on his life. This was called "bulldozing," a word [illegible] into the vocabulary along with negro suffrage and the [illegible] ceased when the need ended. Ballot boxes were stuffed [illegible] sue ballots and forgery on tally sheets was freely [illegible] this way State after State was reclaimed by the whites, [illegible] 1875 only four Southern States remained under negro-[illegible] control. These were Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and [illegible] Carolina. In 1875 Mississippi was reclaimed from [illegible] what has since been known as the "Mississippi plan," [illegible] the same "plan" was successfully used in the [illegible] States. And when in 1877 President Hayes [illegible] white state governments the whole fabric of [illegible] rule in the South crumbled to the ground.

The second phase of negro suffrage began [illegible] control in every Southern State and determined [illegible] control. The means used to insure this were [illegible] against the blacks, and political, social and [illegible] against the few whites who persisted in [illegible] lican party. The late Colonel H. C. [illegible] Virginia and who served in the Army of [illegible] a Republican in politics, left an [illegible]

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vote is largely suppressed. This has added an additional and disproportionate value to every white vote cast in that section. How great this increased power is can be seen in the following table, which gives the white and colored population in the eleven Southern States in which the blacks are numerous, according to the census of 1890, and the number of Representatives in Congress apportioned to each class of population :

States.	White population.	Congressmen representing whites.	Black population.	Congressmen representing blacks.
South Carolina.....	462,008	3	689,141	4
Mississippi....	544,851	3	744,749	4
Georgia.....	978,857	6	[illegible]	5
Alabama...........	833,718	5	[illegible]	4
Louisiana......	558,395	3	[illegible]	[illegible]
Virginia............	1,020,122	6	[illegible]	4
Florida.............	224,949	1	[illegible]	1
North Carolina.....	1,055,382	6	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tennessee....	1,336,637		430,881	[illegible]
Texas...	1,745,935	8	[illegible]	[illegible]
Arkansas...........	~~[illegible]~~ 897668	15	[illegible]	1
		56		34

Thirty-seven per cent. of the representation of these eleven States in Congress is based on the black population, but as colored suffrage is practically nullified in all of them the political power of the white vote is increased in national affairs by just so much per cent. In South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, taken together, a white vote counts for as much as two votes in the North in determining the complexion of Congress and in deciding who shall be President.

But the political wrong done to the Southern blacks [illegible] Northern whites by the suppression of the colored vote [illegible] the worst result of the methods employed to maintain [illegible] premacy in the South. Open acquiescence in fraud on [illegible] boxes and in deeds of violence against the negroes [illegible] demoralization among the Southern whites themselves. [illegible] lic conscience was debauched and the moral sense of [illegible] blunted. It is only natural for men to argue that if [illegible] cused for a political purpose it will be excused for all [illegible] that if an oath known to be false is accepted by [illegible] of the correctness of an election return, a false [illegible] cepted in a civil suit. So great is the [illegible] way that the leading newspaper of South [illegible] a few years ago to instruct the rising [illegible] tinction between the nature of an election [illegible]

other case. Other evidences of the harm done to society in the South by the methods used to maintain white supremacy are the propensity to mob law and the large number of defaulting State Treasurers, by whose dishonesty the Southern people lost millions of dollars. From all these causes the level of civilization was sensibly lowered, the industrial progress of the section checked, life and property made insecure and a carnival of crime begun.

This condition of things could not be the permanent solution of the colored suffrage question. The methods employed involved too great a strain on the public conscience. The social demoralization was too great. The political injustice to the North and the violation of law were too evident. To go back to negro control was unthinkable. One way out was to find some method of legalizing the suppression of the colored vote which would not conflict with the Federal Constitution. Mississippi took the first step towards reaching this end by framing a new constitution, the suffrage clause of which can be interpreted so as to discriminate against the ignorant colored voter and in favor of the ignorant white voter. It says that every elector "shall be able to read any section of this constitution, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." It is this clause which the Supreme Court declared valid. It is easy to see how this clause can be manipulated, as it is manipulated, against the illiterate colored voter and in favor of the illiterate white voter.)

The Mississippi constitution was framed in 1890. In 1895 a convention met in South Carolina and adopted a constitution the suffrage clause of which gives the right to vote to all who can read the constitution or explain it when read to them, provided they were registered before January 1, 1898. But all who were not so registered must be able to read and write or pay taxes on property valued at three hundred dollars, at least. In 1897 Louisiana followed by adopting a constitution which provides that electors must be able to read and write or be the owners of property valued at not less than three hundred dollars. But this is qualified by the provision that every person who was entitled to vote January 1, 1867, in any State of the Union, and his sons and grandsons who were twenty-one years of age or over in 1897, shall also be allowed to vote, provided they were registered previous to September 1, 1897.

The adoption of these constitutions and the [illegible] other States will follow marks the beginning of the [illegible] of negro suffrage. It is too early to determine what the [illegible] will be or how long this phase will last. As yet there is no apparent reason to suppose that these educational requirements have stimulated the illiterate whites and blacks to greater efforts to qualify themselves for the suffrage. Nor is the immediate effect on the whites themselves beneficial. A widespread and perilous indifference to their political duties has followed among the whites in each of the three States which have adopted constitutions eliminating the colored vote. This is evident from the following table, which compares the vote cast in 1876 with the poll of 1898 :

VOTE OF 1876.

States.	Republican poll.	Democratic poll.	Totals.
Louisiana	75,315	70,508	[illegible]
Mississippi	52,705	112,143	[illegible]
South Carolina	92,081	91,540	[illegible]
Totals	220,101	274,191	[illegible]

VOTE OF 1898.

States.	Republican poll.	Democratic poll.	Totals.
Louisiana	5,667	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mississippi	3,573	[illegible]	[illegible]
South Carolina	2,823	[illegible]	[illegible]
Totals	12,063	80,403	[illegible]

THE TWO YEARS COMPARED.

	Republican.	Democratic.	Totals.
Vote of 1876	220,101	274,191	[illegible]
Vote of 1898	12,063	80,403	[illegible]
Difference	208,038	193,788	[illegible]

According to the census of 1890 there were 757,249 [illegible] voting age in these three States, of whom 354,016 were [illegible] 403,233 were colored. The natural increase from [illegible] gration must have brought the total up to 900,000 [illegible] voters to about 400,000. The Republican vote may [illegible] as solidly black and the Democratic vote as solidly [illegible] only 80,403 Democratic votes were polled in the [illegible] one white voter in five felt enough interest in the [illegible] the polls. A similar result will doubtless follow in [illegible] State which takes from the colored man the right [illegible] political apathy cannot be viewed with [illegible]

not give the number of people in the country able to read and write at the age of twenty-one years and over. But it gives the illiterates twenty years and over, and from these figures the literates in each State can be obtained. Taking the literates twenty years of age and over as a basis and giving one Representative in Congress to each 80,000 of literates, and allowing an additional Representative to States with the largest fractions, representation in Congress and in the electoral college can be easily ascertained. Such a scheme is presented in the following table:

States.	Total Population.	Literates 20 years of age and over.	Representatives in Congress.	Representatives in Electoral Col.	Loss or Gain.
Alabama	1,513,017	381,256	5	7	—4
Arkansas	1,128,179	350,653	4	6	—2
California	1,208,130	697,667	9	11	+2
Colorado	419,198	159,506	2	4	none
Connecticut	746,258	442,134	6	8	+2
Delaware	168,493	80,472	1	3	none
Florida	391,422	127,348	2	4	none
Georgia	1,837,353	474,631	6	8	—5
Idaho	84,385	44,796	1	3	none
Illinois	3,826,351	1,974,306	25	27	+3
Indiana	2,192,404	1,101,678	14	16	+1
Iowa	1,911,896	969,908	12	14	+1
Kansas	1,427,096	691,214	9	11	+1
Kentucky	1,858,635	691,347	9	11	—2
Louisiana	1,118,587	275,311	3	5	—3
Maine	661,086	389,693	5	7	+1
Maryland	1,042,390	468,804	6	8	none
Massachusetts	2,238,943	1,326,548	17	19	+4
Michigan	2,093,889	1,107,096	14	16	+2
Minnesota	1,301,826	643,431	8	10	+1
Mississippi	1,289,600	299,810	4	6	—3
Missouri	2,679,184	1,234,687	15	17	none
Montana	132,159	85,918	1	3	none
Nebraska	1,058,910	527,579	7	9	+1
Nevada	45,761	26,233	1	3	none
New Hampshire	376,530	227,453	3	5	+1
New Jersey	1,444,933	788,152	10	12	+2
New York	5,997,853	3,441,117	43	45	+9
North Carolina	1,617,947	450,922	6	8	—3
North Dakota	182,719	90,508	1	3	none
Ohio	3,672,316	1,936,957	24	26	+3
Oregon	313,767	173,078	2	4	none
Pennsylvania	5,258,014	2,722,472	34	36	+4
Rhode Island	345,506	191,424	2	4	none
South Carolina	1,151,149	259,529	3	5	—4
South Dakota	328,808	162,905	2	4	none
Tennessee	1,767,518	575,051	7	9	—3
Texas	2,235,523	785,561	10	12	—3
Utah	207,905	94,598	1	3	none
Vermont	332,422	191,528	2	4	none
Virginia	1,655,980	526,525	7	9	—3
Washington	349,390	209,983	3	5	+1
West Virginia	762,704	305,559	4	6	none
Wisconsin	1,686,880	821,841	10	12	none
Wyoming	60,705	37,365	1	3	none
			361	451	

The census of 1900 would make a few minor changes in the

scheme, but its general features would remain the same. It would base representation and the government of the nation on the education and intelligence of the country, where it should permanently rest. It would be fair and just to all sections and so would give a final solution to the vexatious colored suffrage question. The South, surely, could not offer any opposition to it, for it would only apply to the whole country the rule which the Southern whites claim must prevail in that section. The weightiest arguments that can be brought against it are the facts that it will require a constitutional amendment, and that the conservative character of the American people makes the work of changing the constitution slow, tedious and doubtful. But if there is no other method so quick, sure and permanent it is worth while to make the effort. If the South, however, will not consent to a scheme so fair, then the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution should be rigidly enforced. And the second clause of that amendment says "When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion in which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

This question of colored suffrage involving, as it does, the capacity of the dark races to improve and rise to the level of the white races, has a broader significance than its effect upon this country alone. [illegible] late Charles H. Pearson was correct in his "[illegible]" th[illegible]e is near when the dark races are to enter more [illegible] into th[illegible] world's affairs, and on their capacity to improve [illegible] keep equal step with the white races depends in a great [illegible] safety of what has been gained for civilization already [illegible] further advances are to be made in the arts and sciences. [illegible] Pearson's premises may not be well based, and so all [illegible] may not be warranted. But it is evident to the [illegible] observer that the progress of events is bringing [illegible] into closer and more constant relations with the [illegible] profound thinkers are seriously question-

ing what the result to civilization is to be. Will ... mate contact be followed by the elevation of the dark ... man or by the deterioration of the white skinned man? It was Pearson's forecast that the latter was the more probable result.

But a lowering of the aggressive qualities, mental, moral physical, which have enabled the white man to subdue to his poee every country and clime he has invaded, cannot be cont plated with serenity. These qualities are absolutely necessar progress and the preservation of civilization. They must be sa at all hazards. But the question whether they can be saved if white races attempt to lift to their own level the dark races still to be answered. The test now being made in this countr to the capacity of the black man to develop and reach the hig civilization must throw needed light on this problem. And in event the training and disciplining that 8,000,000 or 9,000, colored people are receiving in this country cannot fail to exe profound influence upon the future of the dark races all over world. And it must add to the value of the result reached this training and discipline is being acquired under the best able conditions and in a way to develop most quickly and the capabilities of an important branch of the dark races. If attempt succeeds many apprehensions will be quieted and future of civilization and progress will be more secure.

However skeptical De Tocqueville may have been of the pacity of the white and dark races to live together in the country on an equal footing, he was generous in his praises of nation that has done more than any other people to ... the condition of the dark skinned man. The greatest ... praiseworthy achievement of the English, in De Tocqueville's opinion, is the conquest and peaceful government of India ... may have been to work out one other phase of this problem ... dark races that the negro was brought to this continent ... in contact with the most virile branch of the Anglo-Saxon ... Viewed in this light, the experiment in colored ... results assume an aspect more than local or even ... comes world-wide in its significance. It may ... tience of the American people and encourage them ... in the task set before them to know that they ... out one of the greatest problems of the human ...

When the Federal Government went into operation, Hamilton was by general consent made Secretary of the Treasury, and he at once addressed himself to the great problems of revenue and the adjustment and funding of the debts contracted by the Confederation and the States in the war for independence, aggregating $85,000,000, or nearly twenty dollars per capita. And this great debt—a burden far greater, in proportion to the wealth of the country at the respective periods, than the debt of the civil war—and the expenses of inaugurating and carrying on a new government, could be met practically only by such indirect taxation as duties on imports and the limited excise taxes then available in dealing with a sparse population of limited means, mainly devoted to agriculture, lumbering and fishing, and unused to taxation by any authority other than the State or municipality.

The task which faced the great finance minister was one which might well appal the stoutest heart; but Hamilton proved equal to the exigency. Conscious of the jealousy of national authority, and especially of national taxation, entertained by the extreme States-rights advocates, he moved cautiously but firmly.

In his first communication to Congress, he recommended (1.) the imposition of duties on imports and (2.) the imposition of an excise tax on distilled spirits.

To the first recommendation Congress responded favorably and with entire unanimity; for while, on the one hand, the Federalists regarded customs duties as the most important resource of national revenue, the Anti-Federalists insisted that any other resource should be avoided, which would bring national tax collectors into the States to assess and collect taxes for the maintenance of the national government.

Madison promptly reported, and Congress on the 4th of July, 1789, passed, a bill imposing duties on imports; the preamble reciting that the object of the measure was "for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

It is noteworthy that a question which has in the last half century divided parties—to wit, the constitutionality and wisdom of so adjusting duties on imports, in the raising of revenue, as to encourage home industries—should have been accepted by general consent by every member of the first Congress, many of whom had taken a leading part in framing the Constitution.

distinctly affirmed in the preamble of the first tariff enactment.

The opposition to an excise tax on distilled spirits was so determined that nearly two years elapsed before Congress, impelled by stern necessity, favorably responded to Hamilton's recommendation.

Three years later (June 5, 1794), Hamilton, in spite of the strong opposition of the Anti-Federalists, succeeded in persuading Congress to extend the excise taxes to tobacco, snuff, carriages kept for pleasure, dealers in liquor, sales at auction and the manufacture of refined sugar, with stamp taxes on certain legal instruments.

Thus, after five years' labors, in the face of enormous difficulties, the great finance Secretary saw the successful fruition of his unceasing efforts; the revolutionary war debts adjusted and funded; the interest provided for and the principal in the way of final payment; the expenses of the government amply met; and the credit of the nation successfully established.

The next year Hamilton withdrew from the Treasury and retired to private life, carrying with him the gratitude of the people whom he had served with such masterly ability, and meriting, in the judgment of thoughtful men, the splendid tribute which Webster bestowed upon this great finance minister, in the fervid eulogium familiar to every political student:

"Hamilton smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprung upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Hamilton."

I have thus dwelt on the revenue policy successfully set in operation by Hamilton, because it has been the basis in whole or in part of all Federal revenue legislation since his day; and his papers on the source of national revenue under the Constitution, and the most effective methods of reaching these sources for taxation, still remain among the most valuable literature on the subject.

The only source of revenue open to the national government under the Constitution which Hamilton did not venture to lay hold of, was direct taxation apportioned among the States according to population; and he did not, obviously because of the fact

that the constitutional requirement for its apportionment necessarily makes it so unequal that it will never be resorted to except in supreme need.

Wolcott, who succeeded Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, when the French war cloud of 1798 appeared, recommended, and Congress imposed, a direct tax of two millions annually, levied on houses, lands and slaves, and apportioned among the States according to population; but the tax proved so unpopular and the returns were so unsatisfactory that it was repealed after one assessment. The direct tax was temporarily employed again in the war of 1812, with less difficulty, because the States were allowed to assume and collect their several quotas; but the tax was repealed as soon as the exigency passed. And the third and last time that this tax was employed was at the opening of the war of secession in 1861, but with so unsatisfactory results that only one assessment was made; and even that, so far as paid, was subsequently refunded.

The excise taxes imposed on the recommendation of Hamilton were bitterly condemned by the Anti-Federalists, both at the time of their enactment, and subsequently; and when the Anti-Federalists came into power in 1801 one of their first acts was to sweep them all from the Statute Book.

Thus from 1801 to 1812 the sole sources of revenue drawn upon to meet the expenditures of the national government were duties on imports (increased or modified twelve times between 1789 and 1813), tonnage duties and receipts from the sale of public lands. From 1800 to 1808 imports increased so rapidly that these sources of revenue sufficed, but under the embargo the receipts from customs fell off so rapidly that there was a deficiency in 1809, 1810 and 1812, notwithstanding the liberal receipts from the sale of public lands.

When the war of 1812 broke out, Gallatin, who was Secretary of the Treasury, and who had set his face against excise taxes in the partisan contests of previous years, undertook for nearly a year to carry on the war by loans, without additional taxation; and the inevitable result was that the credit of the government collapsed, and our bonds fell first to 80 and then to 60 cents on the dollar.

The situation became so serious that, by the [illegible] President Madison was alarmed and convened an [illegible]

exigency; for the necessities of the nation [illegible] struggle for existence that after 1863 every [illegible] open to the Federal authority was laid hold of. [illegible] source of the State—the income tax—since declared [illegible] preme Court to be unavailable for Federal purposes, [illegible] upon by the national authority without serious objection, in view of the needs of the hour.

The only criticism, outside of the issue of legal tender demand notes without a redemption fund to maintain them at par, which can justly be ventured in the light of subsequent events—and even this is excused by the general expectation at the outset that the contest would be brief and restricted—is that there was too great delay in imposing the taxation necessary to maintain the public credit and provide means for a war which, up to 1866, cost over 4,200 millions, and up to the present time nearly seven billions.

Commencing with a revenue of only 41½ millions in 1861 and 52 millions in 1862, the receipts rose to 112 millions in 1863, 243½ millions in 1864, 322 millions in 1865, and culminated with 520 millions in 1866—or $15.73 per inhabitant—of which 179 millions ($5 per capita) were derived from customs and 311 millions ($9 per capita) from internal taxes.

Of the latter, 73 millions came from the income tax on persons and corporations; 55 millions from the tax on the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits, fermented liquor and tobacco; 127½ millions from the tax on manufactures and products; 15 millions from the stamp taxes on documents, proprietary medicines, etc.; 14 millions from the special taxes on occupations; 4 millions from sales at auction and by brokers, etc.; 1½ millions from legacies and successions; 11 millions from gross receipts of railroad, express, ferry, insurance and telegraph companies, etc.; 1¾ millions from plate, carriages, pianos, billiard tables, etc.; and 3½ millions from bank circulation, slaughtered animals, etc.

This great annual revenue—nearly three times the [illegible] revenue of the national government in the ten years [illegible] the Spanish war, and more than twice that now being [illegible] both peace and war uses—was secured with much [illegible] the part of the taxpayers than might naturally [illegible] pected, although the duties on many imported [illegible] foods not produced in this country, transferred [illegible]

the dutiable list to secure additional revenue from customs, and the internal tax on nearly all manufactured and other products, often duplicated, seriously burdened the industries of the country, until they were repealed between 1868 and 1883.

Our experience, in the last years of our civil war and for a few years thereafter, with internal taxes on manufactures and products was so unfavorable that it is doubtful if they will be hereafter resorted to unless in a great extremity, except in the case of luxuries or articles of voluntary use.

Without imposing internal taxes on production beyond the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco, it is feasible to raise by import duties and by excise taxes limited to these three sources, supplemented by existing miscellaneous receipts, a revenue of $6 per capita, which is $1 per capita more than the average peace expenditures of the past ten years.

Excise taxes on distilled spirits, fermented liquors, tobacco, snuff, cigars and cigarettes, and special taxes on dealers in liquors (permanent since 1861), have become one of the most important sources of revenue in all civilized countries. Such taxes are easily collected, at the minimum of cost, by a permanent and experienced internal revenue bureau; the revenue from them is less liable to fall off in times of business depression; they are taxes which need not be incurred at all, or only at the convenience of the taxpayer; and so far as they fall on industries or business, they affect those less disturbed than others by unfavorable industrial conditions.

It was for these reasons, among others, that when the Spanish war came upon us in April, 1898, in order to provide means to carry it on (the revenue at that time, under the legislation of 1897, being sufficient to meet peace expenditures), Congress doubled the low excise tax on fermented liquors and tobacco—the tax on distilled spirits already being as large as could be collected—thus increasing the revenue by fifty millions from these two sources, and restored about two-thirds of the adhesive stamp tax of 1865 on documents and medicinal, proprietary and trade-mark articles, and on cosmetics and perfumery, estimated to yield about 40 millions, as well as the special taxes on bankers, brokers, etc., and legacy and succession duties—additional taxes which in the aggregate will yield the present fiscal year about 100 millions.

Whenever the extraordinary expenditures arising from the

Spanish war will admit of a repeal of any of [illegible] imposed by the War-revenue act of 1898, it is [illegible] first to be dispensed with will be a part or all of the [illegible] taxes, as they are in many respects annoying and in some cases burdensome.

The excise taxes on spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco, as they stand now, will produce, it is estimated, 220 millions in the next fiscal year; other internal revenue taxes, outside the adhesive stamp tax, about 20 millions, miscellaneous sources (the receipts from sales of public lands having dwindled to a paltry sum) 20 millions, and customs duties, 205 millions—an aggregate, outside the adhesive stamp taxes, of 465 millions, or $6 per capita. If all the adhesive stamp taxes should remain, it is estimated that the aggregate revenue would be increased to 510 millions, or $6.50 per capita.

As the peace expenditures, on the basis of the expenditures of the ten years before the opening of the Spanish war, were about $5 per capita ($2.50 for the ordinary civil, military and naval establishments and $2.50 for pensions and interest on the war debt, which basis would give a total of 385 millions as the peace expenditures for the next fiscal year), it will be seen that there would be a balance of nearly 125 millions, in case all the war taxes should remain, to meet the extraordinary expenditures arising from the war, including the increase of the navy and army, and to apply to a reduction of the war debt.

No discussion of the sources of national revenue can be satisfactory, which does not take into consideration the possible effect of the rapid multiplication and enlargement of our domestic industries in diminishing our imports of manufactured articles, and consequently our revenue from imports of such articles. Indeed, it is one of the objections to the protective tariff policy that it tends—in fact, that is its object—to encourage the [illegible] and production at home of such articles as can be made or produced here without natural disadvantage, instead of [illegible] them from abroad.

It is not my purpose to enter into any discussion of [illegible] beyond what is required by my topic, which [illegible] question of revenue; and to this extent I may go [illegible] ing on the field of partisan debate.

Theoretically, it would seem to be probable, [illegible]

1897 has yielded more revenue from customs [illegible]
more revenue from customs, internal revenue, [illegible]
(outside of war revenue) in the calendar year [illegible]
withstanding the unfavorable effect of the Spanish war—[illegible]
yielded in the last calendar year (1896), when the [illegible]
was in operation, unaffected by either anticipatory or [illegible]-
portations.

While the Constitution practically restricts the national government to indirect taxation—duties on imports and excise—and, therefore, makes the discussion here or elsewhere of the question as to whether direct taxation on property is not fairer and wiser, an academic rather than a useful exercise, yet the universal use of such indirect taxes, even by nations which have no limitations on their taxing power, indicates that they have been justified by experience.

Duties on imports, as a source of national revenue, are justified not only by the fact that they are generally taxes ultimately paid at the convenience of the taxpayer, without the solicitation of the tax collector; but also by the fact, known to business men, that, although they are in form a tax on consumption, yet in fact the duty paid the government on an imported article is rarely added in full to the price when a similar article is produced or made here, and frequently added only in part when a similar article is not produced or made here.

Theoretically, it might have been affirmed, without contradiction, that the placing of a duty of ten cents per pound on tea at the last session of Congress would have increased the price of tea to the consumer in this country ten cents per pound; yet the wholesale prices current show that tea has risen only 5 cents per pound. The foreign producer and importer are practically paying one-half the duty, in order to hold their customers; and the consumer pays only half. Absurd as it may seem to the [illegible], the foreigner is paying half of the $10,000,000 annual [illegible] revenue from the duty on tea.

There is another beneficial revenue result of a [illegible]
on the policy of imposing high duties on imported [illegible]
articles of voluntary consumption, low duties or [illegible]
on articles of necessary consumption not produced [illegible]
and protective duties, equal to the difference of [illegible]
or manufacture here and abroad, on articles that [illegible]

or made here without natural disadvantage, which should not be overlooked; and this is, that a large part of the revenue under such a tariff policy is paid on imported luxuries and articles of voluntary consumption by those well able to pay the high duties, and very little or none on such articles as are required by the masses of the people.

At least 100 millions of the 200 millions of revenue that will be yielded by the duties on imports in this calendar year will come from such articles as champagnes, wines, tobacco, opium, laces, kid gloves, silks, fine linens, fine cottons, fine woolens, chinaware, cut glass, and articles of adornment, and, so far as they are a charge on our people, will be paid almost entirely by consumers of ample means.

It is not within the scope of my subject to discuss the controverted effect of duties on imported articles of general consumption, the like of which are or may be made or produced here to the extent of our wants without natural disadvantage—whether, as the free-trader claims, such duties permanently increase the cost of such articles to the consumer to the extent of the duty without material advantage to the revenue; or, as the protectionist claims, the ultimate result of such duties is to cheapen their cost to the consumer by the competition set in motion through the establishment and development of the industry in this country (although the temporary result may be otherwise), and also to swell the revenue through the increase of the ability of the people to consume imported luxuries and articles not produced here, as the opportunities to profitably use their labor multiply.

I must confess that the longer I live and observe, the more I come to feel that the highest statesmanship is marked not by vain endeavors to adjust the operations of government to bald theories, which, however sound in an ideal state, are subject to many modifications in the actual and varying conditions that confront the legislator and administrator; but by the skill with which the executive and the law-maker from time to time adapt legislation and administration to meet and, as rapidly as may be, improve existing conditions, holding constantly in mind that "an ounce of experience is worth more than a ton of theory;" and that what practically works well in any country is more likely to be safe and wise than any theories, however fine-spun, that have not succeeded in like conditions.

Tried by the test of experience, whether in [illegible] ducing qualities, its influence on our export trade, [illegible] on the general prosperity of the country, I am sure [illegible] tariff policy, as it existed from 1861 to 1894, and [illegible] isted since 1897—modified from time to time to meet changing conditions—is justified by its fruits.

If I mistake not, the business men of the country, who have seen the unfavorable effect of frequent tariff changes, whatever may be their belief as to tariff policy, have come to the conclusion that tariff repose for the present and near future, is indispensable to the best interests of the country.

It may be safely affirmed that no other nation raises its revenue for national purposes in a manner which, on the whole, works out fairer or less burdensome results than are worked out by our system of taxation under the Constitution. I do not wish to be understood as affirming that any of our revenue legislation cannot be improved in details under the enlightenment of actual administration; and especially I do not desire to be understood as saying that the War Revenue act, particularly those provisions imposing stamp and special taxes intended as a temporary measure, and necessarily subject to the correction of experience under existing conditions, cannot and should not be readjusted in many directions according to the suggestions of such experience, whenever this can best be done, if it shall seem probable that these taxes must all continue much beyond the fiscal year in order to provide means to meet the extraordinary expenditures arising from the war.

Although the expenditures of our national government have been largely increased per capita since the adoption of the Constitution, and especially by the gigantic war for the preservation of the Union—rising from $1 per capita in 1790 to nearly $2 in 1820, $2.25 in 1850, $2.50 for ordinary and $4.50 for war expenditures in 1870, and $2.50 for ordinary and $2.50 for pensions and war debt interest in 1890 and 1897—yet, even with an increase for the time being of taxes equivalent to $1.50 [illegible] num on account of the Spanish war, our taxation to-day [illegible] the rate of $6.50 per capita—$2.50 for the ordinary [illegible] and naval establishments, $2.50 for pensions and [illegible] war debt, and $1.50 for the Spanish war—while the [illegible] tional taxation of the United Kingdom and of [illegible] $10 per capita, and of France $15 per capita.

A REPUBLIC IN THE PHILIPP

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATO

If we are a Christian people believing in de regard the war of 1861-65 as pivotal in our nation preservation of the Union and the enforcement the country made possible all of the marvellous ch been wrought among us since that time. Our pe two-and-a-half times as great as it was then; we our working power threefold, and have added thr cent. to the nation's wealth; we have constructed 1 new railroad, more than half of it in the regi Mississippi River, and we have formed six east-and tinental lines connecting with ocean steamships at

The rapid development of our industrial energi creased our mechanical power greatly in excess o needs, and correspondingly diminished the deman sulting in idleness, debt and doubt. Hence came the unemployed" and the exciting campaign of nately, the unusually large foreign demand for o products in 1897 was accompanied by heavy c prices at home, begetting hope, stimulating ind ating demand for labor. The large majority vote indicated plainly the trend of public opinion on t tion, while the enormous increase in the output of measurably at least, and for the time, supplied t metallic money; business revived, trade began a its accustomed channels, money appeared to be p country got on its feet again.

But this condition could not last long under without some outlet for the surplus of the [illegible] spare. We should overflow again. [illegible]

The causes which brought dangers to our doors—dangers arising from lack of employment for the people—would bring them again if new channels of trade were not opened, new markets found for our growing commerce, and new employment procured to engage the brains and hands of our industrious and enterprising people.

Providentially, as it would seem, the war with Spain affords us opportunities of which we have but to avail ourselves in order to relieve the situation at home and improve conditions abroad. With Cuba on the way to independence under American escort, with Porto Rico controlled by American ideas and policies, and with the beginnings of a Philippine republic in charge of American builders, a new commercial tide will set in, carrying a reciprocal trade that will occupy much of the time and attention of our citizens and will to that extent relieve the strain on the working forces; it will solve the money problem to the satisfaction of those at least who demand the use of a metallic basis, for it will enlarge the use of gold and silver coin; it will suggest profitable uses for large amounts of money now idle and seeking opportunities for safe investment, and, what is better than all these, it will place and keep Americans in the lead planting republican institutions in the islands of the sea.

And we are well equipped for just such work as this. We are full with the vitalizing forces of a young and powerful people, with motive power far beyond our necessities, with production vastly in excess of home requirements, with narrow profit margins multiplying industrial combinations to maintain prices, with constantly increasing production of our gold mines and idle money accumulating in the public treasury and in private bank vaults, with much of our labor compulsorily idle all the time and demanding work, with our best lands all claimed under private ownership—with all this congested energy, backed as it is by men and women capable of leading great enterprises, persons specially qualified by training in their own country to sow the seeds of democracy and grow republics in darker portions of the earth—we are prepared to assume the responsibility.

In our moral and intellectual equipment for the work proposed we are, if possible, stronger and better prepared than in the particulars just recited. The improvement in the condition of our manumitted slaves and their descendants has been phenomenal. They have developed men of learning and character—

physicians, lawyers, preachers, priests and bishops. While the great body of them are employed chiefly in manual labor (which is true also of their white neighbors), there are among them many who are capable of discharging responsible duties in affairs of government. Their soldierly qualities were recognized in the War of the Rebellion, and they were severely tested in recent battles and campaigns. These docile people are even now prepared to furnish useful helpers in all the work which the nation has yet to do.

The Indian problem has been solved, and we shall have the red man's aid in the years to come. It is only sixty-four years since all of our national territory west of the Mississippi River, except Missouri and Arkansas, was set apart by act of Congress as the "Indian country," and no citizen of the United States was permitted to travel or trade there without written authority from the Government. Since 1860 nearly all this fruitful region has been carved into States. The "Indian country" has disappeared. The small remnant in Indian Territory is being allotted, and soon it will be all owned by individual persons. The five civilized tribes there have among them many men and women of education and refinement, some of them qualified for any of the ordinary work of legislation and government. The few remaining of the more savage tribes are located on reservations in States or Territories, where schools have been established for the education of their children, and at several places in the older States government schools of higher grade are conducted, where the best scholars from the reservations may continue and complete a special training to fit them for the more responsible duties of civilized life. The Indian has already proven himself capable of reaching a high level and of maintaining himself in trying positions. He, too, is ready to perform his part in the country's future.

Woman has come to be an important factor in all the work of the time. From a few of the widows and daughters of our citizen soldiers, employed as clerks in the Treasury Department at Washington during the earlier years of the sixties, the working sphere of woman has been so enlarged that she is now found in all the departments of the national and State governments; she assists in public offices in all our great cities, and there is not, probably, a mercantile house of importance in the country conducted without the aid of women. They have invaded the professions, they occupy chairs in some of our higher institutions of

own progressive institutions, surely the world's redeeming agencies will be strongly re-enforced.

In this condition of readiness for united action, we find ourselves suddenly face to face with new and grave conditions affecting our relations with other parts of the world, and we see plainly enough that our political horizon has been greatly enlarged. We have been forced into the world's arena by events occurring outside ourselves, and we must perform the leading part. There is no escape from this position. We have entered a new era in American politics, not from choice, but "in the course of human events."

It has been the way in all the ages of the past that when any people became cramped or thought themselves so, the bolder of them sought new regions to dwell in and thus opened a drain for the overflow. The history of all great countries, as far as it has been recorded, testifies to this fact—they were first settled, perhaps conquered, by emigrants from other parts, and commerce spread its civilizing influences in the wake of the settlers. The pioneer, the preacher, the trader, the merchant, the banker, the lawyer, statesman and soldier, builded modern Europe, and their children have made North America what it is. Australasia, India and South Africa show the rich handiwork of these conquering heroes. The history of civilization in England includes a record of principal movements everywhere else. Her colonies have developed into the highest forms of self-governing communities, one of them a republic whose name, like that of Abou Ben Adhem, leads all the rest.

If anything can be said to be established in the Father's business of improving the world, it is that the best communities, states and nations are bred from imported stock and improved by the infusion of new blood. To "replenish the earth and subdue it" requires that stronger and better men should "go out into all the world," and do and teach better things than had been done and taught there before. Blindly, it may be, but none the less certainly, in the long run, do men follow this law of progress. Proof of the great fact is everywhere so abundant that particular instances need not be cited. Barbarism passes out of sight as Christian settlement comes into view. The worse yields to the better in the final conflict. The weaker gives way to the stronger, through assimilation or decay. Obedience to this law of civiliza-

tion, though most frequently yielded ignorantly, becomes a duty when the obligation is recognized. Men are to a great extent their brothers' keepers and owe them a brotherly oversight. If this be not true, why is government necessary ?

It is the duty of this republic, now that opportunity is present, to enter the Philippines and grow a new nation there. It is no answer to this to say that there are yet untouched resources at home, enough work here at our doors to occupy the time and attention of our most competent leaders. No answer because, if for no other reason, we cannot undo what was done during the last year. A great war has been fought, and we find ourselves in military occupation of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine group. The latter we have to dispose of. We, therefore, are responsible for the kind of government which these islands have in the future and will accordingly be held accountable.

We are a Christian people, believing in the existence of an overruling Providence, who, in His own way and time, moves the world ahead. History, in that view of it, is a record of Jehovah's operations in developing human character and evangelizing the earth. "Nations and individuals," said a fervent clergyman recently, "are here by appointment;" and it is on that theory only that we dare believe the people of these United States have been trained for the work now in front of them. The Jews undertook to abolish idolatry, establish a belief in one God and the duty of obeying His law. "I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." The Greeks taught the world how to think and how to speak, and Romans led in government and law. Is it too much to add that to Anglo-Americans is given the work of spreading the Gospel of good will to men through commerce and Christianity, and thus carrying on the work of replenishing the earth and subduing it ? If not, then let us take and permanently hold all territory which has come into our possession, either actually or constructively, by reason of our war with Spain; hold it, not for ourselves, but for the people now there and such as may hereafter go there, to the end that the area of liberty may be to that extent enlarged and free government established throughout the earth.

It is objected that the proposed to our own history and in conflict with the is neither, and if it were both, the argument plied generally, such a theory would prevent stop growth. Our patent laws would be imprisoned. If a man was once satisfied with must never get more. Before we were fifteen years old more than a million square miles to our national purchase of Louisiana—nearly all of which lay west of sippi River, and this in the face of opposition by me sisted that that stream was and ought to remain our wes dary. Afterward (1819) we acquired Florida, adding miles more, and by the annexation of Texas (1845), 3 ditional square miles. From Mexico (1848-1853) we gai a million (967,451) square miles, much the greater being west of the Rocky Mountains, which range ma objectors thought ought to be made our permanent west Including Alaska, our country now contains nearly the aggregate area of the original thirteen States, wh at 827,844 square miles.

Our Government had been negotiating for the San ands fifty years before they were annexed in 1898 unde Hawaii. Cuba has been a point of interest to us for a Its strategic importance was discussed by our statesm early years of the century; the subject was again conside the progress of the Spanish-American wars, and later, Quincy Adams was President. The Polk Administ ready to buy the island outright, and President Pier direct negotiations with that view. Our ministers to ain, France and Spain (1854), Messrs. Buchanan, Soulé, who had been instructed to consider the subjec favorably in their famous "Ostend Manifesto." The of the United States would not at any time have to pass from Spain to any nation, other than this, President Grant recommended the purchase of There has not been a time within a hundred years not gladly have accepted any one of the West Indies that was ready to fall to us.

The Monroe Doctrine is not applicable That doctrine was announced at a

war to a successful issue. Our war is with [illegible] are dealing with Spain in a region [illegible] hundred miles from the nearest [illegible] power, and three thousand miles from the [illegible] of Europe. No government other than that of Spain [illegible] or does now claim any interest or right in these Spanish [illegible].

What the Constitution of the United States prohibits, that we must not do without first amending that instrument, but what the Constitution does not prohibit, the people of the United States may do if they so desire and have the power. On this subject the power of the people has not been limited by anything they have said or done. The Constitution prescribes a form of government and contains grants and limitations of power, but it does not define or limit the war power beyond the declaration of war. When war is once begun, it is to be conducted and terminated according to the rules of war, and these are regulated by an international code. The Constitution prescribes a form of government, not a rule of action in adjusting terms of peace with a nation that we have defeated in war. And in doubtful cases the Constitution always gracefully yields to the popular will. This war was not begun for conquest, but Dewey's guns awakened the world, and with the destruction of Montojo's fleet at Manila, Spanish power in the Philippines was ended, and American seamen were left in charge.

The argument that we have no right to the islands is answered by the statement that our right is at least as good as that of Spain, and now that Spain has ceded to us the whole group, the only question left worth considering is, whether it will be better for the people there and for the advancement of Christian civilization and popular government that we retain possession of the islands and hold them in trust for the people, or that we shall withdraw and thus leave the inhabitants a prey to ambitious leaders, subject at any time to invasion, [illegible] conquest from the outside.

Porto Rico is held by us without conditions, and [illegible] the hearty approval of all the people of the United [illegible] was not contemplated in the beginning. The [illegible] as indemnity, it is held without assignment of [illegible] pray, what argument in favor of our taking [illegible] Rico will not apply with equal force to the [illegible]

the rest of the Philippines? The Porto Ricans were not in rebellion against Spanish rule—they rather liked it; they had not asked us for sympathy or assistance, nor had they appealed to us for provisions to feed their starving poor. Why, then, should we take that island if we may not also take Luzon? And if we may take Luzon, why not another, and another, until we have relieved Spain of all further responsibility as sovereign in that part of the world?

If it be asked by what right or authority we shall undertake the task of temporary government in the Philippines, we may cite the power that led us conquering from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. In the colonization of North America by European powers, if we except Spain, the object was not conquest; it was trade. The British navigation act was passed, within thirty years after settlement was actually begun by the colony at Massachusetts Bay. Though not undertaken for conquest, the settlement and ownership of the continent by white people is now complete. The Indian has ceased to be a factor. Can anybody imagine how it could have been otherwise? And is not such the history of civilization—the weaker giving way to the stronger—survival of the fittest? First, the explorer and the missionary, then the trapper and hunter, then the settler, and afterwards government, which is the beginning of dominion. And, dear reader, have you ever thought about how many such worlds as this would be required to support 1,500,000,000 savages who need a thousand acres of land apiece to live on, while the enlightened citizen needs but one? God must have intended that savage life and customs should yield to higher standards of living, or he would have made the earth many times larger.

The right of migration, if it be a right, justifies the planting of colonies, and all that follows must be regarded as matters of course. The theory which excuses the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth covers the whole ground. The Puritans began their work on shipboard by agreeing among themselves to form a colony and abide by such rules and regulations for their conduct and government as should be deemed necessary for the general good. They took no thought of the Indian or his welfare, though they asked God's blessing on themselves. Their arrangements were made for their own safety and happiness, and not for the comfort or convenience of the Indians. Their intercourse

with the red men was commercial. Trade with the savage con-quered him.

Who denies the missionary's right to go to the heathen's territory and conquer him by telling of the Prince of Peace and His Kingdom? And who would stay the Government's arm when raised to protect a preacher from the savage's assault? If the preacher may go where he will and teach a new and better doctrine, why may not his Christian neighbors and followers, the farmer, merchant and mechanic, go also? Why may not the man that carries the Bible be accompanied by others carrying plows, planes, anvils, looms and steam engines? Our missionaries went to the Sandwich Islands in 1820; five years later the Ten Commandments were adopted as the laws of the people, and now the islands form the American Territory of Hawaii.

Preparatory government in the Philippine Islands will be no more difficult or dangerous than it was in territories of the United States, and there has not been a day in this country, within a hundred and fifty years, when there was any halt in our progress or any doubt about our final success. Our experience has been a school in the arts of conquering savages without exterminating them by war. Occupation and settlement of this country has produced a class of brave, big-hearted men and women, fit for any emergency. We now have men by the thousand who graduated on the frontier, and who could take up the thread of government among a semi-barbarous people as readily as they would lay out a town site or grade a railway line. Developing, constructing, trading, improving, are our special lines of work. We could throw an army of civilizers into the Eastern Pacific regions as easily as we can send an army of soldiers to Cuba.

Legitimate trade the world over must some time be free—absolutely free—and that condition will come when commerce reaches all parts of the earth, and the religion of good will is everywhere established. Nothing now would add greater momentum to the movement in that direction than the buil[illegible] republic by Americans, after the American model, [illegible] ippine Archipelago, for it would tend to multipl[illegible] among the nations, it would encourage the proje[illegible] into peace, it would raise the standard of inte[illegible] lift the world's politics to a higher level.

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chairman of the Interstate Commerce Com[illegible] annual conventions of State Railroad Commi[illegible] tional Board of Trade, of Judge Reagan, the [illegible] pooling provision of the present law; of Senator [illegible] man of the Committee on Interstate Commerce [illegible] States Senate; of the present Speaker of the National [illegible] Representatives, and of every intelligent and honest [illegible] transportation.

Before examining the causes which have resulted in [illegible] prising and unfortunate failure of the almost unanimous [illegible] ment among the most enlightened portion of the public to se[illegible] cure a measure which it has consistently favored, it may be [illegible] able to recapitulate the arguments from which has been [illegible] the conclusion that the division of competitive traffic or the [illegible] ings therefrom among the various railways whose lines are avail[illegible] able for its transportation, in proportions fixed by a common agree[illegible] ment, is, under present conditions, an absolutely essential [illegible] in any scheme for the mitigation of the evils of the present rail[illegible] way situation that can be satisfactorily successful.

The nature of the business of furnishing railway facilities [illegible] such that it can be competitive as to comparatively but few in[illegible] dividuals, including those only who are located at or near [illegible] served by two or more independent railways. In its relation [illegible] other individuals, and to all localities provided with less [illegible] facilities for transportation, the railway corporation [illegible] monopoly privilege, and, in the absence of effective legal [illegible] its charges are limited, if at all, solely by the requirement [illegible] by enlightened self-interest that they shall not prevent [illegible] ment of traffic. In practice, this theoretical limitation [illegible] quently disregarded, and the rates prescribed are practically [illegible] hibitive. The most obvious examples of this are found [illegible] region south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, and [illegible] Mississippi river. The railways serving this section [illegible] lated their rate schedules in accordance with a purpose [illegible] freely acknowledged and warmly defended, to foster [illegible] or jobbing business of certain cities, and to compel [illegible] of all other cities and towns to purchase their [illegible] favored cities, while restricting the sales of [illegible] cated in the places discriminated against to [illegible] sary to supply the retail demand of [illegible]

Though competition among railways might, of course, be confined to the facilities for safe or rapid transportation offered by the different companies, it is usually carried on by means of offers to perform similar services for varying compensation. Its tendency is to reduce the charges for transportation between localities served by two or more carriers, while, at the same time, preserving the average rate of all charges by the maintenance of relatively unreasonable rates for the movement of non-competitive business. Serious discriminations against localities served by a single carrier are the natural and inevitable result. Even at the comparatively few points at which there is actual competition among independent and rival railways, the benefits of the contests for traffic are rarely distributed among the general public with even approximate equality. In consequence of the modern specialization of industrial functions, the larger interests at such points are usually, if not invariably, concentrated in a few lines of production. Considerations relating to the convenience of the railways, as well as to that of their patrons, naturally impel the former to provide special equipment for the transportation of the traffic supplied by such interests, and this, together with the magnitude of the business they furnish, renders it the especial object of whatever competition may occur. Under ordinary circumstances, competition among sellers finds expression in a series of offers to supply the particular commodity vended at varying prices, this series of offers finally resulting in a practically uniform price which approximates the cost of production of the last increment of supply for which there is an effective demand. Such offers are open to all, and do not vary with regard to the individual to whom they are made. Among railways, and it may parenthetically be noted, at times among highly centralized lines of production generally, such is not the ordinary course of competition. Open offers would speedily result in uniform charges, and traffic would seek the lines naturally best adapted to convey each particular shipment. Each line attempts, therefore, to keep secret its concessions to shippers, and, in order to do so, makes them to particular patrons only. Hence arise unjust discriminations, upon which are built up extortionate profits, and finally enormous industrial combinations, which in turn are able effectively to demand favors in the adjustment of railway charges and to dictate the terms upon which they will purchase transportation. No one has better ex-

pressed these facts than Hon. Martin A[illegible] chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, [illegible] of one of the best studies of railway problems [illegible] said:

"The ultimate effect of preferential rates is to concentrate the commerce of the country in a few hands. The favored shipper, who is usually the large shipper, is furnished with a weapon against which skill, energy and experience are alike unavailing. When the natural advantages of capital are augmented by exemptions from charges commonly imposed, it becomes powerful enough to force all rivals from the field. If we could unearth the secrets of these modern 'trusts,' whose surprising exploits excite such wide apprehension, we should find an explanation of their amazing growth in the systematic methods by which they have evaded the burdens of transportation. The reduced charges which they have obtained, sometimes by favoritism and oftener by force, account in great measure for the colossal gains which they have accumulated. This is the sleight of hand by which the marvel has been produced, the key to the riddle which has amazed and alarmed the nation. If these combinations were deprived of special and exclusive rates there is little doubt that they would be shorn of their greatest strength and lose their dangerous supremacy. Indeed, I think it scarcely too much to say that no alliance of capital, no [illegible] of productive forces, would prove of real, or at least permanent, [illegible] if rigidly subjected to just and impartial charges for public transportation."

An effect similar to that of unjust discriminations among the patrons of a single line may be produced among those of competing railways if the rate schedules of the latter prescribe different charges for like and contemporaneous services. For example, if among two or more individuals who simultaneously ship equal quantities of the same commodity from the same place to the same destination, one secures the transportation at a lower aggregate cost, the commercial disadvantage resulting to the others is neither more nor less, whether the routes traversed by the various shipments are identical or otherwise. For similar reasons it is not of the least importance to the residents of a district competing with those of some other district for the privilege [illegible] plying a particular community with some [illegible] whether the relatively unjust rate which deprives [illegible] of opportunity in the market common to both is [illegible] formed by a line owned or operated by the corporation [illegible] railway the traffic from the unfairly favored [illegible] It follows that it is essential to the equitable [illegible] aggregate cost of transportation, not only that [illegible] charge similar rates for similar services, but [illegible] combinations of railways which offer to [illegible]

enlightened perception on the part of those officials havin
of railways, that the future of such properties is invar
pendent upon the development of the territory contig
tributary to their lines, and that such development is la
pendent upon cheap transportation, can be considered an
cause. The genuine competition of trade, and not th
competition of transportation, is the cause with which th
in railway charges can be logically connected. Persis
powerful pressure is constantly exerted to secure conce
rates, in order to place particular producing regions upon
footing in markets already reached, or to extend the are
they can supply. Such concessions, however slight, may
ficient to enable one region to monopolize a market form
mon to several, and thus lead to demands upon other
reaching the market from different directions. The suga
waii and that of Germany and Cuba find common ma
the United States, and whether the sale of one or both
districts shall be profitable, or the reverse, is wholly a qu
transportation rates. Salt from Michigan and Kansas
Iowa and other states on similar conditions, as do ma
commodities in various portions of the country. Compet
pers in the same locality are constantly endeavoring to obt
favorable rates than those accorded to their rivals, and
these may be, under present conditions, temporarily sec
not infrequently lead to open reductions. The use of p
commodities is often limited territorially by the freight
from the points of production to those of consumption, a
charges are too high on certain articles, substitutes p
nearer the points of consumption, or carried at lower freig
are frequently used. The charges for passenger transp
also, by limiting the distance which agents may profitably
or purchasers traverse, and otherwise hindering personal
nication, effectively prescribe the limits of profitable inte
of commodities and interfere with the territorial division
In consequence of these facts, the whole force of commerc
petition, the most amazing and tremendous product of
industrial and economic organization, is arrayed in a co
effort to secure ever cheapening transportation. As a res
way charges tend uninterruptedly toward the lowest r
will produce a revenue sufficient in the aggregate to meet

ing expenses, including necessary repairs and renewals, and, in addition, return to capital the lowest recompense for which it can be procured. As the latter is at any particular time a definite and ascertainable sum, it is evident that expenses of operation constitute the only controllable element. Here is found a barrier which legislative attempts to secure railway competition have erected against further reductions in charges being made possible by the inauguration of extensive economies in operation. There is thus imposed upon the public the burden of supporting, by rates otherwise unnecessarily high, this peculiar form of competition, that is profitable to no one, and, as has been shown, is the prolific parent of unjust discriminations. Some of the wasteful expenses incident to competition may be enumerated. Authentic statistics of the amounts paid by rival lines as commissions for securing business are very difficult to obtain, as the success of such practices depends very largely upon the degree of secrecy that it is possible to attain. The Interstate Commerce Commission was able to ascertain, however, that nine roads paid out an aggregate sum of more than one million dollars in a single year as commissions on passenger business alone. It is stated on reliable authority that as much as $20.70 has been paid to secure a single second-class passenger from Chicago to San Francisco. The multitude of outside agencies and travelling agents, maintained solely for the purpose of securing business for their respective lines that might otherwise go by those of their competitors, involves an expenditure so great, even during periods of comparative harmony, that it has been necessary to restrict their numbers by contract. The agreement now in force limits to eight the number of these agencies that may be maintained in the city of New York by each of the nine roads competing for through west-bound traffic. As it is a fact of ordinary observation that such agencies invariably cluster in particular portions of the city, and around particular corners, it is obvious that under a system of joint agencies, the public could be accorded superior service at lower cost. During the too frequent periods of wholly unbridled competition, popularly denominated "rate-wars," each participating road has its freight and passenger agents in nearly every important city in the country, at a total expense for rents, clerk hire, advertising, etc., that must be enormous. Four roads operating westward from Chicago are known to have expended

over a million and a quarter dollars for
vertising in a single year during which
tained, while during an equal period one
expended $871,291 for similar purposes. The
long, circuitous, and otherwise excessively costly
fic that would naturally traverse cheaper and
is another gross extravagance too frequently
Omaha and St. Paul, with a short line distance
traffic is carried by a line 734 miles in length. From
New York, 21 routes—ranging from 912 to 1,376
pete for traffic, while between Omaha and San Franc
five, of which the shortest is 1,865 and the longest
Besides the numerous regular and "tramp" steams
for shipments from New York to New Orleans, more
all-rail lines are actively seeking to share in the bu
most direct of these is 1,340 miles in length, or 711
than the longest. As an example of the waste of
train service, it is not necessary to add anything
statement that forty-four trains leave Chicago each
York, and that similar duplication of service exists
country. No intelligent student of transportation
whenever it becomes possible, by means of the adop
principles as the basis of regulative legislation, to el
the cost of railway operation these economically usele
ful expenditures, the saving thus effected will accrue
of the general public, through the reductions in rat
be then permitted to result from the action and inter
commercial forces hereinbefore described.

Having reviewed with some care the facts an
which, together with a knowledge of the present,
tive, limits of possible legislation, imposed by intelli
tism, long ago caused enlightened public sentiment
crystallize in favor of the re-establishment, under
tions, of the pooling system, it will be of some utili
the obstacles that have so far prevented any
expression in accordance with that sentiment.
sion has been principally prevented by causes
fied and characterized as: (a) The unwarrant
strenuous conservatism of certain railway
(b) the honest ignorance of a portion of the

of the law, upon the validity of the [illegible] the wisdom of this particular form of [illegible] enactment. Without entering upon any [illegible] ciency of ordinary judicial processes to [illegible] powers of railway officials, it may be declared, [illegible] that the people will not consent to be finally [illegible] processes for the redress of their real or fancied [illegible] railway corporations. The Interstate Commerce law having prac- tically failed to supplement, in a satisfactory manner, the means for relief previously available, it is impossible to believe that the people will cease to demand substantial supervision of interstate railways, or that Congress will acknowledge its impotence to exer- cise, in adequate measure, its Constitutional authority to regulate commerce among the several states. Though effective legislation may unquestionably be delayed, such action will scarcely abate the intensity of the public sentiment in its favor, nor mitigate its eventual rigor. The practical question for the most conserva- tive owner or manager of railway property to decide is not whether the operation of the properties in his charge shall be subject to Federal regulation, but rather, what form such regulation shall assume. The latter is, as yet, an open question, and at the pres- ent time the influence of those in charge of such properties may have controlling force in determining the decision. Their advice, frankly, promptly, and ingenuously given, may be, it is even likely to be, heeded. But if it is too long deferred, if they struggle too obstinately or yield too grudgingly, they may see, not only the serious impairment of the property rights for the preservation of which they contend, but the inauguration also of experiments pregnant with danger to the Republic. The impracticability of attempts to regulate railway business by means of a commission being once definitely established, or, what to many may seem the same thing, its success so long postponed as to outwear the pa- tience of the people, the next, the inevitable, and [illegible] servatives may discreetly fear, the unfortunate and [illegible] step, will be to the government ownership and [illegible] railway facilities of the country. The alternative is [illegible] railway men should long hesitate to accept. [illegible] increased or their revenues permanently [illegible] the interchange of commodities and the [illegible] but by encouraging the territorial division [illegible]

ing the development of the resources of the regions tributary to their respective lines. Their interests lie not only in dealing justly with the people and in seeking an adjustment of their charges that treats different and competing communities and citizens with both absolute and relative equity, but, also, in securing the most ample public confidence in the integrity of their intentions. Few will assert that the president, or the traffic manager, or other rate-making official of a particular road is the one individual certain to take the broadest and wisest view of the questions, not infrequently of vital public importance, which may arise in connection with the amount to be charged for almost any service that can be performed by the company for which he acts. The data in his possession may be meagre; he may be affected by acquired prejudices; or, though men of small ability are rarely prominent in railway business, his capacity may be moderate. While permitting him to act in the first instance, the endowment of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with the limited rate-making authority that has been suggested and to which the other proposed powers are mere adjuncts, would supplement his authority by that of a board of impartial and unbiased experts, whose function, in this particular, would be to review such of his conclusions as became the subject of complaint, and to arbitrate upon them between the railway corporation and the public, by whom the functions of the latter have been delegated. Such a board and the willingness of railway corporations to submit their rate-making power to its supervision would seemingly strengthen, in public estimation, the position of such corporations and create confidence in the substantial equity of their demands, or at least, in the uprightness of their intentions. It is exceedingly difficult to discover any valid objections to the creation of such a board of expert arbitrators which, when advanced by railway managers, are consistent with the belief that those who urge them do not desire to exact unreasonable compensation for the services they supply. They will not claim that by accepting such arbitration they would surrender any substantial power to determine their own charges, for the most enlightened of them have admitted have indeed founded able and convincing arguments upon the fact as a premise, that the exercise of the rate-making power nominally possessed by them is invariably subject to limitations imposed by commercial conditions wholly external to the railway system, and

against which they would vainly [illegible]
returns. While the legal restrictions now [illegible]
the rates on competitive traffic enjoyed by [illegible]
rier are also effectively controlled by their rival [illegible]
imminent danger of demoralization as the result of [illegible]
which paramount advantage lies with the line which [illegible]
has temporarily eliminated the necessity of earning interest upon
its funded debt. For this situation railways and [illegible]
might well prefer to substitute an agency which would [illegible]
their mutual interests, by fixing all rates upon a basis [illegible]
alike to those who pay and to those who collect them.

Opposition arising from what has been called the honest ig-
norance of a portion of the public is rapidly disappearing, as a
consequence of the liberal education resulting from the worse
than failure of the anti-pooling clause of the Interstate Commerce
law. Such opposition has been, principally, the consequence of
the unreasoned popular prejudice against those combinations
which are rather indefinitely grouped under the term "monopoly,"
as it is commonly applied, a prejudice resulting in a large degree
from the acceptance as axiomatic of the maxim which declares that
competition is the life of trade. Skilfully played upon by cor-
rupt and selfish demagogues, the consequences of this prejudice
include provisions of constitutional and statutory law, both na-
tional and state, which have retarded harmonious railway devel-
opment, and seriously impaired the public services rendered by
railway facilities. Under similar provocation it yet lingers in cer-
tain sections, a curious rather than a dangerous relic of an un-
wholesome and evil force now nearly extinct. That the public will
insist upon the permanent maintenance of a wasteful, [illegible]
and uneconomic competition among the various portions of what
should be a thoroughly co-ordinated and harmonious sys-
tem, when such competition has ceased to be more than [illegible]
and baneful fetich, a justification of higher charges [illegible]
otherwise be required, and the prolific parent of [illegible]
nations, is not to be believed.

The most powerful, and, in many respects, the [illegible]
oppositon to railway pooling under any and all [illegible]
from the selfish interests of a class that is always [illegible]
intelligently active to take advantage of the [illegible]
to secure increased profits. Attention has already [illegible]

difficult to secure definite information regarding the practices by which illegal favors are granted, important facts concerning some of them have been made public through legislative and judicial investigations. Recalling the testimony of a railway official before the "Hepburn" committee of the New York Legislature that rebates were paid to Mr. A. T. Stewart in order to "build up and develop" his business, it will be of interest to cite some fragments of the evidence that shows in what manner the Standard Oil Company has attained its present mastery of the business in which it is engaged. A principal official of one of the leading trunk lines of the country testified, in 1879, that "we stated to the outside refiners that we would make lower rates to the Standard Oil Company than they got." Similarly, an official of one of the Pacific roads declared, during 1887, that the oil combination "from the time it acquired the oil business on this coast had lower rates than the general tariff provided, or than other shippers paid on coal oil." When an independent refiner at Marietta, Ohio, sought to compete with the Standard Oil Company, the rates charged for bringing crude petroleum to his refineries was placed at thirty-five cents per barrel, while his great competitor secured identical service for ten cents per barrel. This discrimination was forced from the railway by means of a threat on the part of the oil trust to construct a competing pipe line if it were refused, and if the social consequences of the application of such principles to railway rate-making were less serious would be rendered almost humorous by the additional fact, elicited in the course of judicial proceedings, that twenty-five cents of the thirty-five cents per barrel paid by the independent refiner to the railway corporation were by the latter transferred to the oil combination, as a further consideration for its refraining from the construction of a pipe line. The hopelessness of competition among producers under such conditions needs no comment, yet it is to secure such result that the aphorism "competition is the life of trade" is made a rule of action in legislative attempts to regulate the business of interstate transportation. No one would suppose that the beneficiaries of unjust discriminations would not seek to prevent an enactment that would make them more difficult or impossible to obtain, and we are not surprised therefore to find the trusts unanimously, though, so far as possible, secretly, working to prevent the legalization of railway pools. If separate

carriers could enter into agreements for the equitable division of competitive business and to secure the enforcement of such agreements could obtain the aid of the Federal courts, they could no longer be compelled to accept the business of even the strongest shipper or combinations of shippers upon terms dictated by the latter. Instead of independent and inharmonious corporations, each ready to become an agency to demoralize the traffic and earnings of the others, the railways of the United States would constitute a compact, homogeneous system, presenting, toward all shippers, an aspect of undeviating fairness and unyielding unity, not to be destroyed by the attacks of those whose selfish interests demand the perpetuation of the principal evils, the correction of which constitutes the main railway problem of the present time.

Current opposition to that form of railway pooling which constitutes the single essential preliminary to the railway reforms now most necessary is practically included within the classes enumerated. One may well hope that the belated ignorance which, in spite of the amplest evidence to the contrary, still insists that there can be genuine competition among railways, and that such competition has substantial regulative value, will soon cease to be an effective agency for the maintenance of conditions that result in unjust discriminations which are mainly beneficial to those whose efforts are directed toward the suppression of competition in trade, and that, after full consideration, railway owners and managers will perceive the wisdom of accepting, together with permission to make contracts for the division of their traffic, whatever degree of effective Federal regulation may be necessary to satisfy a reasonable public. When these things have been accomplished, the combinations of capitalists that destroy competition in trade and banish real individualism in industry, will have little power further to retard the most substantial step toward the solution of the problem of railway rates that has yet received general support, though their efforts to do so will no doubt be as secret, as vigorous, and as tireless as ever.

H. T. NEWCOMB.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

BY THE REV. J. P. JONES, D.D., MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD, AT MADURA, SOUTH INDIA.

THE history of England's contact with India during the last century and a half is the record of, perhaps, the most stupendous work accomplished by any nation in the progress of the human race.

The writer, an American citizen, has spent the last two decades amid the thrilling scenes of this work, has studied it with keen interest and has participated in its blessings. To one who has enjoyed, and is still enjoying, these privileges, the failure of many in the United States to appreciate this work of Great Britain, and their persistent determination to charge her with supreme selfishness and inhumanity in her Indian rule, seem inexplicable.

The writer holds no brief for the Anglo-Indian; nor is he ignorant of the weaknesses of that dignitary. But he is convinced that few men are doing a larger work, under adverse circumstances, for the progress of the human race than this same self-exiled Britisher among an alien race.

I.

To appreciate England's work in India one must realize its immense difficulty. Here, then, are about thirty-five million people, reaching across more than seven thousand miles of watery space to grasp a land which is more than twelve times the size of their home land, and half as large as the whole of the United States. Within this semi-continent, this foreign race exercises supreme power over a people eight times its own number—a population which embraces fully one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. Nor is this vast population homogeneous. It is the home of a large number of conflicting tribes and nations, speaking different

sanitary precautions in this land have been [illegible] of faith and the ruin of the soul. When [illegible] with dirt, to antagonize progress and health [illegible] try, it is high time that the government [illegible] struggle in behalf of its own safety. The [illegible] manifestations of disloyalty in three of the [illegible] testify to this, and add to the already numerous [illegible] the country affords that the rule of the East by the West [illegible] exceedingly difficult and dangerous matter.

The striking contrast of type and character existing between the Anglo-Saxon and the Hindu, facilitates all sorts of misunderstanding between them, and aids perceptibly in making the path of the British Raj a very thorny one in the land. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find two peoples who are farther [illegible] from each other in temperament and training—whose natures and antecedents are more irreconcilable at all points. While the Anglo-Indian is bold, frank and just, even to brutality, the Hindu is subtle, affable, too practiced in dissimulation, with ready susceptibilities to temporize and to barter justice for expediency. On the one side, we see the Westerner haughty, unyielding and unwilling to conciliate; on the other we behold the Oriental willing to be trampled upon, when it seems necessary, and to smile with apparent gratitude under the process; but, withal, possessed of a large inheritance of ineradicable prejudices, which make a contact with his too domineering Western lord an unceasing trial to him. Perhaps the most marvelous thing about an Englishman in a foreign land, is his unwillingness to adapt himself to the people or the clime of his new habitation. He clings with tenacity to his home ideas and habits, as if they were of universal application. He adheres with rigid faithfulness to his ale, whiskey and [illegible] tropical clime, when every rule of health cries aloud against [illegible]. An Englishman died not far from where the writer [illegible] It was an unnatural death, and the natives of that region [illegible] shrine in the jungle, near the place of his decease, [illegible] years, in true sobriety, whiskey and cheroots to appease [illegible] and unsatisfied spirit. It is not strange that the [illegible] recognize a continuity of spirit-taste in the here [illegible] of the Sahib.

Another point at which the two races are [illegible] general aspect. The Britisher is a progressive [illegible]

only needs to be assured that a certain course is right and for the best interest of the community in order to adopt it. His face ever looks upward and his ambition is ever to go forward. But here he lives among a race whose chief divinity is custom, and the gist of whose decalogue is, "Hold fast to the past." As they approach a proposed enterprise their first and last question concerning it is not whether it is right and best, but whether it is in a line with the past, and would be approved by their ancestors. The whole country has been anchored for the last twenty-five centuries to a code of social laws and customs which are more unyielding than the laws of the Medes and Persians. Manu and his laws have thus been the curse of the ages to them. Among a people the chief ambition of whose young men is to be like their grandfathers, and where conservatism is the acme of piety and propriety, it is no wonder that, during the last century, all progress has been practically forced upon the country from without, and in the teeth of their most sacred institutions and their most earnest protestation and opposition.

It had doubtless been well for the Anglo-Indian in India, had he had an occasional eye for the excellences and prejudices of the Orient, and had he not been so cock sure of his supreme wisdom and unquestionable superiority in all points wherein he differed from the Hindu, and had he not so frequently trifled with the deepest sentiments and ridden roughshod over the dearest customs of the Hindu. But his experience has not been in vain, and he is not what he once was in this particular; even though this weakness is now regarded by the Hindu as the most serious complaint against him. At the same time, it must be confessed that a large compliance with the most deep rooted and universal customs and prejudices of the land would render an advanced and progressive government all but impossible.

Another of the serious embarrassments which stand ready to overwhelm any attempt at an able and effective rulein this land, is the deep poverty of the people.

"It is finance which lies at the base of every difficulty connected with our Indian Empire," is the sapient remark of Sir Charles Dilke. And at the base of the financial difficulty lies the penury of the people. Great Britain is not prepared to administer the affairs of state in India from the same motives as keep in operation its Christian missions—from a self-denying benevolence. Nor does

it seem that a much cheaper administration would be either good or economical. She must find a *quid pro quo*; and the large number of men of fine training, integrity and administrative power whom she sends out to this far off tropical land must be paid adequately, if not handsomely, for their toil, danger and exile. It is a very doubtful question whether, beyond a reduction in the army, and a lessening of the high salaries of native officials, England could safely bring down the expenses of its present *régime*. And yet it is true that the country is groaning under the burden, and can ill afford so expensive a government. It is a well known and lamentable fact that one-fifth of the whole population, say 60,000,000, or a total nearly equal the population of the United States, are insufficiently fed, even in ordinary years of prosperity. They are the ever ready prey of the first drought, distress or famine that may happen. It is a not uncommon experience of the ryot to retire at night upon an empty stomach.

It does not help, but rather aggravates, the situation to be told that most of this evil which the people bear is self-imposed. They reveal a combination of blind improvidence, reckless expenditure and an unwillingness to shake off impoverishing customs. For instance, the debt incurring propensity of the native is akin to insanity. Hardly a member of the community is free from debt. In fact, it is believed by the ordinary man here that a debt incurred is a true badge of respectability. All the poor people with whom the writer is acquainted are tied hand and foot to this terrible millstone. And the interest paid is crushing. An employee once told the writer of his terrible burdens. One was an interest of one rupee paid monthly on a sum of *Rs. 30, borrowed in distress. The interest had then been paid regularly for several years and was not considered an exceptional rate, neither, indeed, is it. The hereditary village money lender is a most rapacious and heartless Shylock. It is rare that a poor farmer who gets into his clutches escapes the dreadful bondage. It usually leads to the loss of all property and means of support. Under the ancient Hindu law, no money lender could recover interest on a loan beyond the amount of principal which he had advanced. Under the present rule he can recover to any amount, sell the tenant's crop, and even take possession of the land under a judgment decree. It is one of those instances where justice in law is made to admin-

* A rupee is nominally worth 40 cents but is actually worth only 30 cents.

according to the last census, are engaged [illegible] living at an annual expense of nearly thirty [illegible] is a much larger force of workmen than [illegible] in the land. All this vast treasury of gold is [illegible] tive property and leads to much litigation and to many [illegible].

The litigious spirit of the people also is phenomenal. It is doubtful whether any other people on earth spend, relative to their means, in legal processes, more than Hindus. It would sometimes seem as if the lawyer, whose name is legion, is, next to the money lender, the most highly favored man in the land.

In view of all these facts, Sir W. W. Hunter's statement that "the permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves," is eminently true. And it is further emphasized by the following remark of Sir Madhava Ras, K. C. S. I., one of the very few statesmen that India has produced among its own children: "The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu community."

But it is not so much the cause or causes of this universal poverty, as it is the existence of it, which concerns us at present. In the midst of such widespread and oppressing impecuniosity, it is doubtful whether there is enough wealth in the land to pay for so expensive a luxury as an intelligent, honest, efficient government. And yet we are convinced, notwithstanding the loud-mouthed protests of the enemies of Great Britain in this land, and the warning of some of her friends, too, that the highest prosperity of India and her ultimate redemption from indigence, also, must for a long time to come spring not from a cheapened native administration, but from the most efficient and vigilant and progressive *régime* that Great Britain can produce. The natural resources of the country are great and must be developed, and the people raised, even against their will, to a higher life by the [illegible] and progressive Anglo-Saxon.

Above and beyond these difficulties lies that of the [illegible] crease of population, which, under the peace, protection [illegible] tary improvements of the State, is a growing [illegible] Every Ramasamy thinks that, whatever other [illegible] tions may be withheld from him, a wife or two [illegible]

right, and the procreation of his kind a God-given duty which he must not ignore. Moreover, it is regarded that no greater curse can befall a girl here below than that of not being asked in marriage, and no misfortune equal to that of barrenness. The consequence is that few young men and no grown up girls are found unmarried. The thought whether a bridegroom is able to support, or ever will be able to support, his wife and the inevitable family is to them absolutely irrelevant at such a time. Alas! how many times the writer has seen a bright girl tied for life to an imbecile to propagate his imbecility; and others sold in bondage to disease-rotted husbands only to disseminate, through their wretched offspring, the penalty of the father's or grandfather's sins. Thus millions of people thoughtlessly and criminally rush into the realm of parentage, only to multiply their miserable and unworthy kind, and to foist them upon an already crowded land to be a care and a burden to the State. The observing philosopher in India often asks himself whether Malthus was not, after all, right, and whether his theory might not find wise application in this land. At all events, the present outlook is alarming, as it points to a no distant future when the three hundred millions of to-day shall become doubled and the problem of life shall be vastly more complicated. And yet this difficulty confronts the State as a direct result of its success in the preservation of countless human lives that have been thrust upon it by unworthy people, and, in most cases, under the stress of senseless social customs and false religious teachings.

Famine, also, is an oft recurring and most perplexing evil with which this land has always been familiar. In times past it was the gaunt avenger which decimated the people and kept down the population within the range of tolerable existence. And the god of dirt and insanitation carried away the unneeded residue left by famine.

This is one of the very few great evils before which human power stands helpless. It is true, as we shall again see, that the government has done very much by irrigation schemes and by the building of railways to mitigate this evil. By famine funds and relief works it also strives, as it did in the last famine, to reduce the mortality and suffering arising from these seasons of drought. But the constant penury of the people and their ever living upon the verge of hunger and want, make it now impossible to save many

from the terrible result of the visitations. It is a comfort, however, to know that every year means progress in the matter, and tends, through large and conscientious efforts of the State, to make each succeeding famine less dreadful in aspect and result than the preceding one. Perhaps there is no other thing which occupies at present more of the time and thought of the imperial government than this. But to drive entirely away this gaunt demon from a land which is peculiarly liable to drought, and while the people are chronically unprepared to meet the least extra drain, is more than can be expected from any government.

It may not be out of place to mention here a difficulty of the Indian Government against which it has sometimes struggled in vain. This is a commercial one and arises from the conflicting interests of Great Britain and India. And it is also the direct result of allowing the British Parliament to subordinate the well-being of India to party interests and local commercial advantages. It must remain a disgrace to Great Britain, because a flagrant injustice to India, if she allows her legislation to be shaped and the hands of the Indian Government to be tied in response to the greed and at the beck of Lancashire manufacturers. The cotton interests of this land have more than once been thus sacrificed. And the Indian Government only recently protested against this injustice, and maintained, what is becoming more and more accepted in England, that the British Parliament must impose upon her great dependency no law or dictum which may in any way prove detrimental to its commercial interests. The Indian Government has certainly enough to contend with, without being subjected to such limitations from without.

J. P. JONES.

(*To be continued.*)

afflicted with hysterical disorders, have [illegible] to normal health by such stimulus; (2.) [illegible] they will be first to admit, not having yet [illegible] of medical or psychical knowledge, are fallible, and [illegible] errors of diagnosis; (3.) the *vis medicatrix* [illegible] and, if there should be called to the treatment of a sick [illegible] two ignorant and incompetent persons, one a gloomy believer in dosing by rule, the other merely a cheerful prophet, the latter would be, probably, the more helpful, or at least the less dangerous; (4.) Socrates, Galileo, Jenner and many other persons met with opposition in promulgating truth, just as Simon, the sorcerer, Jack Cade, Cagliostro and other impostors eventually came to grief in their propaganda of lies.

These concessions are made because, in the writer's experience, no charlatan or enthusiast has yet appeared before a legislative committee to plead for the substitution of ignorance in place of medical learning, whose argument has not been, in substance, this: There are mysterious powers not possessed or fully understood by physicians, who frequently make grave mistakes; cures often follow the ministrations of clairvoyants, mediums, mind and faith curers; new truth is always opposed; therefore, medical practice should be untrammelled, and every one, regardless of character, intelligence, education or training, should be permitted to engage in the business of treating the sick for hire. A postulate must also be laid down, and he who denies it need read no further; the acceptance of new doctrines, or of old ideas revamped, by a large number of persons, of whom some may be very intelligent, is not of itself sufficient reason for general acceptance of such doctrines or ideas, or for toleration of practices founded upon them; especially if the former be contrary to ordinary experience and observation, and the latter be injurious to the [illegible] health, morals or safety. It was happily said by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, of Bishop Berkeley's belief in tar water [illegible] for pretty nearly all the ills of man, that it "exhibits [illegible] insufficiency of exalted wisdom, immaculate honesty, [illegible] general acquirements to make a good physician of a [illegible] while, of Berkeley himself, the wise and witty Doctor [illegible] was an illustrious man, but he held two very odd [illegible] tar water was everything and that the [illegible] nothing."

Public health laws, including therein statutes regulating medical practice, should be and are framed solely to protect the public, by providing against such harmful practices as adulterations of food and drugs, the spread of contagious diseases, maintenance of unsanitary conditions and medical treatment of the sick by unqualified persons. That the state may constitutionally and justly exercise its police power to protect health is by adjudication established beyond cavil, and by common consent so thoroughly accepted that if a pest-house or open cess-pool were established near the residence of the founder of Christian Science, she would doubtless apply, successfully, to the Courts or the Health Board to abate the nuisance, notwithstanding her teaching that a "calm Christian state of mind is a better preventive of contagion than a drug, or any possible sanative method."* The justification of medical licensing laws is that the overwhelming majority of sensible men, at all times, have believed that knowledge and training are essential to qualify a man to cope with disease; and, for this reason, the highest courts of many States and the Supreme Court of the United States, in Dent's case,† have affirmed the constitutional power of a State to enact laws forbidding unqualified persons to practice medicine, and establishing general tests of such qualification.

This is not the occasion to review the Medical Acts of the several States. It is enough to say that none of them prohibits or prescribes any special system of therapeutics or practice. To do that would block scientific progress and discourage investigation. It is not for legislatures to say how either bodies or souls shall be cured, to enact pharmacopoeias into statutes or crystallize theories, medical or religious, into law. But it is entirely right and proper for them to declare that no man shall enter upon the business of treating the sick until he is of full age and has shown, upon examination, that he has studied for a prescribed time, and acquired competent knowledge of those branches of true science, familiarity with which is, by universal consent, necessary to equip one into whose hands life and health are to be committed—physiology, anatomy, surgery, obstetrics, hygiene, chemistry, pathology, diagnosis. The licensed medical practitioner may act

* Misc. Works, p. 229. Where in these foot notes only a page is cited the reference is to "*Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*," the text-book of the cult.

† Dent v. West Virginia, 129 U. S. 114.

in any case upon any theory of therapeutics commending itself to his judgment; allopathy—if there be such a theory—homeopathy, hydropathy, electropathy, vitapathy, venopathy, osteopathy, Baunscheidtismus, magnetic healing, the Christian science of Mrs. Eddy, the pagan science of the Voodoo Queen, or a general Eclecticism.

In short, the law aims, and should aim, to require, as the only prerequisite of a medical license, satisfactory proof that the candidate is of good character and average equipment through study and training. In New York, for example, there are three Boards of Medical Examiners, representing the regular practitioners, and the Homeopathic and Eclectic Schools. Examinations are uniform in physiology, anatomy, and all the other branches of science above enumerated, wherein there is no medical schism. In therapeutics, where opinions diverge, candidates for license may demand examination according to their schools. Rhode Island's Supreme Court said lately, in Mylod's case,* by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, that Christian Scientists, were they held to be practitioners of medicine, would be entitled under the constitution of that State to a separate Board of Examiners—offering this as one argument for not holding them to be such practitioners. But why should not Christian Scientists, who make a business of attempting to cure the sick, be required to submit to examination in general medical science, quite as much as homeopaths from whose loins they have sprung, going, as do candidates from other schools, before their own board in therapeutics? It is said that they give no drugs, but they must and do make diagnosis,‡ and their "Mother" says that they often give medicine.§ Is it unreasonable to infer that their actual objections to being classed as medical practitioners subject to license are: (1.) that to prepare for examination requires years of study in real science; (2.) that no one with a fair knowledge of the human economy, and equipped to practice medicine intelligently, would adopt the vagaries of their *pseudo* science?

* State v. Mylod. 40 Atl., 753.

‡ Although Christian Scientists deny, in order to escape prosecution under medical laws, that they make diagnosis of disease, yet upon their own theory they must do so; for their teacher bids them mentally to *address by name* [illegible] to be treated, and argue with it. They sometimes call "diagnosis" [illegible] and Mrs. Eddy says of herself. "I have discerned disease in the [illegible] recognized the patient's fear of it many weeks before the so-called [illegible] appearance in the body. . . . *I am never mistaken in my* [illegible] *of disease.*" (P. 194.)

§ "Departing from my instruction, many learners commend [illegible] *They even administer medicine for certain diseases* [illegible] the cure which they think to complete with mind!" (P. [illegible])

Another reason why this text-book [illegible] as containing oracles of wisdom is, that [illegible] Holmes's katydid, says "an undisputed thing [illegible] way;" for example, that those who are sick [illegible] sick, should be cheered up; that fear strongly [illegible] and even predisposes the timid to the sickness [illegible] of; that children should not be coddled over-much [illegible] ought to be good; trite sayings all, but to the thought[illegible] revelations.

Yet another reason that commends the book and [illegible] to the credulous is their boastful assurance of [illegible] Reputable practitioners of medicine or law do not insur[illegible] Undoubtedly, however, such assurance inspires hope, esp[illegible] credulous minds. Mrs. Eddy does not hesitate to say [illegible] cures the hundred cases where physicians lose the [illegible] nine;* and her disciples have been known to give equal a[illegible] to a patient already in the death agony.

A review of these books might be entertaining, and ev[illegible] able, if it served to enlighten any who may have acc[illegible] "Science" without study of its genesis, by showing ho[illegible] the time-worn speculation of idealism that matter does [illegible] apart from mind, a lady of Lynn, Mass., has spun a w[illegible] coherent words† contradicting themselves on every page [illegible] so attractive to the credulous as to form the nucleus of a [illegible] of an excellent source of revenue for the writer, and for [illegible] her disciples who, in absolute ignorance of medical [illegible] sume to cure every human malady; not only treating [illegible]

verses from one of them, "Isle of Wight," (p. 30), may serve to illustr[illegible] lucid thought and style:

> "Soul, sublime 'mid human débris
> Paints the limner's work, I ween,
> Art and Science, all unweary,
> Lighting up the mortal dream."
>
> * * * * * * *

even helpless children, preventing the attendance of qualified medical men in critical cases, and even condemning observance of the rules of cleanliness, hygiene, diet and exercise. But with the metaphysics of the book we have here to do only in so far as it affects the practical system of treating the sick.

Originally, Mrs. Eddy seems to have been a homeopathist of the "high potency" faction, and to have been led by recognizing the medicinal inertness of high attenuations to her present theories.* She, herself, says: "Homeopathic remedies, sometimes not containing a particle of medicine, are known to relieve the symptoms of diseases. What works the cure? It is the faith of mortal mind that changes its own self-inflicted suffering, and produces a new effect upon the body."† This would be, at least, intelligible if she did not also teach that "there is really no such thing as mortal mind;"‡ that "disease is an impression originating in the unconscious mortal mind, and becoming at length a conscious belief that the body or matter suffers, ... a growth of illusion springing from a seed of thought, either your own thought or another's;"‖ that body "is the seedling that starts thought, and sends it to the brain for consciousness";§ that "the entire mortal body is evolved from mortal mind," so that a bunion would be insanity if mortal mind would only call the foot the brain;¶ that matter "is another name for mortal mind"** and "disappears under the microscope of spirit";†† and that pain, which is presumably suffering, is "a belief without an adequate cause."‡‡ We are also taught that "disease has no intelligence to move itself about or change itself from one form to another."‖‖ Taking again the sentence just quoted, and substituting these definitions for words, we have this remarkable result: "It is the faith of mortal mind (*i. e.*, nothing) that changes its own self-inflicted sufferings (*i. e.*, beliefs without adequate cause) and produces a new effect upon the body" (*i. e.*, an evolution of mortal mind, or nothing, which therefore is itself nothing.)

Before this jargon one may fancy the delighted new thinker, [illegible] Alice after reading the Jabberwock, gloriously filled [illegible] but entirely ignorant of the meaning. The most that [illegible] her theory is that disease does not exist save as a

[illegible] its Friends and its Foes." Annual address by Dr. H. M. [illegible] Homeopathic Medical Society of the State of New York, [illegible]

[illegible] ‖P. [illegible] ¶P. [illegible] **P. [illegible] ††P. 15. ‡‡P. [illegible] ‖‖P. [illegible]

false belief to be treated with argument; and the positive treatment of it is as follows: First of all, buy Mrs. Eddy's books and have the patient do so.* This will increase the circulation—of the book, if not of the patient. Next, deny that there is any disease, and make the patient agree with you. "Remember that all is mind and there is no matter. You are only seeing or feeling a belief, whether it be cancer, deformity, consumption, or fracture that you deal with."† Having thus established that the disease does not exist, you next proceed to "meet the incipient stage of disease with such powerful eloquence as a Congressman would employ to defeat the passage of an inhuman law."‡ No disease can stand that. Still more oddly, you are to call this disease, whose existence you deny, by name, but mentally, lest if the patient hear its name, his mortal mind will hold on to the disease; for, apparently, the mortal mind, which itself has no existence, although impressed by absent treatment and the reading of Mrs. Eddy's book, cannot let go any disease whose name is spoken out loud. But if you only address the disease mentally and speak the truth to it, "tumors, ulcers, tubercles, inflammation, pains and deformed backs. . . . all dream shadows, dark images of mortal thought, will flee before the light."‖ To the practical mind it would seem that the "healer" would need some medical knowledge to make his differential diagnosis of "ulcers" and "tumors," and to distinguish between abscess, aneurism, and other abnormal conditions. And if disease does not exist, and has no intelligence to move or change itself, it does seem a bad waste of time to have any discussion at all with it.

If this were all of Christian Science, it might do little or no harm. No one would object to letting a "Scientist" hold mental conversations with the patient's disease, or give "absent treatments," or encourage the sick to "look on the bright side." And a kindly soul would no more restrain a "Scientist" from playing with his metaphysics than he would interfere with a hopeful kitten that whirls in happy pursuit of its own elusive tail—always in sight, yet never quite attained. But it is the negative teachings of the so-called Science that render its disciples pestilent and dangerous to the public health. Declaring the incantations of the Esquimaux to be "as effective in cure of the sick as the *modus operandi* of civilized practitioners," Mrs. Eddy goes on to

*P. [illegible]. †P. [illegible]. ‡P. [illegible]. ‖P. 301.

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filth does not affect his happiness when mind and body [illegible] same basis."* "The Scientist takes the best care of his [illegible] when he leaves it most out of his thought, and like the Apostle Paul is 'willing rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord.'"† "The daily ablutions of an infant are no more natural and necessary than it would be to take a fish out of water once a day and cover it with dirt, in order to make it thrive more vigorously thereafter in its native element.‡ Medical study is harmful. "Anatomy, physiology, treatises on health—sustained by what is called material law—are the husbandmen of sickness and disease."‖ Proper clothing is unnecessary; for "you would never conclude that flannel is better than controlling Mind for warding off pulmonary disease, if you understood the Science of being."§ If one be only a Christian Scientist he "may expose himself in a state of perspiration to draughts of air without experiencing the usual ill effects;"¶ *i. e.*, Christian Science is prophylactic, and this is expressly asserted.**

The foregoing is all bad enough as to adults; but, when it concerns them only, something may be said in favor of the decision, cited by Puffendorf, in the case of a patient who sued a horse-doctor for blinding him by applying to his eyes the same ointment that was used for horses. The Cadi decided against the suitor, because: "If the Fellow," says he, "had not been an Ass, he had never applied himself to a Horse-Doctor."††

But what is to be said of such advice as this to mothers? "Mind can regulate the condition of the stomach, bowels, food, temperature of your child far better than matter can do so. Your views and those of other people on these subjects produce their good or bad results in the health of your child."‡‡ "Your child can have worms, if you say so, or whatever malady is timorously holden in your mind relative to the body. Thus you lay the foundation of disease and death, and educate your child into discord?‖‖ Even if a child is attacked by contagious disease, Mrs. Eddy attributes the cause to maternal fear.§§ Thus the mother is taught that her child's illness depends upon her fancy, and that neither physicians, remedies nor decent, cleanly care are necessary for its aid. And in the record of deaths resulting from the treatment of Christian Scientists, Faith Curers, Peculiar People, *et id genus*

* P. 354. † P. 355. ‡ P. 150. ‖ P. 183. § P. 180. ¶ P 314. ** P. 348. †† Puff. Book, V., Ch. IV. ‡‡ P. 158. ‖‖ P. 159. §§ P. 334.

omne, a large proportion are those of neglected children suffering from acute inflammations of the lungs, diphtheria, pneumonia and like complaints. One horrible and typical case in Brooklyn was brought to public notice by an undertaker called in by a Faith Curer to bury the latter's child, six years of age, dead from diphtheria. Two other children, one about eight, the other less than two years old, were found suffering from the same disease. The father explained his failure to call in medical aid by saying that he did not believe in doctors since he believed in Christ.* Here his delusion caused not only the death of his own child, but put in peril the public health. The same neglect would have occurred had the case been smallpox or scarlet fever.

A number of even more harrowing cases might be cited, did space or inclination serve; but their recital is needless.

Contrary to ordinary belief, even prayer is eschewed. "The only beneficial effect of prayer is on the human mind, making it act more powerfully on the body through a stronger faith in God. This, however, *is one belief casting out another*, a belief in the unknown casting out a belief in sickness."† And when we remember that "belief can only bring on disease, it can never relieve it," the inefficacy of prayer becomes manifest; and we are expressly taught that "if we pray to God as a person, this will prevent us letting go the human doubts and fears that attend all personalities."‡

The most ignorant persons set themselves up to cure the sick under this system as a business and for hire. Mrs. Eddy herself accumulates and publishes certificates of cures by herself, by her disciples and by the mere reading of her book, that are contrary to all possibility in human experience and smack in every line of the charlatan. Her volume of "Miscellaneous Writings" is in part made up of certificates differing from those that usually accompany quack nostrums, only in that they are more incredible than those the ordinary charlatan ventures to put forth. She cures cancers in one visit. A child of eighteen months, suffering for months with ulceration of the bowels, and given up by the "M. D.'s," is lifted from his cradle and kissed, he at once begins to play with his toys, and that night before retiring eats heartily of cabbage! ‖ One Mrs. Armstrong writes, without date or address, to enclose a cheque for $500, in payment of an absent treat-

* N. Y. papers, March 1, 1890. † P. 488. ‡ P. 492, *cf.* 484 and 393. ‖ P. 200.

ment by which heart disease and dropsy, lasting from childhood, were cured immediately upon Mrs. Eddy's receipt of a letter from Mr. Armstrong.* Hood's case of "Mrs. F., so exceedingly deaf," who purchased an ear trumpet, "and very next day heard from her husband in Botany Bay," becomes modest in comparison. But, although Mrs. Eddy personally cures fractures—did, in fact, by "absent treatment" cure the crushed foot of Mr. R. O. Badgeley, of Cincinnati;† and although she expressly teaches that her Science cures acute and chronic forms of disease,‡ and fractures"|| as well as other deformities—nay more, has "raised the dying to life and health"§—she nevertheless says: "Until the advancing age admits the efficacy and supremacy of Mind, *it is better* to leave the adjustment of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of surgeons, while you confine yourself chiefly to mental reconstruction and the prevention of inflammations or protracted confinement."¶

Here Mrs. Eddy confesses the sham of her theory. Earth often covers the physicians' mistakes, but not so frequently those of the surgeon. The vast majority of suits for malpractice are in surgical cases. The results of operations often demonstrate the malpractice. And is it not fair thus to paraphrase this sly advice: "Take any risk with the sick. If the patient die, who can prove that you caused the death? But be wary in surgical cases, for there ignorance and lack of skill, being demonstrable, may cause you to pay heavily for your presumption?" The fitting climax to this farrago of [illegible] and vain boasting** is, that hunger and thirst are also mental impressions to be argued with,†† that food is not requisite to support life, although "it *would be foolish to stop eating until we gain more goodness*;"‡‡ and, lastly, that as there is no mortal mind from which to make a mortal body, immortality is already here.||||

The methods of this extraordinary system of cure for the sick have been set out thus fully and, it is believed, fairly, because in no reported law case have they been brought before the Court, and the authority of any adjudicated case depends upon the facts involved. *Obiter dicta* are often as misleading as metaphysical

* P. 190 † P. 193. ‡ P. 183. || P. 358 § P. 217.

¶ P. 328. ** "There are certain self-evident facts. This is one of them that whoever practices the Science I teach, through which the Divine mind pours light and healing upon this generation cannot pursue malpractice, or harm patient" (p. 219). †† PP. 329, 334. ‡‡ P. 332. |||| PP. 316-327.

"professes to heal" the sick, the practice of Christian Science by unlicensed persons is a violation of law; but in jurisdictions where medical practice is forbidden, yet the use of drugs or instruments is made the test of such practice, the "Scientist" may pursue his business. So, too, the liability of these people to penalties for their failure to report contagious diseases or deaths of patients depends on the phrasing of the law or ordinance, and they certainly should be required, if allowed to practise, to make such reports, even though they believe in neither disease nor death.

In England, unlicensed medical practice is not a misdemeanor; and, therefore, an illegal practitioner cannot there, as with us, be found guilty, constructively, of manslaughter, should his patients die. But it is a general rule of law that a person undertaking a duty must possess skill and knowledge competent for its successful discharge. If a person engage in the business of curing the sick without such competent skill and knowledge, he becomes civilly liable in damages for injuries resulting from his incompetence; and if, by reason of his gross negligence, ignorance or carelessness, his patient die, then he is guilty of manslaughter at least, and may be guilty of murder. Upon these principles the famous quack, St. John Long, was convicted of manslaughter at the Old Bailey in 1830. And, in 1884, one Pierce was similarly convicted in Massachusetts. This gross and wicked negligence may manifest itself either positively, as when one administers recklessly or ignorantly a powerful drug, or negatively, as when a Christian Scientist or other fanatic, thrusting himself into the place of a competent person and assuming the duty of care, deprives the patient of proper attention, and permits or advises unsuitable diet, improper clothing or other harmful violation of hygienic laws. The fact that Christian Scientists, Faith Curers, Mind Curers, and practitioners of like sort, do not customarily administer drugs or use instruments, is not sufficient reason why they should escape liability for injuries resulting from their treatment. It is said in a very recent case that a shipmaster may be liable in damages for negligently losing his brig, although his negligence was due to temporary insanity; the general rule of law being that, as the results of his misfortune should be borne by him, not by the equally innocent, an insane person is to be held civilly responsible for "what in sane persons would be willful and negligent conduct." Thus, the best plea that could be made for a Christian Scientist,

religious insanity, would be of no avail in an action against him for damages proven to have resulted from his negligence.

The sum of the matter, then, is this: Under existing laws, wherever the statute forbids any one without license to undertake to "heal" the sick, or uses equivalent words, and wherever the phrase "practice of medicine" is not construed by the Courts as applying exclusively to the administration of drugs and the use of instruments, Christian Scientists, undertaking the cure of the sick without license to practice medicine, become subject to the penalties of the law. They may be also, according to the phrasing of the statute, punishable for failure to report contagious diseases, and for other violations of health ordinances. They are civilly liable in damages for their malfeasances and misfeasance; and, if death can be shown to have resulted from their gross ignorance or neglect, they may be indicted for manslaughter. English cases apparently to the contrary seem to proceed upon a theory that the negligent persons owed no duty to the deceased. The recent case, for example, of a newspaper correspondent who died while in care of Christian Scientists establishes nothing. It was not prosecuted—for what reason does not satisfactorily appear, but presumably because the fanatics in attendance on decedent were only rendering friendly services and did not owe deceased a duty. I may lawfully believe in suicide and discuss the examples of Socrates and Cato without being liable for the death of a friend who imitates them. And Mr. Justice Hawkins is said by the *Law Journal* to have carefully guarded himself against appearing to sanction the course adopted in Frederic's case.

New legislation in the premises is not called for, except, perhaps, to define "practice of medicine" more broadly in some jurisdictions. Such a definition was stricken from the New York Medical Act of 1887 by a Senator who feared it would operate against a friend of his who kept a bathing house. Last year a bill of somewhat the same purport seems to have been abandoned by the Senator having it in charge, for no other reason, so far as can be learned, than that more than the usual number of ladies appeared to oppose it. Children are now very generally protected by special laws. No statute can cure an adult of folly. Laws specifically forbidding the practice of Christian Science would only provide that cheap martyrdom which would be welcomed by an advertising business, and would be wrong, both in principle

and policy. The delusion itself is bound to die, as did that of John of Leyden and many another before and since that prophet's time; and it is quite certain to be succeeded by others.

In New York city about 1832, a period of "great awakening" that begat Mormonism and many other sects—among them one in Kentucky, whose members, in order to win Heaven by making themselves as little children, used to crawl on their hands and knees in church, play marbles, trundle hoops and otherwise manifest their infantile madness—one Matthews,* a carpenter, having assumed the name Matthias, proclaimed himself to be God, the Father. He found believers, most of them ignorant but some intelligent, procured much money and ruined many persons. He and his disciples claimed to heal the sick quite as successfully as the Scientists now do. One of them, a Mr. Pierson, a victim of religious delusion, even before the coming of Matthias, had endeavored under most distressing and pathetic circumstances publicly to raise his wife from the dead, accepting literally the verse of the General Epistle of St. James directing the elders to anoint and pray over the sick, and promising that "the Lord shall raise him up." Matthias, being eventually indicted for procuring $630 from a Mr. Folger under the false pretence that he was God, able to remit sins, and would communicate the Holy Ghost to said Folger, the District Attorney entered a *nolle prosequi* for these reasons: To maintain the indictment, he said, I must prove that defendant's pretences were false and would deceive a man of ordinary intelligence and prudence, but no sane person would believe that Matthias is God. Matthias was, however, convicted on lesser charges.

The memory of the adventuress, Diss de Bar, is fresh. In 1888 she was convicted by a New York jury of fraud in obtaining money from a lawyer of admittedly large attainments, and a former associate of Mr. Webster. She, too, sought to cloud the real issue by claiming that the right to believe in Spiritualism was involved. During her trial, the usual train of "ladies" and "intelligent persons" attended her, one of her satellites being a former diplomat and an ex-Regent of the University of the State. Since her imprisonment her star has waned. These cases illustrate at once the difficulty and possibilities of dealing with re-

* Matthias and his Impositions, Harpers, 1836.

AMERICANISM *VERSUS* IMPERIALISM—II.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

IN the January number of the REVIEW, I dealt with the danger of foreign wars and entanglements, as one of several brave reasons against departing from the past policy of the Republic, which has kept it solid and compact upon its own continent, to undertake the subjection and government of subject races in the tropics. I now propose to consider one of the reasons given for such departure—the only one remaining which retains much vitality, for the two other reasons once so prominent have already faded away and now are scarcely ever urged. These were "commercial expansion" in peace and "increased power" in war. The President killed the first when compelled by Great Britain to give the "open door" as the price for her support; for to give the "open door" to the nearer foreigner meant the "closed door" to the products of the soil and mines of his own country. There never was and never can be any trade worth quarrelling about in the Philippines; but what little there is or can be he has given away. When the country saw Dewey's fleet provisioned from Australia, instead of from our own agricultural land, the claim of possible expansion of American commerce there fell to the ground.

The second claim, that the Republic as a war power would be strengthened, held the field even for a shorter period than that of commercial expansion, for it was obvious that distant possessions would only give to our enemies, during war, vulnerable points of attack which had hitherto been wanting. As one solid mass, without outlying possessions, the Republic is practically unassailable. Should she keep the Philippines, any one of the great naval powers has her at its mercy. Hence Admiral Sampson warned us but a few days ago that "our risks . . . and dangers from war had

already increased a hundred per cent. and that we needed to double our navy." The President has just asked that our army also be doubled.

Thus the claims of "Commercial Expansion" in peace and of "Greater Power" in war have bled to death of themselves.

There remains to-day, as the one vital element of imperialism, the contention that Providence has opened for the American people a new and larger destiny, which imposes heavy burdens indeed upon them, but from which they cannot shrink without evading holy duty; that it has become their sacred task to undertake the civilization of a backward people committed to their charge. A foundling has been left at their door, which it is their duty to adopt, educate and govern. In a word, it is "Humanity," "Duty," "Destiny," which call upon us again for sacrifice. These potent cries which brought us to the drawing of the sword for oppressed Cuba, are now calling us to a more difficult task, and hence to a greater "duty."

It is encouraging to those who hold to Americanism that the chief strength of the imperialistic movement calling upon us to depart from our republican ideals, rests upon no ignoble foundation to-day. It is not the desire of gain, as our European critics assert, nor the desire of military glory, which gives vitality to the strange outburst for expansion and the proposed holding of alien races in subjection for their good. The average American, especially in the West, really believes that his country can govern these tropical people, and benefit them by so doing; he considers it a duty not to evade a task which, as he sees it, Providence has clearly imposed upon his country. The writer knows that the cynics, both at home and abroad, but especially the latter, will smile at this statement; but the extent of the ignorance of the American people in general, except in the South, about subject races and tropical conditions, cannot be realized by Europeans. This ignorance is truly as great as their belief implies. Their lack of knowledge is at fault, but the greater this lack the clearer is it that they can be credited with absolute sincerity, and with those very dangerous things when possessed without knowledge, "good intentions." The people of the South, who have knowledge of the problems of race, are with rare unanimity opposed to further accretions, and see it to be a "holy duty" to keep our Republic from further dangers arising from racial differences.

Our national history has not been such as to give our people experience in dealing with this new and essentially foreign question, but the American democracy has displayed in all national crises a highly creditable sensitiveness to the moral features of every issue presented. The deciding voice has been that of those who stood for what was made toward its abolition until the issue was placed upon high moral grounds. In the issue of secession, patriotism played the first part, but the enthusiasm of the nation was greatly quickened the moment it became a question of the emancipation of the slaves. Even in the recent issue, when the debasement of the standard of value was proposed, those who stood for the maintenance of the high standard found their strongest weapon when they placed before the people the moral side of the question, and argued that debts contracted in gold should be paid in gold; that the savings of the people deposited in banks in gold should be so repaid, and that the soldiers' pensions should be paid in money equal to any. The justice of the matter, what was right, what was fair, in other words, the moral side of the question, was potent in determining the decision.

We hear much of the decline of the pulpit in our day, and upon theological questions and dogmas its influence cannot be what it once was. Yet, as far as our country is concerned, I should say that the power of the pulpit upon all moral questions has gained as much as it has lost upon theological issues. It is not less powerful to-day in this domain in the Republic than in Scotland, and far more so than in any other English-speaking country. In such questions its voice has been potent when decisively pronounced upon one side or the other, as it generally has been; but in regard to Imperialism it has been divided. Bishop Potter, Dr. Van Dyke, Dr. Cuyler, Dr. Parkhurst, Dr. Eaton and others equally prominent stand firmly against it. On the other hand, Bishop Doane, Dr. Lyman Abbott and others have taken the opposite view, but solely from the standpoint of the good of the subject races, not in the slightest degree for our own advantage. This view, and this alone, is what gives Imperialism most of its remaining vitality.

Here is the essence of the whole matter given by Prof. Alden, of the University of Pennsylvania:

"Apropos of the missionary argument for expansion, the clergyman under whose ministry I sat last Sunday offered the following petition on behalf of the Filipinos.

again, the Bishop reveals to us "God's will," which, he informs us, "which is to be the final substitution of the civilization, the liberty and the religion of English-speaking people, for the lost dominion of the Latin races and the Latin (Catholic) religion." It may be open even for a layman who cannot pretend to know the designs of the Great Power to observe that, in the case of the tropics, the Unknown Power seems to have placed an insurmountable barrier against the English-speaking race. Professor Worcester, who knows most about the Philippines, tells us that our race cannot settle there and make permanent homes, neither can it in other parts of the tropics, nor has it ever done so. It has tried to do so in India, but failed. If a British child be born there, it must be sent home. In the Philippines it is even worse. Can Bishop Doane point to any considerable or successful settlement of our race in the tropics? He cannot do so, and this fact would seem to imply that perhaps the Bishop may have misinterpreted God's will. It would seem that, perhaps, in His own way He intends the people He has placed in the tropics to develop a civilization for themselves, and is keeping His loving, fatherly eye upon His children there just as tenderly as upon the Bishop. In my travels, I have found the universal laws everywhere working to higher and higher standards of national life. All the world steadily improves. Only impatient men, destitute of genuine faith in the divine government throughout all the world, doubt that all goes well. The Bishop's eminent colleague, Bishop Potter, sees "God's will," our "holy duty," so differently from Bishop Doane. When Bishops in the same church disagree, it is difficult to decide.

Perhaps we are not justified in quoting Dr. Abbott as still an Imperialist, since his latest article in the "Outlook" is entitled "An Official Disclaimer of Imperialism." After quoting the Cuban Resolution passed by Congress, he asks:

> "Why should not Congress at the present juncture pass a similar Resolution respecting the Philippines? . . . When pacification is secured, our mission is at an end. . . . The above resolution respecting Cuba was simply an affirmation of the principles of this government wrought into its constitution, vital to its life, affirmed and reaffirmed at many periods of its history. It denies that we wish either to hold people in subjection or to possess their territory as our own. Under no circumstances do the American people desire to hold under military government against their will a discontented and resisting people."

These sentiments justify the title. They are indeed a disclaimer of Imperialism, but it seems that, like Bishop Potter, Dr.

Abbott has not been favored with the revelation of God's will made to Bishop Doane, for, according to him, "whenever the subject races are pacified our mission ends;" while it is only after pacification that the Bishop's "Holy Mission" can begin to enforce "God's will" by the crusade against the Catholic (Latin) form of religion, for the introduction of "the religion of English-speaking people," of which we have in our land more than two hundred and fifty different forms, all used and loved by those who speak the English tongue. Even our valued Catholic friends are often "English-speaking people."

Nevertheless, we must recognize that, diametrically opposed as Bishop Doane and his school, and Dr. Abbott and his school are in their conclusions, they both have as their aim what they believe to be the good of the poor backward races, and neither pecuniary gain nor military glory for their own country. None of these earnest, good men have anything in common with the ranting political school. They see only serious and unsought "Duty" where the other finds "Gain," or "Glory," if not for the nation, at least for themselves as politicians.

Imperialism can become a "holy duty" only if we can by forcible interference confer blessings upon the subject races, otherwise it remains what the President once said it was, "criminal aggression." Let us see, therefore, whether good or evil flows from such interference. This is easily ascertained, for there are many dependencies of European powers throughout the world, and many races held in subjection. Has the influence of the superior race upon the inferior ever proved beneficial to either? I know of no case in which it has been or is, and I have visited many of the dependencies. Where is there anything to show that it has been? On the contrary, the mass of authority declares that the influence of a superior race upon an inferior in the tropics is not elevating, but demoralizing. It is not difficult to understand why. Take the Philippines, for instance. The prevailing religion is our own Christian religion, Catholic of course, but Christian, as in France or Belgium. In the interior, there are Mohammedans, next in importance. Mr. Bray, the resident English consul, gives in the "Independent" a picture of happy life in Manila, which reminded me of what I had found in the East.

One of the great satisfactions in traveling around the world

is in learning that God has made all peoples happy in their own homes. We find no people in any part of the world desirous of exchanging their lot with any other. My own experience has impressed this truth very strongly upon me. Upon our journey to the North Cape, we stopped in the Arctic Circle to visit a camp of Laplanders in the interior. A guide is provided with instructions to keep in the rear of the hindmost of the party going and returning, to guard against any being left behind. Returning from the camp, I walked with this guide, who spoke English and had traveled the world round in his earlier years as a sailor, and was proud to speak of his knowing New York, Boston, New Orleans and other ports of ours. Reaching the edge of the fjord, and looking down upon it, we saw a hamlet upon the opposite side, and one two-story house under construction, with a grass plot surrounding it, a house so much larger than any of the adjacent huts that it betokened great wealth. Our guide explained that a man had made a great fortune. He was their multi-millionaire, and his fortune was reported to reach no less a figure than 30,000 kroner ($7,500), and he had returned to his native place of Tromso to build this "palace" and spend his days there. Strange preference for a night six months long! But it was home. I asked the guide which place in all the world he would select if ever he made such a fortune—with a lingering hope that he would name some place in our own favored land. How could he help it? But his face beamed with pleasure at the idea of ever being rich, and he said finally: "Ah, there is no place like Tromso!"

Traveling in Southern India one day, I was taken into the country to see tapioca roots gathered and ground for use. The adults working in the grove, men and women, had each a rag around the loins, but the boys and girls, with their black, glossy skins, were free of all encumbrance. Our guide explained to these people that we were from a country so far away, and so different from theirs, that the waters were sometimes made solid by the extreme cold and we could walk upon them; that sometimes it was so intensely cold that the rain was frozen into particles, and lay on the earth so deep that people could not walk through it, and that three and four layers of heavy clothes had to be worn. This happy people, as our guide told us, wondered why we stayed there, why we did not come and enjoy life in their favored clime.

It is just so with the Philippines to-day, as one can see from

are already, in abundance. ... Christianity, we have nothing ... find welcome there if we ... to-day they would be regarded ... not improvement, therefore, that ... ippines, should we hold permanent ... both to the Filipinos and to our ... citizens who go there. It is a bad ... ness man when, in a foreign land, he ... fluences which centre in the home.

The religious school of Imperialists ... Filipinos what is best for them, no doubt ... in any people its longing for independence ... hand a more powerful means of civilization than ... sible for us to bestow with the other. There i... breast of every human community the sacred ... ernment, as the most potent means of Providen... in the scale of being. Any ruler, be he Presiden... tempts to suppress the growth of this sacred ... the greatest of public crimes. There is no peopl... low in the scale, that does not have self-govern... or less degree. The Haitians and the San Do... quire our interference. Why is it not seen to b... our ideas upon these, our neighbors? The Fil... ferior to these people. On the contrary, we ha... and General Merritt both stating that t... more capable of self-government than the Cu... taken as a truism that a people which is willi... die for the independence of their country, is a... trial of the self-government it seeks. The Filipi... Even if they had not, it is better for the develo... that they should attempt to govern themselves, ... school in which they can ever learn to do so. ... what years of failure they have to struggle, the ... successful development of the faculty of gove... this stern but salutary school our own race tra... in Britain with varying fortunes, but the ... tutional government was evolved. The ... sult is beyond price. No superior race ... without settling and merging in that ...

In the Philippines, and in the tropics generally, this is impossible. The intruding race cannot be grown there, and where we cannot grow our own race we cannot evolve civilization for the other. We can only retard, not hasten, their development.

India has been subject to British rule for nearly two hundred years, and yet not one piece of artillery can yet be entrusted to native troops. The people have still to be held down as in the beginning. It is so in every dependency in which the superior power assumes the right to govern the inferior, without being able to settle there and merge into it. We challenge the Imperialist to give one instance to the contrary in all Britain's possessions.

The impulse which carried many clergymen and other good people away at first was creditable to their hearts and emotions. But Dr. Abbott's remarkable article just quoted may be taken as evidence that the reason is now demanding audience, and not what we should like to do, but what conditions render it possible for us to do, or wisely undertake, is now to be soberly considered.

The Press also, like the pulpit, has done its part to stir the impulse to meet the demands of the "New Destiny," but one of the most prominent organs of all in this work, and the leading government organ in the West, the "Times-Herald" of Chicago, —to judge from its recent editorial—is also finding its hot passion chilled at the throne of reason, as it confronts and examines the conditions of the situation. It says:

> "The conscience of the American people will not tolerate the slaughter of Filipinos in a war of conquest. We do not seek their land, we do not wish to replace the yoke of Spain with one bearing the more merciful and just label of the United States. Let the President announce that we have no intention to annex Asiatic territory, and that the pledge of Congress as to Cuban independence will be the pledge of the American nation to the Philippines."

If the President had said this in his message to the Filipinos there could not to-day rise before him the spectre of nearly five thousand human beings "mowed down like grass," as the cable describes, and sixty of our own fellow-citizens sacrificed and several hundreds wounded. This is the effect of his failure to say to the one people what he said to the other. His responsibility is great.

I write upon the eve of the birthday of the greatest public man of the century, perhaps of all the centuries if his strange history be considered—Abraham Lincoln. Washington, Franklin and Jefferson may have become back numbers, as we have been

often told, for, as men of the past century, they could not know our destiny; but here is the man of our own time, whom many of us were privileged to know. Are his teachings to be discarded for those of any now living who were his contemporaries?

Listen to him:

"No man is good enough to govern another without that man's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American republicanism."

It is not fashionable for the hour to urge that the "consent of the governed" is all-important; but it will be fashionable again one of these days.

It seems as if Lincoln were inspired to say the needful word for this hour of strange subversion of all we have hitherto held dear in our political life. Our "duty" to bear the "White Man's Burden" is to-day's refrain, but Lincoln tells us:

"When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self government, that is despotism."

Lincoln knew nothing of the new "Duty" and new "Destiny," or whether it is "Duty which makes Destiny" or "Destiny which makes Duty"; but he knew the old doctrines of Republicanism well.

One other lesson from the Great American:

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defence is in the spirit which prizes *liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves* and under a just God cannot long retain it."

Are these broad, liberty-loving and noble liberty-giving principles of Americanism, as proclaimed by President Lincoln, to be discarded for the narrow liberty-denying, race-subjecting, Imperialism of President McKinley when the next appeal is made to the American people? We have never for one moment doubted the answer; for they have never yet failed to decide great issues wisely nor to uphold American ideals.

Never had this nation greater cause to extol Abraham Lincoln than upon this the ninetieth anniversary of his birth, and never till to-day had it cause to lament that a successor in the Presidential chair should attempt to subvert his teachings.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

tacks in force were understood
and decided the battles of M
Khartoum, on the other hand,
much manœuvring. The Dervishes
confidence of fanaticism; the Anglo-
in implicit reliance on the effects of the

No such hecatombs of slain Moslems
together; the light front ranks of the
mown grass at the first discharge, and the
soon "piled the corpses spear-high;" but
range and rifle-range saved the reserve. The
tion of his prophetic furor, could not doubt the
recalled his rear guards in time to save them from

Nor has the persistence of patriotic devotion
length of a struggle against hope; but in the
uity, when detachments of friends and foes
the *sauve qui peut* was fatally apt to come too late
from the fury of victory-intoxicated legions of
their enemies in reach of their swords, and who had co
the survival of the fittest in a way of their own.

For, in addition to their campaigns of plunder
of the age of radical remedies now and then waged w

The temptation of such expedients still exists. Bu
of outsiders, Philip the Second would have destroyed
Netherlands. "The way to abolish the nuisance of th
is to abolish the Armenians," said Rhais Pasha, only
Hamid himself could hardly have been blamed for
that sense of the word, with the incorrigibly aggres
jehad was only narrowly averted. "Reconcentr
General Weyler's plan, was little more than a compr
opinion and outright murder. Eight thousand pris
little town of starving citizens and half fed soldiers, c
melt away in the course of a year or two.

But the impulsive pagans were impatient of such d
of the Mediterranean nations abounds with the record
war path on an errand of depopulation. The three n
antiquity, those of Troy, Carthage and Jerusalem, we
premeditated purpose. Jerusalem then meant all J
Carthage involved that of a considerable area of Pu
Numantia in northern Spain was likewise predesti
would not have saved the defenders to surrender at t
to obviate worse, the entire population committed sui

In the crisis of the war against Pyrrhus, the Epi
jects of the Alpine border rose in revolt, and a consul
was slain near Arretium, by the Senonian Gauls
Mommsen, "Publius Cornelius Dolabella marched in
Senones at the head of a large force and literally
nation, which thenceforth disappears from history."

And even when a conqueror preferred to stop
it was frequently thought a good plan to eliminate
troublesome tribe.

In such cases it saved the necessity of prohibiti

every battle a finish fight. Napoleon seems to have tried something of that sort in the battle of Friedland. By showing only a few regiments of his force in the beginning of the fight, he managed to entice the Russians across the Alle bridge, into a valley where some fifty batteries opened upon them unawares, and at the same time ordered Marshal Ney to cut off their retreat; but General Bennigsen's scouts anticipated the arrival of the trappers and enabled him to save one of his wings in the nick of time.

But worsted sword-fighters had no such options. They had marched to battle, as they would enter an arena, to conquer or die.

To an army of physically inferior men the first disruption of ranks generally meant utter ruin. Gunpowder is a great equalizer of individual prowess. The rifle-bullet of a dwarf will carry as far and hit as hard as that of a giant. On the retreat from Moscow the foot-sore, famished and almost frozen French soldiers could hardly drag themselves along, but, when too hard pressed, were still able to form squares and, with levelled muskets, make the pursuing Cossacks shrink back out of bullet range.

But the modicum of remaining strength that still sufficed to pull a trigger would have failed to draw the arrow of a Parthian war bow, and in a spear-to-spear fight their doom would have been speedily sealed. Hence the horrible carnage of legions routed by a horde of athletic barbarians.

In a *fin de siècle* review of American battles, Gettysburg is mentioned as a *ne plus ultra* of destructive fighting—"always excepting Waterloo—in proportion to the number of men engaged, probably *the most murderous battle on record.*"

But even Blücher's bulletins did not claim that the French lost more than two-fifths in killed and wounded, while the French themselves never admitted much more than one-fifth. One-third is the probable truth, and that proportion was beaten at Malplaquet, and beaten out of sight in some old-time battles. In the valley of the Rhone, not far from the modern hamlet of Montelimart, a horde of Teuton invaders was brought to bay B. C. 106, by two consular armies under the command of Manilius. The barbarians were supposed to be on their way to Spain, and would probably have preferred to get across the Pyrenees in peace; but seeing their host in danger of being outflanked, they suddenly turned upon their pursuers and in the ensuing battle slew *seventy-eight thousand* out of ninety thousand men.

The battle lasted less than four hours, but the Roman historians admit that the few survivors saved themselves only by plunging into the stream at a point where a strong current carried them near the opposite bank—*minus* their spears and bucklers.

At Hadrianopolis (Adrianople), the iron-fisted West-Goths visited a similar fate upon the combined military levies of the Roman Empire, under the command of the Emperor Valens. Two months earlier they would have accepted a treaty of peace, with the permission to colonize the waste lands of the lower Danube; but, rather than save themselves by an unconditional surrender, they now risked a battle, and, perhaps to their own surprise, not only defeated but destroyed the imperialists—Imperator and all. Less than eight thousand men of the vast army were taken prisoners, and saved by the intercession of a Gothic chief.

Rome was then in her dotage; but in the prime of her republican vigor her military forces were brought to the verge of annihilation by an incidental superiority in the equestrian training of the Numidian invaders.

The Numidian cavalry of Hannibal wielded their long swords with one hand, and with the other grasped an almost impervious shield,—bridles being superfluous for the management of horses that had been taught to obey every slight touch of the rider's knee. Thirty thousand of these centaurs held southern Italy against all comers for more than fifteen years, and slaughtered eight great armies of the nation that had decked its temples with the trophies of a thousand victories.

The Roman warriors of that age were trained in military athletics as only the Spartans and the cavalry of Frederick the Great were trained before or since, and hundreds of their centurions had tested their cunning tactics on the battlefields of Gaul and Spain; yet all these means of resistance did not save them from the carnage of Cannae, where forty-eight thousand out of sixty thousand men were cut to pieces, and the rest routed, panic-crazed and covered with wounds.

Next to the Romans, the Macedonians and Greeks could claim the championship of military prowess, when Carthage was no more; yet Roman and Grecian historians agree that at Chaeronea Sulla butchered nine-tenths of the forces combined under the command of the veteran Archelaus. Plutarch estimates the armies of the allies at "100,000 foot, 9,000 horse and 90 chariots," besides the Greek and Thracian irregulars, and admits that "of that vast multitude twelve thousand only got safe into Chalcis." Sulla took some five thousand prisoners, and needed their assistance to bury the hillocks of corpses.

Even more portentous results followed the rout of barbarians who had trusted in their strength of numerical superiority and the terror of their penchant for havoc. The aggregate of the hyperborean hordes who crossed the Alps during the first consulship of Marius seems to have exceeded a quarter of a million, but thousands had joined the half savage tribes of the Gallic border, and tens of thousands had been killed in preliminary skirmishes, before the Roman consul engaged their redoubtable war chiefs at *Aquae Sextiae*.

The loss of the Romans is variously stated at 15,000—25,000 of Italian levies and their Helvetian allies, but all accounts agree that the barbarians were annihilated, multitudes of fugitives having perished in the Alps, after 140,000 were slain on the battlefield.

Yet at least twice that number of Huns paid the penalty of Attila's attempt to complete the subjugation of the Caucasian world by the conquest of the West-Roman empire. No horseman ventured to encounter his half million rough-riders in the open field, and his baggage-train was encumbered with the spoils of a hundred cities, when his westward progress was at last stopped in the valley of the Marne, where a junta of Roman and Gothic warriors had entrenched themselves to retrieve the fate of the civilized world.

In the eighty hours' battle that began on the morning of October 9th, A. D. 451, on the Catalaunian Plains (just south of Chalons sur Marne), the Huns were repulsed again and again and cut down at the rate of *a hundred thousand a day*, till their old cutthroat king threw up the sponge in the form of a wagon-burg, and was allowed to depart with his train of bandaged survivors.

That three days' slaughter saved Europe from bestialization, and, as a case of justifiable homicide, can claim pre-eminence in the history of the last twenty centuries; but on a gunpowder basis of operations the problem could

ignorance of the language of ... prove a serious drawback—lead... plications.

The diplomats of Europe are ... The Foreign Office serves as a ... are ambitious to pursue this profession ... the ladder as unpaid attachés later ... shifted from one post to another, so that ... moted to an ambassadorship they have ... vice and are thoroughly equipped in languages ... of various countries, and especially with ... countries that often proves of inestimable value ... ministers plenipotentiary. It is with such ... public men should be provided. Everything ... gambling taint from politics should be ... can politics as conducted to-day is a gambling game for big stakes?

The Diplomatic School may be made entirely ... instruction. Located in Washington, its corps ... some of the more eminent members of the Senate ... and occasionally, perhaps, some of the foreign am... might be induced to deliver addresses before the ... Congressional Library would be close at hand and ... in their historical research. It is probable that ... spirited philanthropist would bequeath to the ... given annually in stated amounts as prizes for ... theses, etc. When necessary, Congress would ... ation to keep the building in proper repair, to pay ... dent and faculty, and for the other expenses, which ... As to that, however, I believe that within a short ... more than self-supporting. Certainly it would not ... dents; the class-rooms would be crowded. Hundr... from college, and others ambitious to enter public ... an institution and clamor for admission. The ... modate them all. Whether women should be adm... does not concern the writer, at least in the present ... it may be pertinent to observe that few if any of ... pose their admission; though how such a course ... women is not obvious, unless indeed those thus ... diplomats. In that case, it is conceivable that kno... in a delicate international negotiation might enable ... cial husband, to assist him by refreshing his memo... dents and other erudite matters concerning which ... But it fairly may be questioned whether even the ... woman expects to see the day when members of ... sadors at the Court of St. James's or at Paris or St...

Diplomacy is like chess playing; the science ... not to the degree of utmost skill, perhaps, attained ... one or by Steinitz in the other. But the princip... mastered, when properly taught, so that the stud... Doctor or Bachelor of Diplomacy, or whatever it ... prepared to render more efficient service for the ...

who, however brilliant in mind, does not possess that particular kind of culture and special drill. It seems almost absurd to emphasise an A, B, C, proposition like this—and yet we have no such school.

Now what, if any, are the objections to it? I have talked and corresponded with a number of men whose opinions would give weight to the idea here suggested, were there space in which to quote them, and without a single exception they have approved it warmly, and, in some cases, enthusiastically. One United States Senator, recently elected, assures me that he intends to propose the idea to his colleagues in a formal address, which, I sincerely hope, will be "the effort of his life."

It is not too late in our national existence to learn many things; and since in other civilised nations diplomacy long has been regarded as a science and a profession, it is high time that we should arrive at the same conclusion. There may be some old fogies, in their dotage, who will argue against it as being an experiment and all that sort of thing; but so was the Magna Charta confirmed by Edward I.; so was the Declaration of Independence; so was the first Atlantic cable; so have been many good things.

The employment by the government of graduates from such a School, not only as envoys and consuls, but in the departments where something more than mere clerical accuracy and faithfulness are required, would tend to weed out many retainers of Uncle Sam, who have outlived their usefulness as public servants and have been rewarded many times over for their partisan zeal. Under the present corrupt system of lavishing party plums upon all kinds of "machine" heelers and henchmen, the *personnel* in many important and responsible functions of the government is of a haphazard, motley character, without that *esprit de corps* which would be insured were these preferments bestowed by the rule of fitness and merit. Were administrative appointments based upon the mental and personal qualifications, the School-bred competitors would get, and ought to get, the most desirable billets, with such exceptions as would occur now and then. There would still remain enough offices for needy and perhaps deserving place-hunters of the stripe that invest the capital.

It might be advisable for the George Washington Memorial Association, of which Mrs. Ellen A. Richardson of New York city is President, and Mrs. Susanna Phelps Gage of Ithaca, New York, the Recording Secretary, to cooperate with the government in providing for such a school, as a part of the proposed great National University at Washington. The object of this Association, which is very largely made up of wealthy women, and in which the Daughters of the Revolution are deeply interested, is to carry out George Washington's bequest in his will, in which he set aside some stocks in a Potomac plots company, for the purpose of building a great national university in the city of Washington. Long ago the stocks proved worthless, and although the matter has been brought before Congress repeatedly, nothing tangible was done about it until the patriotic women of the country took hold of it. Here is a suggestion which it is certainly worth their while to consider carefully.

At present there is but one great School of Diplomacy in the world. This one is in Paris and is called *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques.* Established under government patronage a number of years ago, and securing among its faculty some of the foremost minds of France and of Europe, it has flourished from its inception, and to-day numbers on its roll several hundred students from all parts of the world. Among its famous instruc-

tors have been or are: H. Taine, ... Funck-Brentano, Léon Say, André ... ville and others. Some among these ... sible positions in the French government. ...

The curriculum of this school ... cluding the duties of Minister of Foreign Affairs ... (2.) Councillor of State; (3.) Administration ... Ministerial Litigations under Prefectures, etc.; ... (5.) the Exchequer. Moreover, the curriculum ... superior instruction, which usefully complete ... for certain high commercial positions, as, for instance, ... management of a large corporation.

This is not all; the range of instruction, with the ... wide and comprehensive. For example, in the administrative ... included lectures on administrative organization ... tems of the principal nations; public revenues and ... economy; statistics and commercial treaties since 1789; ... in France, Germany and the United States; the ... Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and Belgium; parliamentary ... history of France since 1789, etc. A series of lectures upon ... subjects extends through the whole two years' course; other... in one year.

In the diplomatic section, the following are some of t... sued: Diplomatic history from 1789 to our days; contempo... Eastern affairs since 1856; diplomatic history from 1648 to 1... geography; commercial treaties since 1789; commercial ... pared, etc. In the economic and financial section the subj... the first two are discussed. Finally, in what is termed the ... public law and history are considered under several of the ...

In the special courses information of the most vital im... pensed to the students by the professors, among whom, as ... several in the service of the French government, as, for inst... Sorel, who is a high authority on the organization of dip... procedure of a negotiation, character of the principal courts ... Europe, etc. Everything in the realm of political economy, ... ries of Adam Smith down to those of Henry George, is inves... ism is defined and treated. Here are themes selected at ran... law and jurisprudence; the cabinet of Richelieu; the arist... cal precedents; constitutions of particular states, Russia, ... Danube provinces; the Egyptian question; Catholics a... independence of the United States; the public domain; ... graphs, the postal service; fiscal revenues; public expendit... affairs. All these and many other important matters are ... notice of the young men who attend this school.

Those who are educated in this institution for official ... invariably succeed when they compete for positions. Of late ... presented for the Department of Foreign Affairs by this ... received in first ranks. In the general competition a large ... candidates from the *École des Sciences Politiques* are ... examples might be cited.

A School of Diplomacy in this country might well ... one in Paris with, of course, such modifications as would ...

resourcefulness. But none of these [illegible] the public attention for more than a [illegible] pondent therefore in America [illegible] England, and when war was declared [illegible] man and that—most of them quite [illegible] preparation for war—and sent them off to [illegible] ing in the camps in Florida and in the [illegible]

The eyes of the whole country were upon [illegible] very naturally anxious to know what was going [illegible] we wanted to know what the next, or rather [illegible] These reporters, of course, were well aware of [illegible] none of them is to be blamed for trying to gratify [illegible] there are ways and ways of doing things, and I [illegible] that the New York methods of gathering news, [illegible] in the field or a fleet at sea, are likely to do a great [illegible] whose operations are reported, and at the same time [illegible] tion to the enemy against which that side is operating. [illegible]

It is therefore imperative that the authorities should [illegible] correspondents, and establish rules and regulations which [illegible] to in letter and in spirit; and there should be penalties [illegible] military penalties—quick and serious.

It is quite true it was required in the late war that [illegible] with the army or the navy should have some sort of a license [illegible] War or the Navy Department. But these privileges were [illegible] of course, to all who asked for them, and there was even less in[illegible] character of such an applicant than there was when a [illegible] position as quartermaster, commissary or adjutant-general. [illegible] piring patriot desired to put on the uniform of the army and [illegible] shoulders with the insignia of rank, he was required to [illegible] fluence as an endorsement of his ability; but in the case of [illegible] wanted to join the forces to tell the world how every thing w[illegible] how it was accomplished and how it should have been [illegible] was made as to his physical, mental or moral fitness—he w[illegible] matter of course to become a dangerous and embarrassing [illegible] *impedimenta.*

The result of this lack of selection was that, when the [illegible] Florida, there were scores and scores of these irresponsible [illegible] every camp. They nosed about, picking up every blessed [illegible] gence they could find, including the mere camp gossip, and [illegible] sent off to the newspapers and given the dignity of print. [illegible] to give importance to their reports, these soldiers, who [illegible] action, were already heroes. Every one was a hero. If he [illegible] hero; if he fell sick, he was a stricken hero; if, alas, he died [illegible] tyred hero, and so on to the end of the chapter; the reports [illegible] out in a high and a sensational key, they had to be [illegible] throughout. In all this there was no particular harm, [illegible] got a trifle tired of it all. But the spirit—the spirit of [illegible] "yellow journalism" enterprise, no doubt—was the [illegible] more serious matters, where great and lasting harm was [illegible]

Whatever plans were made at Washington for going [illegible] were known in very short order at Madrid and [illegible] The New York papers printed all of them in full, [illegible]

other parts of the country as well. We had a censor here to prevent this, but this censorship appears to have been inefficient. The time for starting to Cuba, the strength of the army of invasion, and every other particular were known in Madrid almost as soon as in Tampa, from which the expedition started. To be sure, they did not know in Madrid what a muddled mixture this army carried as stores, but then General Shafter did not know this himself—probably he does not know it yet. But if this great source of weakness had been known, the Spaniards would have known it too. Indeed, if the several hundred war correspondents at Tampa and thereabouts had been men of trained experience they would have known about the supplies and discovered this weakness to the world, the Spaniards included. Mr. Poultney Bigelow, one of the few writers who had previously seen armies prepare for serious work, appears to have had no difficulty in finding out in short order that the invading army was most ill prepared for the work that was cut out to be done. The rest of them said that Mr. Bigelow was a slanderer; some said that he was a traitor. And so the merry war of words from this army of reporters went on—the country meantime vexed with anxiety and suspense.

Things were better managed in the navy, for the naval operations were conducted by professional men who knew their business. But even the naval operations were hampered by the newspaper reporters and their despatch boats. One expedition to Porto Rico was quite abandoned on account of the premature publication of the plan. At all times the despatch boats were in the way, and it is really wonderful, considering the foolhardiness of some of these small craft, that none of them was fired on and hurt. In one instance the Associated Press boat led the valuable battleship "Oregon" a chase of a hundred miles before disclosing its identity. When the colors were shown, the despatch boat officers treated the matter as a great joke, and boasted of it as a retaliation because fuller news of the operations to be made had not been disclosed. I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the war correspondents responsible for this joke should have been taken aboard the battleship and put in irons, or even given a taste of the cat.

Later, so as to give spice to their tales, these correspondents represented that Sampson was trying to steal Schley's glory for the victory over Cervera, and they so inflamed some weak minds that I actually heard Sampson's name hissed in a public meeting. This to be sure was not an injury to the public, but it was a public injury to a man who did a great service to his country.

Whenever it is suggested that the license of the press be curbed, there is always a charge that hidden in the suggestion is an attack on the liberty of the press. It does not make much difference how this suggestion be denominated. In military matters the laws that usually prevail are abrogated and military law is dominant. Now the war correspondent is not known to the military code. He is a more recent creation, and his evolution and multiplication in this last war has made of him a serious menace to the successful operations of any military commander. I do not propose to restrain him so much as to regulate him. In his life and in his work he must be responsible to military authority. Hitherto, and specially was this so with Shafter's army, correspondents were given the news, that is, the authorized news, as a matter of favor. Some were told fully what was going on, some were told nothing. Under the heterogeneous conditions

which existed, this was probably inevitable: then again, these favors may have been given and withheld according to the ideas of the trustworthiness or untrustworthiness of this man or that. As a matter of fact, in this particular instance it was merely a case of favoritism—the commanding general chose to like one man and to dislike another man. But the system is all wrong.

In the first instance, none but picked men—men of approved intelligence and fidelity—should be allowed by the authorities to go with an army as correspondents. When such picked men join an army they should be compelled to live and act according to military law—to conduct themselves as officers and gentlemen—and they should be subject to all the penalties that other men in the face of the enemy are liable to. Then, on the staff at each headquarters, there should be an officer detailed for the sole purpose of dealing with the correspondents. He should tell what it is safe to tell, and no more. With such an arrangement a general can go ahead with some assurance that his plans have not been disclosed to the enemy by his newspapers at home. In the present haphazard style of collecting and printing war news lurks great danger, and it may lead to very serious consequences should we ever encounter an enemy somewhat near to us in numbers and in wealth.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.

any that could be brought [illegible]
ity with any possible foe. The [illegible]
in after our war had been fought [illegible]
new and improved arms, both artill[illegible]
change in organization. The old sing[illegible]
der formation, gave way in all the [illegible]
battalion and extended order formation [illegible]
our muzzle-loading, short-range guns, [illegible]
proximity to the enemy before being in [illegible]
bows, two ranks deep, the troops on either [illegible]
fective charge and counter charge. If any [illegible]
action with this old formation to-day, the [illegible]
appalling. An army attempting it would be [illegible]
could inflict any damage on the opposing force.

Before the bill providing for the reorganizati[illegible]
was passed last April, the United States had by [illegible]
of our army's confronting an enemy, hampered [illegible]
lete organization. The War Department, wise[illegible]
had adopted a modern organization and, so far as [illegible]
our small regular army in modern tactics. Th[illegible]
violation of law. But, in case of war, all regime[illegible]
been organized in ten companies, single battalion [illegible]
as in the Civil War. When the bill was first sub[illegible]
April, 1898—cast on the line of the three battalion [illegible]
giving only two majors to an infantry regiment, [illegible]
too economical for an oganization of any great [illegible]
aroused such a storm of indignation in and out of [illegible]
cause the overwhelming defeat of the measure. [illegible]
within a few days of actual war, but so-called leade[illegible]
of Representatives declared that there would be no [illegible]
if there should be, we must depend on the citize[illegible]
increase of the army would be tolerated, and for[illegible]
ern lines was impossible without increase or re[illegible]
ments. The organized militia of the States saw [illegible]
ate measure an attempt to keep them from a[illegible]
brought all their powerful influence to bear to [illegible]
organization of the army. No bill would have [illegible]
the reorganization of the army, if we had not [illegible]
books a law compelling the national militia [illegible]
the service of the United States, to be [illegible]

in the manner provided for the regular army. When the leading guardsmen learned of this law, they favored a reorganization bill. The guard organization was infinitely better than that prescribed for the regulars. But, as they were anxious to retain all the frills and furbelows of the guard organization, the bill had to provide for taking them in as organizations. War had been declared and the necessities of the Government were so urgent that this provision was accepted. It has cost the Government many millions of dollars, but it has also caused a general desire throughout the country for a uniform organization, and this will finally result in good.

The experience of the late war has shown the bad effects of drawing from civil life an army for immediate service. The placing of raw recruits in large camps resulted, as it always does, in sickness and discontent. An American is restive under restraint, and reckless in his violation of all rules of health. The American volunteer in the late war had the same characteristics as those of us who served in the Civil War—impatience of restraint and carelessness as to diet. If the Civil War had only lasted six months we would have had the same experience. It takes time to make a soldier. Given the best material in the world, it takes at least six months to develop the raw recruit into the reliable soldier. That is the reason why some of us wanted a regular army to take the first fighting line. The volunteers would thus have time to harden into a capacity to endure fatigue and gain the habit of obedience, which makes an army an effective fighting machine.

My attention was first called to this subject by reading the reports of the generals in command of the army at different times, and the urgent requests of every Secretary of War for the last thirty years for some legislation. The Franco-Prussian War conclusively proved that nations could not go to war on old lines, with old organizations. The time for leisurely fighting, when four to seven years might be spent in determining which was the victor, was passed forever. A conflict between nations must be sharp and decisive, frequently decided by one great battle. The terribly destructive weapons used put an end to protracted fighting. The old close order formation gave way to what is known as open order. Instead of touching elbows in line, men are now three feet apart, so as to reduce the danger as far as possible in

action. This places more men [illegible] firing line. It necessitates a [illegible] regiment, and at the same time [illegible] pany efficient. Grant, Sherman and [illegible] zation of the army, and pointed out [illegible] States of adhering to our old organization [illegible] sion was appointed to examine into the [illegible] the War Department and through that to [illegible] then commanding the army, had made a full [illegible] ern organization, and submitted the following: [illegible]

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE [illegible]

Washington, D. C. [illegible]

Sir: In compliance with the resolution adopted by the [illegible] first session, August, 1876, I have the honor to submit [illegible] and opinions of the matter confided to our action.

* * * * *

Each regiment would * * * contain, for a peace [illegible] cers and 736 enlisted men, aggregating 780; or the [illegible]
5 regiments artillery equal 60 companies equal [illegible]
10 regiments of cavalry equal 120 companies equal [illegible]
20 regiments of infantry equal 240 companies equal 1,[illegible]

1,[illegible]

Aggregating, officers and men, 27,650.

To increase to the war standard, simply add to each [illegible] 1 corporal, and 50 privates, which would result as follows: [illegible]
5 regiments of artillery equal 60 companies equal [illegible]
10 regiments of cavalry equal 120 companies equal [illegible]
20 regiments of infantry equal 240 companies equal 1,[illegible]

1,[illegible]

To further increase for war purposes, add four new [illegible] battalion, and we have—

5 regiments of artillery equal 120 companies equal [illegible]
10 regiments cavalry equal 240 companies equal 1,[illegible]
20 regiments infantry equal 480 companies equal 2,[illegible]

2,[illegible]

The Germans now use companies as large as 250 men, so that [illegible] of eight companies numbers 2,000 men. Assuming that as the [illegible] will have—

5 regiments equal 15 battalions of artillery, equal......[illegible]
10 regiments equal 30 battalions of cavalry, equal......[illegible]
20 regiments equal 60 battalions of infantry, equal......[illegible]

Making an army of......[illegible]

on a minimum or peace basis of 27,650. Thus an effective [illegible] army of over 200,000 can be created promptly "without the [illegible] or disorder," fulfilling all the conditions of Mr. Calhoun's [illegible] principle, which he regarded as of more national importance [illegible]

On considering any paper organization it is safe to [illegible] one-third are usually absent. This seems a large proportion [illegible] result of experience extending back for centuries. Good [illegible] administration diminish this ratio, while bad discipline [illegible] tration increase it largely. The usual causes of [illegible] wounds and sickness, furloughs and leaves of absence, [illegible] of punishment, details for cooking, for care of sick, [illegible] distribution of supplies, detachments for escorts of [illegible] points along the routes of supply, etc.

* * * * *

With great respect, your obedient servant,

W. T. [illegible]

Hon. J. D. CAMERON,
Secretary of War, and President of the Com[illegible]

six enlisted men. In France, on a peace basis, a regiment numbers sixty-seven officers and sixteen hundred and twelve enlisted men; on a war basis a regiment is composed of sixty-eight officers and three thousand one hundred and twenty enlisted men. In Germany, the strength of a regiment on a peace basis is sixty-five officers and two thousand and twenty enlisted men, while its war strength is seventy-nine officers and three thousand one hundred and forty-nine enlisted men. In Russia the strength of a regiment on a peace or war basis is seventy-seven officers and eighteen hundred and ninety-nine men. Austria and Russia have no expansion from within in time of war. Their regiments are of the same strength in peace or war. Both keep large standing armies, and increase their war strength by the addition of new regiments.

As said in the beginning of this article, we do not need a large regular army in time of peace. So, while providing for a very slight increase in the size of the army, simply to make possible the battalion organization for the peace footing, I made provision for a material increase of the war footing by expanding the regiment from less than one thousand men to eighteen hundred men, and a possible three thousand men, in the discretion of the President. In this I followed, in a modified form, the organization of the German and French armies. There is very little difference between these two countries in respect to regimental army organization. Both have the three battalions of four companies each. Germany, on a peace footing, has two more commissioned officers and five hundred and ninety-two more men to the regiment than France, but, on a war basis, France has eleven more commissioned officers and twenty-nine more enlisted men to a regiment than Germany. They are both great military nations —armed camps, in fact. Both eagerly and promptly adopt every improvement in military organization, and seek in every way so to organize their armies as to make them the most effective fighting machines. Austria and Russia are equally alert to find out and adopt the best methods of military organization, and have large reserves organized into regiments which are ready to be called into service on a day's notice. They depend on these reserve regiments rather than on expanding from within. Germany and France do both.

In the United States, we have not the reserve to draw on.

So far as the national guard is concerned, there are almost as many organizations as there are States. There is no uniformity, and therefore no good can come to the country from that organization, as at present constituted. It is purely the creation of State laws to meet the wants of the State. In Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Iowa and other States having a well-organized guard, it answers admirably as a supplement to the police force of the State, but that is all. In the late war, I think I am safe in saying that not twenty-five per cent. of the enlisted force of the guard enlisted as volunteers. This result follows as a natural sequence to the character of men composing the national guard. It is made up largely of men who can leave their business for a few days, but who cannot leave for one or two years. When the guard wanted to go into the late war as organizations, a large number very properly withdrew, and left only skeletons of companies, which were filled up with raw recruits before being mustered into the service of the United States. They were not well drilled and equipped organizations. In no sense would they compare with the reserve organizations of the military powers of Europe. Our experience in the late war demonstrated that the only trained soldiers the country could rely on were those of the regular force. Spain, fortunately for us, had no military strength, and so we were not punished for our long neglect of ordinary requirements of all rules of organization. Even little Switzerland has a superior organization, consisting of three battalions of four companies each, with eighty-one officers and two thousand two hundred and sixty-two enlisted men for each regiment. I was foolish enough to believe that Congress would pass our first bill. It did not add a single regiment or company to the army on a peace basis, but provided for expanding the army " in time of war or after war had been declared by Congress," to comply with the requirements of the modern science of war. The bill was unanimously reported from the Committee on Military Affairs. When it was brought up on the floor, the storm broke and ignorance and prejudice held high carnival. The bill was overwhelmingly defeated by sheer force of the lung power of members who have since confessed that they knew nothing of the subject.

When the third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress convened, every one recognized that some army legislation must be had.

The law enacted after war [illegible] peace should be proclaimed, [illegible] diately reduced to a force not [illegible] six hundred and ten enlisted [illegible] admitted, should be mustered out [illegible] The American volunteer enlists to [illegible] when compelled to perform garrison [illegible] were being importuned to secure the [illegible] and a condition of utter demoralization [illegible] tempt were made to keep them in the service [illegible]

Facing this situation, I came to Wa[illegible] convened, and, after full conference with [illegible] the outlines of a bill were agreed upon. It [illegible] of infantry regiments from twenty-five to thi[illegible] ten to twelve, abolished the regimental orga[illegible] artillery, and created a corps of artillery. [illegible] organization as we have had it for the last t[illegible] as all other nations organize this branch of the [illegible] creased the infantry company to one hundred a[illegible] listed men, as a maximum, and provided about [illegible] men for the artillery arm of the service, only [illegible] be organized as field artillery. The necessity o[illegible] coast-defense batteries made the increase of the [illegible] artillery absolutely essential. The general of t[illegible] testimony before the Committee on Military Affai[illegible] 1898, said:

> "The increase of the fortifications and the great im[illegible] ing the coast makes the neccessity for a large increase of t[illegible] artillery apparent to everyone. We have now batteries [illegible] under construction, which will be completed this [illegible] teries of artillery to take care of the enormously exp[illegible] fortifications, magazines, ammunition, and everything [illegible] the entire system is completed it will require 333 batteri[illegible] the United States."

The House bill did not provide for as [illegible] tillery as every expert said would be necessary, [illegible] could be arranged in smaller squads and thus [illegible] although we did believe there should be a [illegible] arm of the service. The force of artillery [illegible] breaking out of the war with Spain was seven [illegible] eight hundred men each, making about [illegible]

in the force now presumed to be necessary, that it can be done without any injury to the military effectiveness, by simply discharging unnecessary enlisted men, still leaving an efficient organization of 50 or 80 or 100 men to the company.

"I would not hesitate, with that in view to make the companies as large as 150 men, and I know from my own experience that with such officers as are now found in the regular army a company of 150 men can be made more effective than any new troops under new officers could be made in a short time; although troops organized as our volunteers generally are, of the character generally found among them, would become as good as regulars in the course of a few years; but for a long time a company of volunteers would be less efficient than a company of 150 men organized under such men as now exist in the army."

The greatest trouble we found in the late war was in the staff. Congress had been for years gradually cutting down the staff, until we did not have enough trained officers to care for any increase in the army. All at once our army was expanded from 26,610 to 260,000 men. This required an immense increase of every staff department. The new officers had to be taken largely from civil life. The regular army was short of officers—many companies having been reduced by detail or staff assignment to one commissioned officer to the company. This great mass of raw material could not be made effective all at once. A man without training could not make a good quartermaster or commissary in a week. The regular force worked day and night to supply the army and educate the new men. But when men and officers are both inexperienced, trouble may be looked for. This was the case in nearly every brigade in the army.

The bill, to correct this evil, made substantial increase in every staff department, and especially in the quartermaster and commissary divisions. After seven days' debate and contention in the House, the bill passed on the lines laid down by the Committee on Military Affairs. If the Senate had adopted it as it passed the House, and as it was reported by Republican members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, we would have had a splendid modern organization, providing for an army in time of peace of about fifty-one thousand men, divided into different arms of the service as follows: Infantry, about 23,000 enlisted men; cavalry, 9,000 enlisted men, and artillery about 19,000 enlisted men. Does any sane man regard this as a large standing army for a nation of 75,000,000 people?

On a peace basis, France has 1,000 soldiers to 62,589 of population; Germany 1,000 to 89,300 of population; England, most

favored of all the nations of the old world, 1,000 to 232,959 of population, while this bill would have given only 1,000 soldiers to 1,477,000 of our population.

The bill gave the President discretionary power between the minimum of 51,000 enlisted men and a maximum of 96,000 enlisted men. This larger number embraced all arms of the service, including a regiment of engineers, the hospital and signal corps. It gave a small fighting line and the volunteers could be organized and equipped to come in as reserve, or second line, without the confusion and suffering experienced during the past year. The relative size of the army on a war strength shows how moderate an increase was permitted.

France in war has 1,000 soldiers to 15,407 inhabitants; Germany in war has 1,000 soldiers to 17,427 inhabitants; Great Britain in war has 1,000 soldiers to 72,413 inhabitants, while under the House bill, the United States provided for only 1,000 soldiers to about 791,000 inhabitants. Of course this does not take into account the volunteer. The bill dealt only with the regular establishment, and the above is simply intended to show how moderate was the measure. The fighting strength of this nation will equal that of any other nation on earth, but it is not available without organization.

In the Senate Committee an unfortunate situation developed. It stood five Republicans for the House bill and five Democrats against it. No action could be taken. The 4th of March, when the Fifty-fifth Congress must adjourn *sine die*, was near. Finally, an agreement was reached by which the Republicans reported what is known as the "Hull bill" and the Democrats reported what is known as the "Cockrell bill." The chairman of the Senate Committee, in his report on the Hull bill, gave cordial indorsement to the measure, saying, among other things:

"Assuming, for illustration, that the Government will require about 100,000 troops for defense of the frontier, for coast defense, and to maintain our authority in the islands for whose good order and government this nation is responsible, together with a reasonable reserve force, the committee believe the organization provided for in this bill will make the most efficient military organization, at the lowest cost to the taxpayers, of any proposed."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"The organization of the artillery provided for in the bill changes it from the regimental formation to that of a corps of artillery. Let it be borne in mind how complicated is the artillery service, how many different

kinds of guns it has to serve; ... pedo service, and that the nature of ... entirely upon local conditions— ... and it is at once evident that an ... regiments is inherently vicious. ... the artillery the adaptability and flexibility ... varying conditions of its service."

The bill was taken up in the Senate ... brought to a vote, would have passed ... The Republican members of the committee ... sented an unbroken front, but found the ... mined to talk the session out rather than ... bill. Senators, not members of the Committee ... started a compromise. Senator Cockrell, ... ity, submitted what he was willing to support ... ference with the executive officers of the Govern... ate Military Committee unanimously reported the ... The minority would not agree to the consideration ... bill, as that would throw the difference between th... into conference, and would result in their defeat. ... of the Senate were compelled to yield. The compr... reported to the Senate, was a good measure so far as ... tion of the infantry and cavalry is concerned. ... tically the Hull bill, except that it fixed a minimu... men in a company, and left out all relating to the ma... ber. It left the number of regiments of infantry an... same as provided for in existing law, but in the ar... hered to the old fiction of a regimental organizatio... two batteries to each regiment of artillery. It mad... in the regular staff, but continued a certain numbe... unteer staff until July 1st, 1901. It fixed the n... the army at 65,000 enlisted men, and authorized th... of 35,000 volunteers to be organized into thirty ... serve until July 1st, 1901. The President had ... appoint all officers of the volunteers, so that the Stat... no authority in the premises. The bill authorized ... than the House bill for immediate service, and ... a good line organization for the army and a ... about 39,000 men. If it had passed the Senate ... very little objection could have been urged ... the provisions as to the staff. When it was ...

The act creates additional officers for each infantry regiment as follows: One major, two captains, four first lieutenants. These are all "officers created by this act." No regular army officers will want such places, as without further legislation by Congress their acceptance of a commission would mean retirement to private life two years from July next. The bill was amended at the will of any individual Senator. It is, in its finished state, the worst kind of patchwork. No greater exhibition of the power of a Senator was ever given. A very small minority of the Senate, led by one experienced Senator, took the Senate, the House, and the Executive Department of the Government by the throat and compelled the acceptance of a measure which does not meet the approval of any man familiar with the subject.

It was not alone the fear of an extra session which compelled the acceptance of this act. If Congress had been called in extra session by the 15th of March, who could tell when a law would be passed? The House could act promptly, and in a week send the measure to the Senate. Under the Senate rules there was no certainty that it could pass that body before June. In the meantime, peace declared, the regular army would have been reduced to 26,000, the volunteers discharged, the Executive powerless and the nation disgraced. We chose the lesser of the evils. But I hope the fight will cause the country to demand a change in the Senate rules, so that a majority may have the power, as it now has the right, to legislate.

JOHN A. T. HULL.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PARENTS' DUTIES.

BY JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

OBSERVANT foreigners who visit us are apt to say that this is a children's country; that we pet and indulge our young folks to such a degree that everything else, except business, is given a subordinate place; and that the children take due advantage of their opportunity, ride over us rough-shod, treat us with scant respect, put in their little oar on all occasions, and habitually conduct themselves in a manner which we seem to think clever and amusing, but which, in any other country than this, would bring down upon them condign discipline. These observant foreigners point out that we are never tired of spending money on these children of ours; that there are books and periodicals especially for children, in vast numbers; that there are no such toy-shops as in the United States; that our children are dressed better than others; that immense pains are taken to provide amusements for them; and that, finally, no other nation spends such sums for the private and public education of their children as we do.

The number and efficiency of American public schools have become proverbial. Here, anybody, no matter how poor, can get any sort of education he or she pleases, free of cost, save to the public purse. To this cause are ascribed American intelligence and progress, and the triumphant democracy; for the children of rich, as well as of poor, parents are sent to public schools, and learn, in addition to other branches, the lessons of practical equality and fraternity. Of course, numbers of private schools exist and are prosperous; but, as a people, we believe in bringing up our young ones in democratic fashion, thereby guarding against the peril of their acquiring stuck-up notions, and imbibing the pernicious idea that there are such things as social grades, classes and masses—in a word, that one person is not just as good as another. And

Americans, say these foreigners, are accustomed to instance their eminent men as examples of the benefit of public schooling. Our mayors, our governors, even our Presidents, were public school boys. The American public school puts out of date such institutions as Eton and Rugby, Oxford and Cambridge, in England. We have our Berkeley schools, no doubt, and our Harvards, Yales, Princetons and Cornells, for those who care for such things; but the great mass of the people, the Americans who control the destinies of the Commonwealth, went to the public school, and they send their own children there. It is the normal thing in America. Such is the verdict of our genial critics, which we accept with a complacent smile, and we add to it, of our own motion, that ours are the best children in the world, because they have the best fathers and mothers.

Privately, between ourselves, meanwhile, we are willing to admit that the American public schools are susceptible of certain minor improvements. For one thing, there are not quite so many public schools as there ought to be; cases are known, especially in our large cities, where children have been crowded out for lack of seating-room; and the papers print pictures of weeping little girls and boys and tragic parents appealing to justice and heaven at this unrighteous deprivation; and indignant writers hold up to us the hideous contrast between rooms full of diligent little ones, sitting in rows, with happy faces, studying their books under the benign eyes of incarnate wisdom disguised as school-teachers, and the child abandoned to the street, with its thieves, murderers, drinking saloons, gutters, sewers and general filth, vice and diabolism. Shall it be said that such things were tolerated in free, rich and progressive America? Never! So down we go into our pockets, and build more public schools.

Again, it is sometimes intimated that the teachers in the public schools are not always quite all they might be. Some of them betray signs of incompetence: more often, duties are given to them too arduous to be fully discharged by any merely human agent; occasionally, they are unjust, or lose their tempers; now and then, they seem to neglect their little charges, but, for that matter, it is hardly to be expected that any man or woman, no matter how well equipped, should give personal attention to each one of some hundreds of children, or apportion to each just the degree and kind of instruction that each needs, or do anything except regard

is let forth with
these our children let
and well-conditioned,
evidently expect their
community. Well, we
times even foul, language
and we see vulgar, mean, petty
guage. To look and listen,
that not the children of our
carry on the business of the
toughs and hoodlums were on the
phrases sometimes used by these
ducible on respectable pages, and the
tered is yet more significant than the
conducted on principles of fair-play,
participants bully and take advantage of
never sees a square stand-up fight, but
back and run away. In their disputes, they gi
as a matter of course, and are neither shame
to shame by it. The little girls are outward
the boys, but they nevertheless betray a certai
not of good augury for their future. Their
graces, their fluent slang, their precocious fl
one is to see them! Now, all these children "
act in this way because it is the fashion, and
as models waifs of the streets rather than res
that it is no exaggeration to say that the wh
toward the level of the most disreputable li
or that they can pick up in the street outsi
drawing the case; it could not be overdraw
when the poor little things go home, they ad
other accomplishments, and modify their sp
suit the conception which their parents have
children ought to be. Therefore, each paren
ever bad other children may be, his own are
according to our Christian standards, no
the welfare of any but his own children,
sible.

Are the children to blame? Certainly
tative, and it is the foible of human

alike, to imitate what is evil rather than what is good. It is easier to lie down than to stand erect, morally as well as physically. Boys, if left to themselves, feel a certain pride in being "tough;" they think it shows manliness and the superiority of age. The point is, they ought not to be left to themselves, but the very opposite of what unregenerate nature suggests should be diligently drilled into them. They should be shown, by precept and example, at all times, in what true manliness consists. By whom should this be done?

This essay is not an indictment against our public schools. They may not be, as has already been intimated, perfect. The principles on which they are administered may in some respects be faulty. The means by which those principles are carried out may be susceptible of improvement. But, upon the whole, the State does, more or less well, what it contracts to do. It implants in children's memories certain classes of facts: whether the facts be wisely or foolishly chosen is a minor question. It teaches them arithmetic and geography and other things of the kind; it prepares the child to "pass" certain examinations. But, having thus fulfilled its contract, it stops, and does no more. It takes no cognizance of the children's minds, rightly so called; of their hearts, souls, moral and social ideals. Training in morals, decencies, elevation of thought and conduct, cannot be administered to children in the mass, but must be separately adapted to each individual. American parents take it for granted, however, that, because the State instructs their children in arithmetic and geography and the other things, it must teach them all the Christian and social graces into the bargain. The consequence is that the children grow up knowing more than the hoodlums of the slums, but knowing, also, what the hoodlums know, and, therefore, worse off than if they were ignorant altogether. We already see the effects of this in our national life. Public school children become our shopkeepers, lawyers, politicians, contractors, saloon men, bank clerks, brokers, manufacturers, millionaires. They wear good clothes and appear respectable—are respectable in many cases. But a certain, not small, percentage of them are base in character, rotten in principle, loving mean actions, pursuing degraded ambitions. Our most dangerous criminals are not the hereditary class, but graduates of our public schools. Most of the men whose careers disgrace their country, either in a small or a conspicuous

giving a tone to the entire
the foundations of our national
to contend that many, even the m
turn out well. That may be truly
true than it is, for, as children
vices learned at school, and wear
tives of prudence. Yet, the vices
frailty, the defect, whatever it may be,
or woman is brought to the test, it will
we going to do about it? The first thi
recognize the fact that the public school
are not to be charged against our public sc
parental neglect and abandonment. They
cation by the State, unsupported by traini

This essay, then, is not an indictme
schools, but of American parents' neglect
do not do our duty by them. It is too s
that we entrust them to the State; we aba
ica is the children's country, perhaps; bu
flattering to our vanity than we might
book-learning, their amusements, and th
deny them what it is our chief concern to
to develop character. Yet, it is in order to
tunity, or, we might say, to compel them t
we, as parents, exist. If we fail to do i
parents, not exist at all.

We are a busy people, devoted to bu
every day to make ends meet, and, even
generally keep on working from habit, or
of ambition or another. We say we are fo
are fond of them, in a way—a selfish w
office hours, at meal times, on holidays;
them, indulge them, get them to show off a
they have been regular in their school atte
this question in the affirmative, and we fi
ficient in their studies, we are satisfied;
of further responsibility. We have only
and the State takes better care of them

seldom words of praise from
drum solemnity and formality
trary, it is free, full of humor
ful, but mutually respectful.
tongued uproar of the streets
forward, his bearing confident but
of his fingers, but you cannot talk
the soul of a gentleman is in him;
stinctively that he would protect her, if
of his small strength. This boy, who is
from perfect; further yet from the
kind. From some points of view, he
temper, of pig-headedness, of overbearing
now and then, due however to thoughtlessness
But he is quick always to make amends, and
has done so. The faculty of dissimulation is
tell by his face what his mood is; there is no
mure meekness or sanctimoniousness which
of the young rascals who come into the house
and foulness outside; who sneakingly avoid yo
often, stare you out of countenance as they po
virtuous protestations. No; the public school
boy, and there are many others like him; but
neglected him. His family recognizes the nat
of the public school and where it stops; and,
come in and supply its deficiencies.

As for the others, nominally they have father
in reality they are orphans; they seem to hav
true home is the gutter—for they feel at home
parents are to blame. Neither public nor priva
thing else, can absolve parents from their res
plea of lack of time is a false plea; it is not
you spend with your child that counts, but th
time to. The discipline, the training, the
admit of no substitutes; and parents will obs
right by their children, they will derive from
much training and enlightenment as they ca
While you are building up and polishing off yo
he is chastening yours, and keeping you on th
tle. You may fancy that it is a privilege to

for a father; but it is at least as much a privilege to you to have him for a son—provided you *are* a father to him, and not a mere idle and vicious appendage. And that sort of appendage is precisely what a large percentage of American fathers are. It does not mend matters to say that you are fond of your children, and, in proof of it, to paw them and kiss them, give them toys and candy, picture books, circus tickets, skates and bicycles; or to scold them violently and unjustly when they happen to get upon your nerves, or in your way. An ape can slobber over its offspring, and give it nuts or cuff it, as whim may dictate. Selfishness is at the bottom of our failure to give proper attention to our children; it is selfishness all the way through. We want the fun of having children, without incurring the liabilities. We want to have them around us, when we are in the humor, and to have them look nice, and display all suitable merits and accomplishments, but we do not wish to be bothered with the task of inculcating the same; that, we devolve upon the public school. We would not allow our most confidential clerk to engineer a critical deal for us in the market or on 'Change; but we have no hesitation in permitting a school teacher, to us unknown, underpaid, tired to death, averse from her or his occupation probably, and sometimes incompetent, to determine the lines upon which our own flesh and blood, with his immortal soul, is to take his departure in life; lines whose direction and grading will practically settle his future. The outcome of the deal on 'Change will immediately and perhaps vitally affect our pocket, but the outcome of the boy will not appear until he is an orphan in name, as he already is in fact, and, meanwhile, its symptoms are hidden from us by the boy's own precocious hypocrisy and our conniving blindness. And yet, children were created to go to heaven, while bank-accounts sometimes operate to incline their owners toward another place.

This is not a light matter, but an important one, quite national in its scope. It becomes more menacing every year, because the public school child of to-day is the parent of the public school child of to-morrow, and will do as he has been done by. Unless we mend our ways betimes, there will be no mending them at all. If the children do not improve, they will grow worse. Let us not forget that in old times they used to be much better in this very respect; American home life was not splendid or sumptuous, but it was pure and healthy in tone, and children were brought up strictly—too much

so, if anything—in the way they should go. There were not so many public schools then; the State did not take quite so much on its shoulders, and parents took a great deal more on theirs. If the children of those days went wrong, it was not for lack, not of good counsel alone, but of good example likewise. America had not yet been dubbed a children's country; but it was a country where children were faithfully and honorably treated. Well, the *laudator temporis acti* has his labor for his pains. What is to come, is the point. Conceding whatever may be advanced in favor of public schools, it is nevertheless a truth that the greater the attendance at them becomes, the more sedulous should we be to counteract the evils incident to them—or to supplement the benefits, if it be preferable to put it in that way. All kinds of children go to them, and society is contagious, low society especially. The more the State helps the parents, the more should the parents help themselves; the more urgent becomes their responsibility. The more arithmetic and geography the school puts into the child's brain, the more decency and honor should the parents instill into his heart. The devil is always after him, and can attack him in a thousand ways; but the angels can reach him only through his parents; or, at all events, his parents have no right to assume the contrary. It is desirable, no doubt, that our children should have their schooling; but it is a bitter necessity that we parents should first get ours, that we should learn to realize what our parental duties are, and compel ourselves to do them.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

and in the history of the
the person of our Lord Jesus
soul of man and in the organic
makes revelations of truth without
flickering shadow. But before this
thodoxy for us, it must be apprehended
and weakness are such that we
things in different and often contradictory
truth cannot contradict itself, either
wrong in these contradictory apprehensions
must be asked, *which* is wrong? We
they say we are, and who shall decide?
our standard of orthodoxy?

Now, it becomes evident at once, that it
difference within what limits the standard is
standard which I am to apply to my own
That which I am to enjoin or force upon my
ferent matter. Honesty requires that what I
be true should determine my approach to or
vidual orthodoxy is at best defective and par
come superficial, disingenuous and illusory as
ceases to be my own. In fact, any other stan
orthodoxy which I can myself apply, except
hension of revealed truth, is a contradiction i
be loyal to any truth which I do not apprehen
not be really believing what I do not believe.

But, while my apprehension of truth is d
not decisive for any other man. Every man
truth for himself. Every man's standard m
self. Only in case all these individual stan
could we make any one of them the universal
do not agree. They differ widely.

I may be very sure that I am right, and
agrees with me is wrong. If I did not so belie
be no real disagreement. I may argue and p
content, in the hope of bringing him to my
thereby entitled to impose my belief upon
despise and cast him out of my circle because
ing. He would be equally entitled to
and such a conflict of rights is an absurdity

in our own respective positions, as we may each of us be, it is a social duty that we be modest, and each respect the other. Most careful and candid thinkers who have studied history learn the habit, paradoxical as it may seem, of calm security in their opinions, joined with an underlying recognition of the possibility of their making mistakes. The right of private judgment, and the belief that God alone is Lord of the conscience, refer to *your* private judgment and *your* conscience as well as to mine, and if God *alone* is Lord of the conscience then I may not lord it over your conscience with my opinions, nor may you over mine.

Thus far we have considered individual standards of orthodoxy. Orthodoxy, however, has a technical sense. In this sense it refers to the religious thinking of a corporate body, constituting the Church of God. No one of our existing ecclesiastical organizations can claim to present the standard of Church orthodoxy, any more than any individual man may render his belief the standard by which the others shall be judged and treated. Church orthodoxy must be found in that which the Church, as such, holds and is committed to, in fundamental and obviously necessary things, without which the Church will cease to be the divinely instituted society on earth.

All ecclesiastical standards of orthodoxy are imperfect, as individual standards of orthodoxy are; although since the Spirit of God dwells in the Church in a fuller measure than is or can be true of any individual, or any mere aggregation of individuals, it is less impertinent for the Church to put forth a standard of orthodoxy than for an individual, or a mere group of individuals, to do so. It appears at the beginning of the Church's history, and it has been verified times without number in all lands, that there are certain facts of actual occurrence, and certain experiences in the soul, and certain expectations in regard to the outcome, in and as to which members of the Christian Church substantially agree;—the facts, be it always observed, as distinguished from the precise interpretation of the facts; the experiences, as distinguished from theories explaining how they became possible; the expectations, as distinguished from opinion about the exact mode of their fulfilment. These are the common property, the common conviction, of the whole Church. Two remarks suggest themselves. One is that the ecclesiastical standard of orthodoxy must be valid for the whole Church, or it is not truly an

I am not saying that the
orate creeds have sinned in
asked us to subscribe were
of the system, which I believe
personal responsibility is the
ceive the wrong and to correct it."
True, œcumenical orthodoxy
ing all the obligations we have
the best of our power, seek to
abuses, and leave the standard of

No doubt, the historical divisions
means of emphasizing particular
their full development and definition.
sions has some specific contribution to
sive theology of the future. Perhaps
could not have been wrought out
with mind. But, when we consider the
that were harbored in the early undivided
ward to the re-union of many types in the
is to come, it is impossible to hold any
sions on the basis of different types of
justifiable. It is because we have forgotten,
constitutes the Church, and have exaggerated
particular phases of doctrine, that our
of these phases can lead us to justify sects.
sects in holding up aspects of doctrine
schools of thought, earnestly discussing
other, as parties in a State debate great
State, and all with common rights in it.

This does not belittle the truth
creeds, nor discredit theology. Theology
set to doing what it cannot do, and fails.
out of it, to keep people away from a Church,
out of Church office, it is discredited,
is for. When it is made to appear,
of Christly men busied with the highest
ing them ever more and more, the
delight in it. Turn it into a mere
volts. The ethical sense refuses to
has indeed grown in the divided

grown far more amply, normally, beneficently, in a united Church. Truth does not need either prizes or penalties. It is better without them. They tend to exaggeration, repression, or distortion. Truth needs only freedom. Abolish subscription to a full theological system as a condition of church membership or office, and you strike off the bonds of theology, and give it free wing. In liberty it will live and mature; in a cage it pines away.

Consider, finally, the relation of orthodoxy to Church discipline. It results inevitably from what has been said, that Church discipline on the ground of false doctrine should not be exercised except when one of the œcumenical doctrines is rejected or assailed. As in the use of subscription, so in that of discipline, the fragmentary or local Church has authority only as authority has been given to the whole Church of Christ by its Founder and Master. In view of the confusions arising from our unhappily divided Church life, it is especially incumbent on each part of the Church to be extremely cautious in discipline on doctrinal grounds, and assure itself well that it is indeed attempting to vindicate a really orthodox doctrine, and not simply one which a majority of its members think important. A particular Church has no right to institute process against a Christian man or minister, because he holds or denies what is not involved in the standard of orthodoxy which the whole Church recognizes.

We attempt to justify ourselves, sometimes, with reference to discipline as with reference to subscription, by saying that no man is forced to enter our Church, our eldership, our ministry, nor forced to stay in when he has once entered. But observe the contradiction. We assume, as the Church of Christ, to exclude from Church fellowship or depose from Church office persons, in regard to whom we in the same breath say that they are good Christians and competent officers, and that they will find appropriate place and useful work in another branch of the Church. This we have no right to do. We cannot lawfully exclude from our Church, nor from our branch of the Church, any whom Christ recognizes as in His Church. We cannot lawfully remove from our ministry any whom Christ recognizes and places in His ministry.

A Church, let it be repeated and emphasized, is not a club, nor a political party, nor a voluntary association of like minded persons. *A* Church is only a branch of *the* Church, and *the* Church includes all those who belong to Jesus Christ, and has as its lawful

office-bearers all those whom Jesus
whom, in their ministry, He is
Various puzzling questions of
our divisions, our elaborate creeds,
our defective understanding of what the
work through them patiently and slowly
decided in each individual case for itself
who finds himself no longer in theological
whose creed he formerly accepted, should
association—go, that is, into another branch of
Church. But, certainly, no such branch
right or authority to compel him to go, if he holds
faith. Nor is condemning a man by inferences
cise of Church discipline. Deductive logic is
guide. Not every man holds opinions which
deduce from those he does hold. Wise thinkers have
parent inconsistencies. Sometimes, no doubt, these would
moved if we could discern the higher unity. Two opinions
seem divided by an impassable chasm, when, if we knew
field, we should see, far back, the connecting path.
strous to think of casting out a man for opinions he
ply because you judge that they ought logically to
opinions he affirms. There is no test of orthodoxy
man's own, honest judgment of his own belief.
course, be a liar. There is that peril in all human
with human nature what it is. But permanent
one's opinions is both difficult and rare. When
opinions is detected, then discipline has a more
is often imposed by heterodoxy, namely, that
ality; we shall probably agree that lying is immoral,
morality does not belong within the Church. If
the elaborate creed, a man finds himself out of
rent interpretations of that creed, it is preposterous
on that account, should go to another branch of the
as for attacking and seeking to drive out one
ance of the elaborate creed, because he holds
a chance majority, of average knowledge and
cannot reconcile with some clause of the
very conception of it is totally inconsistent
of the Church and the Church standard

THE FUTURE OF CUBA.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER.

THE fate of Cuba and the Cubans no longer rests in the hands of a small cabal of mediæval and selfish statesmen at Madrid, intent only upon enriching the mother country, but with the people of the United States, who are to-day actively and impartially discussing the future of the island. The question is not how much the United States can make out of Cuba, but how best to make a prosperous, peaceful and useful neighbor of an island within a hundred miles from the shores of the Great Republic. The people of Cuba must disabuse themselves of the idea that the future of their native land is in the hands of some one man or any set of men. On the contrary, it has been committed to the care of a liberty-loving people, as jealous of popular rights as those Cuban patriots, who, like Marti and Gomez and Maceo and Garcia and Quesada, risked their lives to make their country free. That the people of the United States will deal justly and fairly with the people of Cuba, does not admit of doubt, and the closer the people of the two countries come together on a platform of mutual trust and confidence, the sooner a stable government will be established.

It may be well for our Cuban friends to remember, that a considerable number of the seventy-five millions of the American Republic have themselves exchanged for the Stars and Stripes flags that mean as much to them as the Cuban flag to the most patriotic Cuban, and around which cluster as tender memories as those which the flag of the Cuban Republic suggests. The great newspaper press of the United States is discussing all sides of the Cuban question as intelligently and vigorously, and as fairly and honestly towards Cuban interests, as it does our own important domestic questions, and no Cuban need for a moment fear that the conclusions reached will be other than for the best interests of

all concerned. If, at the conclusion of military occupation, Cuba is made an independent republic, it will be because the people of Cuba and the people of the United States, acting jointly, so decide. If, on the contrary, the future of Cuba shall lie in the still greater independence of American Statehood, it will be by the mutual consent of the people of the two countries. There are no other possibilities in the final solution of the political future of Cuba.

The more stable the government of Cuba, the more certain will be its industrial development. The closer and stronger the ties which bind Cuba to the United States, the greater will be the prosperity and the more rapid the reconstruction of the island. To the outside world Cuba has become part of the United States. To call the present situation Military Protectorate or Military Occupancy will not alter the fact that the strength of Cuba to-day is its close alliance with the United States. Commercially and industrially the two countries fit perfectly together. The products of Cuba can all find a market in the United States, while the needs of Cuba can all be supplied by its continental neighbor. The Cubans have had a taste of the prosperity which followed reciprocal commercial relations with the United States. The golden possibilities of absolutely free intercourse between Cuba and the United States must be apparent to the more intelligent Cubans. That sentiment for a flag and a country is natural and laudable cannot be denied; but in the final and mutual coming together of Cuba and the United States, the single star becomes not less bright by reason of association or companionship with the other stars, together making a harmonious whole, and representing all that is best and most hopeful for mankind.

A good deal of honest and intelligent work has already been done by the United States for Cuba. A new tariff has been framed and put in operation by the War Department, aided by experienced officials from the Treasury Department. The Post Office Department has inaugurated an improved mail service. The telegraph lines are rapidly being put in order. The United States sanitary authorities are laying their plans for a vigorous campaign against epidemic disease this summer. The Governors of cities are as rapidly as possible cleaning up the streets and preparing plans for modern sewerage and drainage. Under the direction of General Brooke and the immediate supervision of General Chaffee, a complete system for policing the rural districts of the island with Cuban

police is in progress of organization
Army will be utilized, as far as po
abolished many onerous taxes, stopped the
of the resources and revenues of Cuba,
all available methods and instruments
island and to improving the condition of
deavored to establish the principle that
erned in the interest of Cuba, by Cubans,

There still remains a great deal of work
of the wedge of the stronger civilization has b
time and patience and strength will all be req
home. The programme mapped out is a long a
and more money than is at present in sight wi
carry it through. The building of public roads,
of public schools, and the inauguration of sanita
branches of the civil government that must be
with all possible vigor, immediately after the sch
Cuba has been completed. The importance of tea
all Cuban public schools must not be overloo
Cuban people will never understand the peopl
States until they appreciate our institutions. A
of the judiciary must follow. The laws relating
transfer of property must be revived, safeguards
relating to mortgages, and some of the old custom
ings banks must also be established, for no people
manently prosperous where thrift is unknown,
are no opportunities for saving the surplus earni
lation. The Government of the United States, a
tion with the Cuban people, has a serious and in
perform.

The Government, however, cannot be depend
all. The people must get to work again themse
every possible way in the task of reconstruction
ful, this work should be begun in the right way
tion up, or it will become top heavy, and the
the Cuban people will be worse and more
The population must be got to work again
and the fields must be made to yield in
prises, of which so much is heard, and
pends so largely upon the prosperity of the

of narrow gauge railways,
joining farms. There are
can withstand a tropical climate
and raise sugar cane. Every
to this class of immigrants.
years in Cuba, has informed the
trious immigrants from Southern
find ample opportunities in Cuba
profitable living, raising cane for the
willing to work, the owners of the
secure them the land and tide them over
of laborers, and the Canary Islanders,
take up and work small sugar farms in
tofore with the negroes has not been
better system of government it may be
of the sugar factory depends so largely
cane of the district, that the central is always
likely to become a thrifty *colono*. In coffee
possibilities on a small scale, and also in
and highways have been sufficiently improved
to market. Herein lies the only feasible
American capitalists who desire to live in a
true that only a small portion of this wonderful
tivation. In time it might all be utilised,
in sugar. When Continental Europe tires of
producing sugar, Cuba must take its place
ducing country of the world, a place it never
it not been for misgovernment, war and
modern methods when beet sugar first
world's supply.

The particular lines on which the
capital of the United States can be utilised
doubtedly be in the establishment of public
and in the improvement of methods of
of the enterprises likely to be taken up by
capitalists:

a. Sanitary Improvements and Water
b. Street Railways and Light Railways
burban Districts.
c. Gas Works and Electric Lighting

d. Unifying and Extension of Railway System.

e. Establishment of Better Facilities for Coastwise Transportation.

f. Navigation between Cuba and the United States.

g. Wharfage, Lighterage and Public Warehouses.

h. Telegraphic and Telephone Services.

i. Public Roads and Highways.

j. Savings Banks and Financial Institutions to aid commerce and industry.

k. Places of Amusement, Tropical Gardens and Hotels.

The directing hand of American enterprise will be soon felt in these branches of modern endeavor, and the effect must be an improved condition of life and of morals. To make these enterprises profitable, however, the real productive forces of the island must first be revived, and, if possible, increased. The strength of the building of our own nation lies in the fact that our productive powers were developed first, and the modern improvements and conveniences have been gradually coming along in the proper order. Nothing could be more unfortunate for Cuba than a wild and speculative plunge in the above direction, before the real strength of the island is again concentrated and put in vigorous working order. In the first place, it would temporarily take away the working forces from the land. In the second place, these enterprises cannot be made self-sustaining until normal productive conditions are restored. The effect, therefore, would be loss of capital and disappointment. The objective and immediate point for good work should be the land. If the new industrial impetus shall be in this direction, the Cuban problem will be simplified and the future of Cuba full of promise.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

MEXICAN HACIENDAS—THE

BY PRINCE A. DE ITURBI

THE Mexican hacienda or farm is the m
of the New World. It is the one establi
America that has no prototype, reflecting, as
of life that followed the Conquest, and havi
by the social transformations that developed
of to-day out of the world that it was when
inhabitant of New Spain was styled a *Conq*
tinguished from the conquered Aztec as *gent*
reason.

The relations between conqueror and c
opposite, however, of what the conquest its
that they might be, for never were circumsta
to develop the brutal instincts of adventurers
obtained in Mexico in the first half of the six
the humane influence of the clergy prevaili
more benign than the ones enacted by the rac
the race of Montezuma; and the code that c
a monument to Christian humanity, such as
alone marks the passage of European pow
land.

As to the conquered territory, its riches w
in its mines and its haciendas. Around the r
sprang up that followed the fortunes of the i
they grew; some of them are among our larg
the farming interests grew the hacienda, whic
customs, the basis of our society and, until v
main spring of our politics. And it is to-day,
the surest foundation of our wealth. We
farmers of almost every region of the earth

ever, conveys a general notion of the origin and significance of haciendas as social factors.

The house of a great hacienda is imposing in appearance, on account, usually, of its size rather than of its architectural proportions. It is generally built around a large court, and, whether of one or two stories, conveys the impression of having been erected solely with a view to durability and spaciousness. The construction is invariably of stone or sun-baked bricks, plastered and painted, and, in most cases, presents an even elevation, broken only by grated windows, a *porte cochère* and loop-holes for musketry. This structure contains the offices, apartments for the owner, for the two or three principal employees and their families and for the servants, store-rooms, stables for saddle and for carriage horses, carriage space, and an indefinite number of spare rooms, according to circumstances. Conveniently situated in relation to the main building, are the habitations of employees, the huts of the peons, some times the *posada* or inn, for the accommodation of travellers, the church (which usually is a pretentious structure), the store, where every commodity of peasant life is for sale, the vast stables for horses, mules and oxen, store-houses for the produce of the hacienda, and others for agricultural implements, the wheelwright, blacksmith and carpenter plants, the saddler's and cobbler's shops, the loom, the bakery—in sum, all the attributes of a village, which an hacienda of this class is, practically, having a population of from five to fifteen hundred inhabitants.

It must not be supposed that, since the hacienda is a singular exponent of conservatism, it is, in any sense, a factor of retrogression or of stagnation. On the contrary, the great haciendas are in line with the scientific progress of the day, and in advance of the average towns in the trades and in mechanical establishments. It is in the rules that govern its community that the hacienda is conservative—and happily so; for those rules constitute the nearest approach to a solution of the labor question that our times afford, whilst by them the racial question is eliminated from the problems of life.

I have read a good deal that is erroneous, in the writings of English-speaking travellers, concerning the peon system. It may as well be said that a peon is a day-laborer—not necessarily a field hand; but, taking the word in the latter restricted sense, the peon-

system is the only one in force, on this continent, that regulates the relations between capital and labor to the satisfaction of both. It does not obtain throughout the whole of Mexico with unvaried details; what I say concerning it applies to the middle belt of Mexican States, as distinguished from the ones bordering on our northern frontier and from that portion of the country known as Tierra Caliente. But variations in the peon system are not material in those different sections, except in so far as the diversity of climate and of agricultural products implies a corresponding diversity in labor and in the exigencies of life. The greater or less abundance of field hands, also, affects the system in question. In fact, each of the larger haciendas has its own unwritten constitution originating in its own special circumstances as well as in national or in regional ones, and dating back, as a rule, from one to three centuries; because few of these haciendas are of recent establishment. They may have been transformed in different ways, but their foundation is older, in most cases, than the century; and their traditional continuity is ensured by peon families and others that, in each case, are identified, by birth or by marriage, with the hacienda.

The peon, with rare exceptions, is of the Indian or mixed races. He is bound by debt to the hacienda on which he works, and, regardless of color, he may rise, along the scale of promotion, to the highest employments on the place.

The indebtedness referred to in the preceding paragraph is one of the essential features of the peon system, and is contracted by peons, either directly or by voluntary inheritance. In the former case, a peon seeking employment presents himself to the Administrator—by which title the manager of an hacienda is known—and asks for an *enganche,* that is, a retainer, the amount of which, as a rule, varies between ten and thirty dollars. If the applicant be acceptable, the retainer is paid, and the peon becomes part and parcel of the establishment. If he happens to be indebted to another hacienda and, for his own reasons, is changing employers, his debt being a recommendation, larger amounts than those named will be advanced to buy the debt and allow the peon a cash margin. His contract obliges him to work for the hacienda until his debt is cancelled. On the other hand, his prerogatives are such as no other laborer in the world enjoys. In the first place, it is tacitly understood that, while the peon remains in the employ of

the hacienda, his debt will
that it will be increased,
assume it, or death or old age
sold, without his consent, except
The peon is free, however, to
of his earned wages may be applied
week, he receives rations, sufficient
that of his family. Each year, he and
supply of clothing. Medical services
expense, and the sums of money that
tisms, confirmations, marriages or burials
regardless of the balance that the peon's
him. Haciendas, such as are described in
to which the peon may—and, often, must—
is furnished space, of course, and material
his hut, and is entitled to the use of a
which he cultivates for his own benefit, with
implements and seed. Finally, there are two
each of which the peon receives extra wages
dollars. And when, through age or accident,
able to work, he becomes a charge of the hacienda

One of these establishments, in the State of
furnished *data* that throw light upon the point
number of the hacienda's inhabitants (men, wom
was about sixteen hundred, and their aggregate in
owner amounted to a sum of more than twenty-
lars, of which one peon alone owed fifteen hundred
peons were free of debt, and a few of them we
creditors. As the women and children were not
financial figures, the same showed an average
seventy dollars per peon.

The women are very industrious, and, though
by the hacienda to do field work, never fail to
tasks from which their sex does not debar them.
not figure on hacienda rolls, their earnings
entered on the accounts of the men of their
vest season, for instance, it frequently happens
day, when the amount of a peon's work is
with two, three or more days' extra work
plished by the women of his family.

lation into communities ... the most remunerative ... sphere.

Our commercial isolation ... other cause, perhaps, the ... market value of haciendas ... though the ratio thus effected ... standards, the effect of pre-existing ... market for Mexican rural property ... in great measure, to the fact that ... Mexico, employments similar to those ... the countries from which it has been ... as a rule, being uninformed as to our ...

It would be difficult to formulate ... applicable to our lands, in general, ... they are perhaps unrivalled, and certainly ... tainous country in the region of a tropic ... most varied agricultural features within ... face. This fact is strikingly manifested ... territory that lies between the Tropic of ... teenth degree of northern latitude, and it ... sion in districts that are contiguous to the P... within a radius of fifteen miles, there are la... nearly every agricultural staple of North A... coffee and other tropical products to root ... plants of known usefulness, is the one that ... limit of vegetation. In regions such as the ... tive altitude, of course, is the most importa... but there are many other circumstances th... where and that exercise decisive influence ... ters, producing, in this sense, material diff... of the same altitude, latitude and geologic...

The financial feature of haciendas is su... variation, within any one of the three clir... territory, namely, the "Cold," the "Tempe... countries; but, among haciendas of differe... difference in the profits derived from them ... of properties in the warmer country. The ... valuation of haciendas, in general, is ... themselves in five years, if the ...

placed, at compound interest of six per cent., during that time; or, in the concrete, that an hacienda which yields an average income of, for example, fifty thousand dollars each year, has a market value of a little more than $280,000—to which must be added the peon debt, the cost of agricultural implements, and other amounts aggregating, in all, a capital upon which the hacienda will pay a yearly interest of fourteen or fifteen per cent. Such was, at least, the standard, until a few years ago, and I doubt that it has been materially modified. It does not convey an idea, however, of the more profitable rural investments that have been made, of late years, in Mexico, especially in plantations of coffee. It is probable that few, if any, of these properties yield, at the present time, a yearly income of less than twenty per cent. of the amount for which they could have been purchased in 1892; whilst a majority of those that were established during the "coffee boom", five or six years ago, pay now an annual interest of from forty to one hundred and fifty per cent. on the sum of their cost.

Of the haciendas of the cold climate, those devoted to the maguey (American agave) are said to be the best. They present the unique feature, at least, of their income being a daily one; whilst their specialty is but little affected by climatic irregularities. The maguey, among species of the vegetable kingdom, is second to the bamboo in varied usefulness; its staples, however, are pulque, another alcoholic beverage, known as Tequila, and a very strong though coarse fiber called istle. Henequin, also, is the fiber of a species of the maguey. The species of agave that produces pulque—which is the fermented sap of the plant—is similar in shape to those of which specimens are found in the gardens of this country; but its leaves, which are uniformly green, attain, in six or seven years, a full growth of from five to ten feet in length, and of proportionate breadth and thickness. These leaves converge to a common origin, where they form a cup into which the sap flows when the maguey has reached maturity, and from which the liquid is taken, twice each day, for a period of three months; after which, the plant dies. The sap is subjected to a process of fermentation, and in three days becomes pulque ready for the market, where it must be consumed within forty-eight hours, or be lost. So that the agricultural advantages of pulque haciendas over others are counteracted, in some measure, by commercial risks—not in a degree, however, to prevent them

from being favored properties, as investments, among Mexican capitalists. Pulque is a mild intoxicant, medicinal, and essentially a drink of the people, concerning the discovery of which there are different romantic Aztec traditions.

Tequila, the other liquor referred to above, is obtained, by distillation, from different parts of the maguey.

It is not my purpose to deal with agricultural technicalities, but a word concerning the use of machinery on haciendas may be in place, if only in explanation of facts that sometimes have been misunderstood. Agricultural methods, of course, have not reached, in Mexico, the degree of perfection that they have attained in older countries; and there is every reason to suppose that the large acreage of rural properties, in that country, and the extreme roughness of its soil will be obstacles, in many instances, rather than incentives to advancement in the above sense. But the well-conducted haciendas are fully equipped with machinery. I do not mean to say by this, that we use all the modern implements that are successfully adopted here in agricultural pursuits, but that we do use the ones that present material advantages over the methods that they are intended to replace. Many of those mechanical devices are not adapted to our soil in some instances, or to our requirements in others; or, being otherwise desirable innovations, they can not successfully compete with peon labor. As an example, I may cite the case of two haciendas in the valley of Esperanza, where, after repeated experiments and mechanical modifications, the wheat drill proved to be inefficient as a substitute for hand sowing in combination with the "Egyptian plow," on account, be it said, of the nature of the soil and of other local conditions—and the good will of the establishments in question may not be doubted, for they did more than any other hacienda of their size and importance, in the State of Puebla, to abet the adoption of advanced methods in agriculture.

This industry, in Mexico, encounters one serious obstacle, the lack of surface water; but that obstacle can be removed, without difficulty, in view of the hydrographic conditions of the greater part of Mexican territory.

A. DE ITURBIDE.

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moral features,
contrast, we may
lure of bigness and
the enlargement of our
tory and populations and
are supposed to follow in
or an empire of what we
And, in that connection, we
one hand, are the gains which
an accession of territory and
other, are the perils?

I suppose it will be said, in the
most consequence, and which
the average American mind, is the
mercial opportunities. The
that the pre-eminent position which
the commercial world, has not been
such as the possession of extra-
quisition of colonies, or of anything
To-day, the United States of America,
formed, sends twenty-seven per cent.
to other countries, in no one of which
It sends more than forty per cent. of its
way. It sends nearly seventy per cent.
the same way. Here, then, are three
in which the export business of the
such a vast proportion, and this
from the beginning until now, without
achieve it of a single territorial foot of
American continent. It may be said,
want is not merely an accession of
peoples. But we cannot ignore the
peoples that are likely to be acquired by
as is urged upon us in some quarters to-day
tions of the peoples, the various and
be included under our government, if we
the title, not only to the near islands
but to that group of 1,200 islands
people, which lies almost on the
homogeneity have they? What

they? What characteristics have they, that promise, in any near or remote moment, that they and we can sustain any mutually helpful and beneficial organic relation?

On the other hand, the moment we consider the great questions which confront our country in connection with the extra-territorial policy of the United States, we are compelled to look in the face the enormous perils which such a policy must inevitably involve. It must involve, in the first place, a great, and I believe a very great, standing army. Intelligent men will not easily be persuaded that an army of fifty thousand men, or a hundred thousand men, will be able to handle the colossal and most intricate problem of the proper government and administration of these alien, and, in some instances, utterly uncivilized peoples. But if we are to have only a hundred thousand men, or one hundred and fifty thousand men, the question arises, what will the new policy cost the country? The revenue of the United States Government for the month of January, 1899, in spite of recent legislation, had entirely failed to bring the revenue of the Government up to the requirements of the administration, and there was, for the month of January, a deficit of several millions of dollars. This is a time of peace, and yet the curious fact confronts us that the army appears to be costing us more in a time of peace than it cost us a little while ago, in the time of war. We are "cleaning up things," I suppose. There are "other explanations." The trouble is that there will always be other explanations, and, accompanying those explanations, there will be those illustrations of individual cupidity, of personal neglect, of manifold inconvenience, which unfortunately marked our late war. I confess for myself that when I contemplate the organization of a great army, which is to be created, and, above all, is to be officered upon the basis of the policy which has obtained during the last year in this country, in connection with the appointment of persons to positions of considerable and often of very great responsibility, I confront it with the utmost dismay.

The splendid contrast between the army and the navy, in which the friends of the navy rejoice, is that the navy is free from scandals which have disfigured the history of the army and its administration. But that fact will not secure the maintenance of the navy, by any less costly means than are required for a great army; and it is impossible to conceive of a great army holding the

position and possessions we [illegible]
support it. In modern warfare [illegible]
the navy is a far more important [illegible]
factor than the army.

So much for the vulgar aspect [illegible]
interest.

What is to be the result of the [illegible]
which must be behind and beyond [illegible]
We have not been very successful at th[illegible]
who have fought for the principle of civil [illegible]
feel like a sailor out on the yard-arm in a [illegible]
the sheet, which he is striving to reef, wh[illegible]
with his hands and his feet! Every now and [illegible]
pears in the sky, that makes us feel that [illegible]
for and won in the great struggle for civil [illegible]
being imperilled, if not of being lost. The [illegible]
try in regard to the soundness of the princ[illegible]
wabbles about, so to speak, in such a way as [illegible]
of many of us the keenest apprehension. [illegible]
doors of such vast opportunities of government[illegible]
as will be opened should we adopt the [illegible]
eleven millions of people and twelve hundred [illegible]
each one of which, I have no doubt it will be [illegible]
have a governor of its own and a staff and all [illegible]
we get a picture of the realm of appointments [illegible]
modern legislator will enter with keen and [illegible]
what of us who are behind him, who have to [illegible]
yes; not merely that, but who have to feel the [illegible]
condition of things in which a vast body of [illegible]
sponisibility, under conditions so remote and [illegible]
public eye that it will practically be utterly [illegible]
know what they are doing, and how they do it [illegible]
own reports. If we could export the body of [illegible]
dents to the Philippines; if we could transfer [illegible]
nals that we have in New York, of the [illegible]
yellow climate, and have them send back [illegible]
these gentlemen who are to hold office there [illegible]
of the United States, we should doubtless [illegible]
turesque and interesting, but not very [illegible]
as a matter of fact, we shall have [illegible]

its tremendous possibilities of
future. I do not believe that as yet
possibilities. I was crossing the
with an English officer, who was coming
and we were talking one day about China
realize what a menace China is to
said, "No." "Well," said he, "China
four walls, so to speak, for all these centuries
bling down now. It is building railroads; it
more; it hasn't got on as far or as fast as the
beginning to learn Western ways, and it is likely to
them. Now, then, there are four hundred millions
China. Did you ever stop to consider how many
knew how to do it, and had the manufactories of
to do it, and the men trained as they might easily
they are being trained to-day, you know, in Turkey
officers, with whom to do it—China could put under
you ever stopped to consider what it would require, i
of an armed force, to resist the invasion of Europe by
the Tartar steppes into Russia, and so on down int
if once the Chinese could make up their minds to
talk of the armies of Germany, and of Russia, and of
if you lump them all together, and add the troops of I
America to them, the Chinese could put into the fie
have the human beings—which, after all, is the last re
an army that could wipe out the whole crowd." N
putting ourselves, when we take hold of the Philippin
intimate and very suggestive relations with that gr
power, and it is our duty to consider, before we do
door is that we are about to open in this way, and
which will come through that door when it is opene
think that that is the path along which Providence b
walk. It may be the path of bigness, but it is not
greatness.

What is the path of greatness? It is the path
government of the people, by the people and for the
just government is that which exists with the conse
erned," is our historic definition. But neither
could we possibly have under the conditions of
that occupy the Philippine Islands to-day. On

what is it that has made us great, not alone here, but in the eyes of all the world? First of all, it is, as I maintain, that with all our faults and our defects we have furnished to the world so fine and high an illustration of the ideal of government by the people. We have, so to speak, destroyed the monarchical concept of government in the minds of the great mass of intelligent people all around the world, and that England exists to-day as a monarchy is true, not because England is a monarchy in fact, but a monarchy only in name. It sounds like a tremendous exaggeration, but it is absolutely true that the sovereign who sits upon the throne of that great empire does not begin to have the personal power and authority with which the American people, under the principle of our form of government and under the experience of a century or more, are willing to entrust to their own President. Nothing could be finer than the demonstration of the faith of a great people in a great system which we have given during these hundred years. By what we have been and what we have achieved we have vindicated the republican idea, as it has been applied to our own great and constantly increasing and prosperous and peaceful possessions.

But a nation does not touch other nations alone by its forms of government, or by that exemplary method, so to speak, by means of which it illustrates what is excellent in its principles of government. It does so, also, in other ways, which as yet we ourselves, I think, have only imperfectly recognized. It does so by what it achieves in the domains of commerce and of letters and of art, and the like. And who in these things, in some of them most certainly, is the teacher of the world to-day? Was there ever a people, since the world began, that has demonstrated such an astonishing ingenuity for the surmounting of all problems and obstacles, as has been illustrated in the history of the United States of America? Go where we will, all around the world, we shall find the world acknowledging its indebtedness to the ingenuity of American engineers and inventors and constructors of every type and of every class. To ascend to a higher plane, all around the world, wherever men know English speech and read English written books, we shall find the footprints of our American literature. Let an American get out at a little station anywhere along the road, on the Rhine, or in Austria, or wherever he may be, and he will find that delightful and charming series of publications

known as the "Tauchnitz" editions, which those of us who are not familiar with foreign tongues welcome so eagerly in our long and lonely journeys; and he may note the constantly increasing proportion of American literature which is represented in that various and most valuable collection of good reading.

Who was it who asked in England little more than a quarter of a century ago, "Who reads an American book?" The question is to-day, "Who doesn't read an American book?" And the charm, the freshness, the fidelity, the interest, the picturesqueness of our American literature, its educative quality in the realm of the imagination and in the realm of conduct, I have heard scholars acknowledge wherever I have met scholars, and wherever we have discussed the question of English letters.

Let us now go up into the domain of morals, of conduct. We regard the peace and the safety of the individual in different nations as the standard of the prevalence of high ideas of law. Is it not a notable fact that, from sea to sea, and from extremest north to extremest south, we have nowhere anybody who is patrolling a castle, or guarding a house, or protecting a family, or a railway station, or anything else, with a musket and a bayonet? The moment one goes on to the continent of Europe, one is struck with the great fact of militarism. One goes into Italy, and one finds the country roads patrolled by bands of military, and one is told that the traveler would not be safe without such protection. But in this country we have made life and property so secure that with the assistance—the very dubious assistance, I confess, it often is in our great cities—of our municipal police, we are both at peace and in safety. And then, in another way, as a witness to our standards in commercial matters, look at the history of our American products. How much the integrity of our work in those departments has had to do with establishing standards in other parts of the world! Not a great while ago, there sat in London a commission of gentlemen appointed by royal authority, whose business it was to make a collection of the food products prepared for shipment and for transportation all around the globe—what we should call canned goods, I suppose, and prepared meats and so on—which were manufactured and put up by the people of four or five great countries. One of them was England, one France, one Germany, one Holland, and one the United States. Americans might well be proud of the report of that commission. First, in

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we want to create to-day is the [illegible]
of appeal to which nations could [illegible]
problems for final adjudication. In a [illegible]
entitled "World Politics," is a line of [illegible]
gestion which impresses me as singularly [illegible]
occurs something of that which I have in [illegible]
tory of the development of government [illegible]
aboriginal forms of society. See how it climb[illegible]
and brutal force, both in the community and in [illegible]
kind of organized life, and something that represen[illegible]
how this ascended to a conception of order which [illegible]
sarily enforced by the hand of brute power, but [illegible]
in rulings and judgments which were the voice of
created by the state itself. We have got that far; a[illegible]
lieve, with our prestige and our position entirely out
quarrels of the rest of the civilized world, we are [illegible]
to be able to propose a still higher step to the rest [illegible]
to say to them: "Men and brethren, you have been
differences for a long time by what might be called
berry Rules." These are, I believe, the rules which
force, and the conditions, and the frequency and t[illegible]
things, in and with which one pugilist may hit anot[illegible]
am at a loss to distinguish any essential difference
and the modern concept of war. They are both equall[illegible]
they both aim at substantially the same results, excep[illegible]
infinitely more destructive and appalling in its conse[illegible]
we not got to a time in the history of the world wh[illegible]
up above that? Have we not reached the stage wh[illegible]
worth while for some great nation, so great that he[illegible]
and proposals shall command respect, to say to the
of the world: "Let us have done with the business
Let us see if we cannot, somehow or other, constitu[illegible]
to which questions of the kind which have been se[illegible]
by slaughtering men and burning towns and destroy[illegible]
shall be referred for adjudication; and now, as eviden[illegible]
cerity in making that proposition, when you with [illegible]
such a tribunal, let us bring to it this question of [illegible]
It is far more your business than ours. You have [illegible]
more to do with it, from your geographical pro[illegible]
trade interests, from your relations of popula[illegible]

and the like, than we have. Come and let us adjudicate this question together, and decide, if possible, how we shall share the responsibility of administering this sacred trust, if we will so regard it, for the best interests of those whose well being we are to guard and promote."

"Ah," replies somebody, "that is all very fine. But it is absolutely visionary." It is not visionary. It is what we have been doing already. In 1814, when the Congress of Paris uttered the deliverance in regard to the infamy of human slavery, it struck the first note, as I believe, in that great movement in England and in France which issued in the emancipation of the slave. Consider, again, what has been done by tribunals of arbitration in the matter of the extradition of criminals, which has resulted in one of the most remarkable steps in the interest of international justice which have ever been taken by the world, and which fixes the fact that, so far as this extradition treaty is recognized, no criminal can outrun the law or the hand of Justice, wherever he goes. That was done in precisely the same way. Take another and very practical illustration—what is called the Postal Union. Here was something which seemed inconceivably difficult at the beginning. Take the one element of the division of returns. When that was discussed in the Postal Union, a gentleman in England who was concerned in it told me that the question which perplexed the most, after they had got so far as to believe that the thing was at all practicable by reason of the willingness of nations to concur in it, was the question of how they should make returns to the different nations, on some basis of equity—how they should keep the international accounts of postage, and so on. They cut the knot very simply, at last, by deciding that every nation should keep, much or little, the money that it took, and they said that they believed that the principle of the Postal Union was worth a pecuniary sacrifice of that sort. It was. It was worth it, because it was such a splendid illustration of what various powers, antagonistic and hostile in a great many interests, can do if they choose to do it, for the common good. I rejoice to remember that, in some respects, the most picturesque illustration of this principle that has been had in modern times, or in any time, was had in our own Washington in the year 1889. The great international maritime congress settled, finally, the rule of the road at sea, determined what lights should be carried; what rules should regulate

dealing with derelicts, with ships that were in danger; wha
eral principles should govern the commerce and the comm
tions of nations, by means of ships of whatever sort in wh
sea, all around the world. When we did that in Washingt
showed over those dark waters the way for the rest of the wor

I believe we have reached a point, in connection wit
great and grave question which confronts us to-day, when w
flash out our signals, and light the pathway down the gl
track of the future of the history of the world.

H. C. POTTER

was informed, when appr... personal fumigation with sulph... to enter the city. This was too ... cellor of England. "Let's stay ... to a friend who accompanied him, ... bore the name of Cannes, so called ... reeds or canes all about. It was charmin... of a beautiful bay, with an amphitheatre ... the little old town, surmounted by its tower ... Mount Chevalier on the west, and in the ... of the Esterel Mountains forming a splendid ... ting sun. Lord Brougham purchased a bea... on the western suburb of the town, erecting a ... the Chateau Eleanore, in memory of his on... long before he attracted neighbors of mark ... tion, foreigners with high sounding titles, like ... foucault and the Duke of Vallombrosa, as ... of his own, titled and untitled.

But in the more recent extension of the t... been shown for the eastern suburbs. The na... been given to this region, from its resemblan... State, of which the palm, the vine, the orange ... and the eucalyptus forcibly remind us. Her... borhood, are several of the villas that of late ... most interest. Among these are the Villa N... Leopold, Duke of Albany, Queen Victoria's y... 1884; the Villa Edelweis, which the Queen ... 1887, and the Chateau Thorene, the proper... whose guest Mr. Gladstone was for a consider... ter before his death. The Nevada and the ... the highest class; the Thorene has much hi... one of the finest villas in the place, and the ... it are large and magnificent. It is situat... of the best villas, a considerable way up an... manding one of the finest views possible, bo... Mr. Gladstone could hardly have had a fin... where he could more fully enjoy the bracing ...

A few miles to the east of Nice, is a smal... late years has attained an undesirable fame, ... of Monaco, in which the famous gambling ...

is situated. Monaco, though probably the smallest independent state in Europe, has a very old history, having for many centuries been ruled by the family of Grimaldi; but its present pre-eminence is quite of recent date. It is not a pleasant reflection that when the pernicious habit of public gambling had been brought to an end at Baden-Baden and other places where it had been long carried on, but had become a public nuisance, it found a refuge in the little territory of the Prince of Monaco.

A more beautiful spot than Monte Carlo could hardly be conceived. From its spacious Casino on its commanding height, surrounded by gardens and villas embosomed in palms and glowing in the sunshine, you look out on the bay in its exquisite blue, surmounted by the blue sky above, peacefully laving the jagged rocks that run into its bosom, and with its brilliant color forming a fine contrast to the dark promontories that fling themselves out in the distance. It is the very ideal of peace and purity, and it is hard to believe that it is the resort of idlers and gamblers, prostitutes and desperadoes, not a few of whom end their unblest career by suicide. Yet the place has a great air of respectability; magnificent hotels, unrivalled concerts, fashionable balls, Parisian shops, exquisite gardens attract many of whom it were not fair to say that they are vicious. All the same, it is the curse of the Riviera; nor does there seem any near prospect of its coming to an end; agreements extending to long periods between the Prince and his lessees produce such revenues to the one and such profits to the other, that, until greed ceases to rule human nature, or until some political convulsion violently changes the order of things, this moral nuisance seems likely to flourish.

Another few miles to the east is Mentone. In common parlance, it bears the Italian name we have given it, but in all official documents it is spelled in the French form, Menton. It is only within the last forty years that Mentone, Nice and the main part of the coast of Provence have belonged to France. Mentone has decidedly an Italian cast; the tradesmen's names on the sign posts are Italian, and, indeed, the Italian boundary is but a mile from the town, with its custom house officers to stop your carriage, if you are taking a drive, and to ascertain that you are carrying no cargo of tobacco.

The discovery of Mentone as a health resort is ascribed to an English physician, a Dr. Bennett, to whose memory a statue

has been erected in the town. It is probably the warmest and most sheltered of all the towns in the Riviera. The magnificent hills approach much nearer than in the case of Nice or of Cannes in summer weather the atmosphere must be close, and but for the sea breeze it would be stifling. Perhaps more has been done for Mentone by Mr. Spurgeon than by Dr. Bennett. For many years he went to it for a winter holiday, and body and mind alike found refreshment and renovation in its sunshine and its scenery. It is wonderful how many persons, even in distant parts of the globe, are attracted to a place which is known to be dear to some man of mark. Many a tourist from the United States bent his steps to Mentone because Mr. Spurgeon was there. Alas even its magic atmosphere could not avail to arrest the hand of disease when it had taken the firm grip it had got of Mr. Spurgeon. He died in the Beau Rivage Hotel, opposite the Eastern Bay, his windows looking out on the blue Mediterranean, and on the bright canopy above, so true an emblem of the peace and the beauty of Heaven.

Across the Italian boundary, we have more health resorts of the same character, particularly Bordighera and San Remo. Bordighera has become famous as the winter residence of George Macdonald. Many have been attracted to it by the famous writer who has not only created such an interest in his books, but an equal interest in the man that wrote them. Those of us who knew him in the days when his locks were black, his eye bright and his face full of life and joy, must be painfully struck by the marks of decay that are now but too apparent. But Macdonald was always a delicate man, and we may be very sure that but for Bordighera, winter would long ere now have proved too much for him. It is something surely that one who had to give up the ministry in early life through severe attacks of hemorrhage has reached his seventy-fifth year, and is still able to work. We do not agree with all his theological opinions, but we honor the writer who has striven so hard on a Christian basis to spread among his fellows the spirit of love and joy.

But we did not mean to cross the Italian boundary, for our subject is the French Riviera. We have noticed some of the principal resorts in Provence; but we have no idea that they have reached their limit. Our expectation rather is that from time to time new places will be added, until the whole border of Provence is studded

mosphere for the most part very
ful sky. A well known scientific
Lenthéric has an interesting
same sea usually show a remarkable
both in flora and in climate. He
respects between the south of France
the resemblance does not extend beyond

It is not to be supposed, however,
we have nothing but blue skies and
so, the country would be a desert. And
in the degree of occasional frost, and
fall. The winter of last year was rem
but slight; snow unknown except on
tains; rainy days but a small percentage
shine, and the mistral fairly well
difficult during the winter months to real
The illusion is the greater that the hill
covered with green. The native trees, co
are the olive, the umbrella pine, and the c
age throughout. And those which have t
lyptus, the palm, the pepper tree, the bar
still richer green. January has hardly a
the mimosa begin to swell, and by the
grove in the neighborhood of Cannes is
And in the grounds of villas and chateaux
hardly less beautiful. Camelias may be
The golden apples of the orange show b
of its bright green leaves. And as for
to convey an idea of their abundance an
flower market of Cannes or of Nice, a
the profusion of daffodils and jonquils, of
mignonette and violets, primulas and
trope, anemonies, white, crimson and
open air. In some situations, cactus
and in choice gardens, like that of

for their transmission, and every day a profusion of little boxes is sent by visitors to their friends at home, and larger cargoes are sent to flower dealers in Paris, London, Berlin and other distant places.

We have said that it is the modern history of the Riviera that gives it its great interest to-day; but it is likewise interesting to think that, hundreds of years before Christ, human eyes looked on the blue sky and the blue sea as they do now; saw the sun in all its magnificent drapery, set behind the Esterel Mountains; saw the crimson zone encircle the horizon for three-fourths of its extent, as we see it sometimes now; and that there men breathed in winter a more genial air than in most parts even of Italy or Greece. The very name of Nice points to the early occupation of the Greeks, for what is it but the modern form of Niké, "victory"—a commemoration of a victory gained over the early Ligurian inhabitants. So Antibes, which stands on a promontory over against Nice, is a popular contraction of Antipolis, "the opposite city." Monaco, supposed to have been dedicated to Hercules, was his Monos Oikos, "only house," no unsuitable term for a temple on a narrow rocky promontory, two hundred feet above the level of the sea. The Romans likewise left diverse names; for the very word Provence is the Latin *provincia.* Fréjus is the modern equivalent of Forum Julii, after Julius Cæsar. At Fréjus there is an amphitheatre, of which the walls are in good preservation, that afforded accommodation, it is believed, for nine thousand spectators; some of the corridors and doors still remain, by which the wild beasts were let in on the Christian martyrs and other offenders, amid the jubilations of the assembled thousands. There are also the remains of a handsome aqueduct, by which water was brought from the hills. Fréjus is now a poor, dilapidated village; in those days it had a good harbor (rendered useless by the receding of the seacoast), and it must have had a thriving trade and a large population. There are the remains of another amphitheatre at Cimiez, near Nice, easily known to be Roman by the small square stones which the Romans always used, but it is of smaller dimensions than the one at Fréjus.

Coming to early Christian times, the most interesting of all places on the Riviera are the two islands called "the Lérins." Their present names are St. Marguerite and St. Honorat, but of old they were called Lero and Lerina, or the big and the little Lero. They

through a diamond lens, the effect is over[illegible]
wonderful revelation of the transfiguring power [illegible]

Vineyards, however, do not take up all the [illegible]
course, there are patches of grass, wheat and vegetabl
are orange groves and flower gardens. Near Grasse,
to the north of Cannes, you find rose gardens in grea
Grasse is renowned as the great centre of the perfum
It contains about seventy perfume distilleries. It is
sess a monopoly in France, perhaps in the world, fo
tion of perfumes and other products of fruit and f
many, Russia, and, above all, America, send immense
perfume industry is an interesting one and gives m
ment to young and old; but there are persons whose
stand the strong scent, whether of the orange or of
is an odd sight, when the orange blossoms are gathere
and women perched, like so many monkeys, on the br
trees.

Hitherto, the benefits of the Riviera as a health r
means of escaping the sharpness of winter, have bee
the upper classes and a few of the middle. It has bee
vorite with the royal family of Great Britain. Queen
spent winter months at Cannes, Grasse, Mentone an
those of moderate means comfortable quarters may
pensions and hotels that board strangers at the rate
dollars a day. Even for a poorer class there is a limit
The *Asyle Evangelique* at Cannes, the Villa Helveti
for governesses and other young ladies in poor hea
English Hospital at Nice provide the means of enjo
mate of the Riviera for a few of the numberless case
were within their reach, benefit might probably be de
Whether these benefits shall ever be enjoyed on a
seems doubtful, unless we should come to know a far
opment of the spirit of unselfish beneficence than o
hitherto seen.

W. GARDEN[illegible]

A NEW LAW OF HEALTH.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

To say that the Sphere of Wisdom is not a globe sounds like a contradiction in terms, but the accuracy of the paradox is demonstrable. If in setting out toward a fixed goal of truth, one's face be turned in the wrong direction, no persistency in endeavor and no length of travel will ever conduct the wayfarer to the haven where he would be.

This fact in moral geography is, however, one that has been late of discovery and is still far from unanimous acceptance. Perhaps certain inherent weaknesses of human nature will forever preclude its universal reception. Chronic childishness is so common a failing that it would be useless to hope for the adoption of any new truths, were it not that the adult intelligence of the few eventually and inevitably imposes its conclusions upon the multitude. The few are continually dragging the many into the path of fact and common sense, and the immature-minded many are as persistently lusting after a miracle and kicking against the pricks of plain truth. They forever recoil from the steady, dull plodding that lies between them and their ends if they seek them by that path, and turn again longingly to supernaturalism for a charm to conjure away the barriers fencing them out of the Eden of their desires—for a spell to break the chains binding them bondslaves of space and time, of heat and cold, of poverty, pain and disease.

They fashion for themselves dreams of flying carpets, of magic lamps and rings; of transmutable metals, of fountains of youth and elixirs of life, which are to achieve their purposes without effort or drudgery. Bullied and shamed out of these puerile inventions, they substitute legends of fasts and macerations whose

courage and asceticism are to make the [illegible]
ful admiration, whose triumphs over [illegible]
occult freedom from material limitations [illegible]
mas are imagined, who stand moveless [illegible]
nest and rear broods in their hair, and [illegible]
mighty that the mountains rock beneath [illegible]
thoughts, not to mention their acquirement [illegible]
render the services of the post office unnecessary [illegible]
ways ridiculously superfluous.

Splendid energies, passionate faith and [illegible]
lects have been wasted in this long fruitless [illegible]
some magic by which nature is to be conquered [illegible]
master of circumstance, without drudgery—all [illegible]
bottomless pit of error which can never be filled.

Even now that it has been demonstrated [illegible]
nature is to be conquered by her own natural [illegible]
only in accordance with her own natural laws, there [illegible]
mentable number of descendants of Lot's wife, [illegible]
longing glances back to the Sodom of their intellectu[illegible]
nothing to them that, having once faced about in [illegible]
tion, the same amount of effort properly directed [illegible]
actly the marvels after which the supernaturalists [illegible]
that, eating our due amount of food and attaching [illegible]
nificance to anything, we have torn our way throug[illegible]
flashed our thoughts under the oceans, sailed straight [illegible]
of the winds, annihilated distance with steam, learn[illegible]
our own bones through our solid flesh, to bottle up [illegible]
one might preserve cherries, and reproduce for [illegible]
ment upon a screen the life of yesterday exactly [illegible]
fore our eyes, even to its minutest movement or play [illegible]
These are the marvels which have rewarded those [illegible]
by slow steps the plain, straight road of dull [illegible]
the most dazzling and surprising discoveries that [illegible]
Path of the Tortoise have been those affecting [illegible]
health—discoveries to which the harebrained [illegible]
ever elusive short cut.

There was once a little girl who, after [illegible]
feared greatly all and sundry of certain fierce [illegible]
bats, bumblebees, spiders, and, more vividly [illegible]

On a day, having been bidden to deliver [illegible]

of a mouse in a bag about
against epileptic seizures; but the
able systems and cures that have
they affect to assuage prove that
heterogeneous from the intelligence
the differential calculus. It would
pathetic, to see the constant endeavor
to lift itself up by its own hygienic
foot cures, all-wool cures, mind cures,
Christian Science, by electricity, and by
children we still move about in worlds
son why some power that wishes us individ
break through the immutable sequence of
behalf, and release us from the unpleasant
ishness. Our childish "let's pretend"
ment the tiresome persistency of facts, and
world where one may eat one's cake and have
dancing escape the bill for the fiddling.

It is, of course, only by a figure of speech
health can be called new, all natural laws being
ture eternal. What is new is the realization
governing health—that suffering is not a hap
the visitation of some capricious punishment
but the orderly sequence and expected result of
of the physical laws of being. We have long
we ate or drank certain poisonous substances
be pain or death, and we do not even hope to
faith the swift and certain results of a dose of
have been quite convinced by ocular demonst
walked over the edge of a cliff, faith would not
laws of gravitation, and that, when we reached
results were certain to be uncomfortable, if
more civilized communities have become entire
public filth and the use of impure water are
breed disease, and take their measures accordi
doned confidence in processions and vows to
what still waits for general acceptance in the
ease and suffering arise from perfectly
continue to use poisons which are quite as
than those bearing the warning skull and

labels, and we continue to walk over hygienic precipices, full of hope that the results will not be disagreeable. To take the commonest example of this inconsequent behavior: Every one is aware that oxygen is necessary for life, is also aware that an adult exhausts the oxygen from three cubic feet of air with every breath he draws, and that two minutes breathing of impure air will appreciably affect for evil every one of his organs and every corpuscle of his blood; and yet nine persons out of ten sleep for eight hours out of the twenty-four in an unchanged atmosphere, and wake to wonder at the unpleasant results, perhaps to call in some conjuror to charm them away.

There is, it is true, as great an inequality in the inheritance of health as in the heirship of wealth or brains. Some are born with a fortune of vigor and soundness so large that not a lifetime of eager squandering will leave them poor, and others enter the world paupers of need so dire that no charity from medicine can ever raise them to comfort; but most of us have just that mediocre legacy of vitality which renders us undistinguishable units in the mass. It lies in the hands of each to improve or waste that property as he chooses, for there are self-made men physically as well as financially; those who, because of ancestral wastefulness, have only a sixpence of health, and turn it into a fortune; and there are spendthrifts of health who come to as sorrowful case as spendthrifts of gold. The body is a realm where a wise and frugal ruler brings happiness as surely as a foolish one insures distress, and wisdom here, as elsewhere, lies in learning and obeying natural laws. It is just those natural laws—simple, severe, immutable—which must be obeyed all day and every day, against which we chafe, for which some magic pill or potion is offered as a substitute. Temperance, cleanliness, activity are the three virtues of the body, as faith, hope and charity are of the soul. As tithes of mint, anise and cummin are easier to render than to practice the law, justice and judgment, so the easy sacrifice of burnt offerings of drugs is offered to the goddess Hygeia in lieu of constant obedience to her regimen. Forty days of Lenten abstention are considered adequate atonement for a year of the sins of the flesh, and a brief retreat to a "cure" of mineral waters (where the high priests of health are bribed by passing confession and submission) is considered a penance which should obliterate all past offenses. As it is easier to repeat formu-

less of prayer than
world, so it is
footed in the dew than
sins of greediness, indolence
of "Lo, here! and Lo,
blue glass, or to swathe
that some substitute may
three rules.

An obscure but witty
attention than it deserved, told
the heart of the Andes where
fortunate result of congenital
sympathy and treatment; but ill
as a wilful offence against wise
bronchial case resulted in arrest and
the family considered it untactful to
criminal's relations, but a severe
widespread sympathy, and cards were
kind inquiries as to whether he was
tention. A condition of affairs which
than might at first sight appear!

Paracelsus—accused of wizardry because
means by which he effected his cures—
lowed absolutely to direct from its
healthy infant, he could build up a
made to last out a century in undiminished
those prepared to accept literally the
antediluvian patriarchs because of their
being at that time in use, digestions
with starch could easily sustain life to

Because of the long neglect and
of health, the subtle, but supremely important
trition has been neglected in favor of
The same skill which developed the
pursued the most elusive microbe to his
perhaps have been more practically applied
and named, the average microbe remains
gerous, and how much more valuable
—equally obtainable—of exactly the
food required for the best results of

the result of too rich and too varied a diet, and physical indolence. Take no medicine; walk five miles every morning at six o'clock and live entirely upon gruel and water for a month?" It would be instantly borne in upon the seeker for health that this was an ignorant quack who had failed to understand his case. Naaman, the Syrian, felt the same blank sense of disappointment when he was bid to dip himself three times in the river Jordan, and but for his servant he would have scorned to try so simple a cure. Simple cures are but little more valued in our day than in the era of the stern Jewish prophet, and, since doctors must live by satisfying their patients, they will continue to gratify the desire for something more startling in their prescriptions than plain sense, and refrain from insistence upon unpalatable truths.

The sect who call themselves, in exquisite confusion of ideas, Christian Scientists, and who practice the latest abracadabra to conjure away the effects of fixed causes—asserting that pain is the result of sin and can be abolished by faith—have hold of one of those half truths so confusing to the untrained intelligence. But they childishly overlook the fact that pain, while it is the undoubted result of offences against physical morals, is in itself not an evil, being simply the message sent to the brain over the telephone wires of the nerves to inform it that some member of the body's commonwealth is in danger and requires assistance. That the mind should refuse to act upon the news otherwise than by declining to believe it, appears to be the gist of their system, stated in plain terms.

Not by stopping the ears, not by the practice of any magic, is health to be obtained. By no flying carpets may it be reached. Fasts and prayers will not call it down from heaven. Fixed, immortal, the laws remain, always unchanged, always inexorable. The wages of disobedience are disease. To know the law, to practice it daily—that is the lost path to the Fountain of Youth; that is the long-hid secret of the Elixir of Life.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA—II.

BY THE REV. J. P. JONES, D.D., MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD, AT MADURA, SOUTH INDIA.

II.

WE shall now consider a few of the most frequent charges brought against Great Britain in this land. None is presented with more readiness and warmth, or appears more warranted by facts, than the claim that the land is being denuded of its wealth, and its treasures carried annually in immense sums over the seas. It is concretely expressed by Mr. Dutt, in his recent work, "England and India," in the following words: "The annual exports from India exceed the annual imports of merchandise and treasure by over £20,000,000. For this excess of exports India receives no commercial equivalent; it is a steady drain on the resources of India." This, like many other remarks, has an element of truth commingled with serious error. He himself acknowledges that a third of this outflow is in payment of interest on money invested here by Englishmen, chiefly in railroads. This interest is at a low rate, often guaranteed by government. It is usually the only way in which the State can undertake large enterprises, not only necessary for the country, but which also do wonders for its development. Should that immense wealth of Englishmen which has flowed into India, and the work which it has wrought in the upbuilding of the land, be swept away to-morrow, India would drop instantly out of the realm of civilization and re-enter upon its semi-barbarism of the past. To claim that these investments by Westerners in the land are not a rich boon, and to speak of the interest received upon the same as an unjust drain upon the country, seems irrational. If the wealthy men of this land were only prepared to take up such public work and invest their money at low or moderate interest in enterprises for the public weal, the

charge might seem less unreasonably
cannot be made to flow into such channels
the writer has long lived, there is much
famine preventive through a much-neglected
field. For years the road has been surveyed
pense, and it has been shown that the investment
remunerative; and the native community
pealed to, more than once, to invest in so
a public work. Within the neglected area through
is to run, there live a class of native money
means enough to build the road ten times over.
petty Rajahs also living in the district.
squandering their own patrimony, are content
ernment to have the road built. These money lenders
hand, decline to spend a rupee on such public wor
more than quadruple the interest by money lendin
erable countrymen. After thus patiently waiting
people are greatly rejoiced now to learn that
have come into the breach and will build the
date. It will be an untold blessing to the
that region, and to none more than the grasping
lenders and the spendthrift Rajahs. And yet
of this investment will be regarded by some as
country!

Another third of the sum above mentioned
support of the army. This is truly a heavy
reason to believe that it is much too serious
peaceable and indigent a people. Imperial
this item to grow ominously of late years;
best friends of India to protest against
bear the largely growing expense incident
the Empire from outside dangers and
that Russia's threatening approach to
mighty argument in the mind and mouth
of the Empire in favor of the subjugation

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fying himself for service
would be, from the stand
pline, to say plainly to
supported to defend the
that service by sinful indul
to his employer, it is also a
he will be severely punished
summary and wholesome course
of its present disgrace in the eyes
people, and would be more effective
tagious Diseases Acts."

The opium and the abkary
forth large criticism. From the moral
a very strong position. The evil which
has inflicted upon China—against her will
mous. The large army of opium eaters
to destroy them with a terrible death,
to which no nation of England's position
der satisfactory reply. In like manner,
drink traffic is neither honorable nor wise.
wonted and unwarrantable dignity to a
also inevitably involves the State in the
army of drunkards in the land. It is not
that if the trade were in private hands
just the same. Even if that were true, it
for so august a body to become the sole
of the demoralizing stuff. But it is not
would drink all the same if the government
instead of promoting it. To take up a
nue there is in it, is to trifle with the highest
jects and to become instrumental in the
of the people whom it is bound to protect
whether any other civilized government has
such unworthy means of creating a revenue
and drink represent, morally, the weakest
Of course, the all important defence lies
quired. These two items of revenue, as
more easily than any others into the
To give these up, in behalf of what is
cessitate the imposition of other heavy

the question which has too easily silenced and secured the acquiescence of the Indian community. But its evil is great and is spreading. The drink curse is rapidly becoming one of the crying problems of India. It was slanderously remarked, some years ago, that if England then left this country the only monuments of its life left behind would be broken whiskey bottles. There is indeed ground to-day for the charge that, if England were to abandon the land, it would leave as the saddest monument of its past an immensely increasing army of whiskey drinkers. This vice is growing at a most alarming pace among the Indians who are in authority—especially the Brahmans—men who until recently would no more defile themselves with liquor than they would eat beef or cross the ocean. Ten thousand times better were it for the State to renounce all such traffic and the price of blood which accompanies it. It cannot safely, for the sake of revenue, sacrifice the highest interest and permanent good of the people.

The recent utterance of the Archbishop of Canterbury on this subject should be heeded by the State. "The true principle of morals," he says, "is to have nothing whatever to do with that which is shown to be necessarily productive of evil. The English nation caused the opium evil in China, and we are responsible for that evil. I also protest against the principle of raising revenue by temptations to evil. It might be right for a government to pause before interfering with private trade; but in this case we ourselves are carrying on the evil trade. Such a thing on the part of a great government is, I think, without a parallel in the whole extent of the world."

The subject of taxation is one which the critics of the State are prone to dwell upon. It is, however, difficult to understand why this matter should be pressed, unless it be on the ground, apparently maintained, that the poverty of the people should exempt them from any of the burdens of taxation—a theory beautifully generous to the people, but fatal to the maintenance of any government. The salt tax does certainly seem cruel in its severe pressure upon the very poor, and yet it is the only way whereby this very large part of the community can be reached at all and made to contribute its mite to the State which protects it.

Comparing present taxes with those of the past, we should certainly expect heavier imposts now, because the government furnishes to-day as an equivalent of protection and blessing infinitely

more than former dynasties did. And yet, Sir W. Hunter h
ably and clearly shown, from a comparison of taxes levied by t
present and by the Mughal governments, that the modern Hin
is vastly better off than his ancestor of two and three centuries ag
To-day 5½ per cent. is collected in land tax; under the Mughal ru
they had to pay from 33 to 50 per cent. Beside this, the Moha
medan imposed various other taxes, many of them on non-M
hammedans as a religious penalty. Nor were the Hindu gover
ments a whit better, and even to-day the Native States are mu
harder upon the people than is the British Raj. The Fami
Commission (the highest authority on the subject), in its e
haustive report of 1880, writes: "In the majority of native go
ernments the revenue officer takes all he can get, and would ta
treble the revenue we should assess if he were strong enough
exact it. In ill managed States the cultivators are relentles
squeezed, the difference between the native system and ours bei
mainly that the cultivator in a Native State is seldom or nev
sold up, and that he is usually treated much as a good bullock
treated, *i. e.*, he is left with enough to feed and clothe him and h
family, so that they may continue to work."

If we pursue the comparison to that with European peopl
Indian taxation would seem but a trifle. Even placing Engli
taxes side by side with India's, we shall find instruction. The ave
age income in the United Kingdom is £40, while the tax assess
is 44s., or 5½ per cent. In India, alas! the average income is on
36s. But then the tax is only 1s. 9d. per capita, which is a tri
less percentage than that for England. Here again we are n
impressed with any injustice of the people. Indeed, when we r
member the vast efficiency of the government of to-day, as co
pared with any in the past, we are impressed with the reasonabl
ness of the tax assessed.

III.

We shall now hurriedly glance at some of the blessings co
ferred by England upon this land.

The least valuable, even if the most marked and manifest,
the material progress which meets one on all sides. Already, t
splendid railway system upon which travel is as comfortable a
and perhaps cheaper than, that of any other country in the worl
has extended 20,000 miles and reaches the remotest parts of t
land. No other Eastern country lends itself so easily to the glo

now in the land 150 cotton mills [illegible]
million tons of coal are annually min[illegible]
million pounds, sterling, every year. [illegible]
India has now, for the first time in its [illegible]
land of manufactures, trade and commerce[illegible]

Political progress is also very marked[illegible]
reign, India had never experienced the first [illegible]
institutions. To-day, the query which arises [illegible]
terested persons who know and love India is[illegible]
rights and liberties have not, of late years, been c
idly upon the people. It should not be expected t
by natural taste, instinct and unbroken heritage,
of the worst kind of autocratic and absolute form
should acquire in an age or a century wisdom or
themselves. Taking the mass of Hindus, they s
seek nothing better, than a wise and kind pate
In this, as in all else, they love to be led; and they

But there is a small and growing party of t
aptly learned many of the lessons taught them by
best acquired of all these lessons is that of the p
and of the efficacy, among the Anglo-Saxon rac
human rights. The only difficulty is that one mig
the language of some of these men, that England
ceded to worthy Indians any of those political
every Anglo-Saxon subject demands for himself.
fact, we see in all the municipalities a form of po
such as not all Western countries enjoy. The p
in the election of municipal commissioners is ve
who may be possessed of the least modicum of
women enjoy this franchise. And it is a curious
in South India are protesting to-day, in the ne
the granting of this power to women, because, th
is exercised only by dancing girls and other publi
those who watch carefully the working of this mu
and see how easily and speedily the natives have
vices and tricks of the representative system, it
means, seem an unmixed good. And the hardest
tem that the writer has met have been intelligent
who believe that this meed of self-government is
The District Boards also are composed almost

gentlemen, and these have large powers in the administration of the internal affairs of the land. Moreover, these municipal and local bodies, together, elect members for the Provincial legislative bodies, where they enjoy recently enlarged powers of interpellating the government—a power which, by excessive use or abuse, they may soon forfeit. To all this must be added the freedom of the press, which also has recently been abused by the dissemination of seditious sentiments, but which adds immensely to the power of the people. Then the "National Congress" is a peculiar institution, which, while it gives scope to the political aspirations of many natives, adds, by its very existence, to the lustre of the British reign in the land. Just imagine, for a moment, such a Congress existing under Russian rule! It is true that the chief work of the Congress, in the past, has been to criticise and abuse government. By this it has alienated many of its best friends. Still, even as a public censor, it has doubtless done good, and it offers to the discontented a wholesome vent for pent-up ill feeling. It is also a remarkable gathering and illustrates one of the wonders which this government has accomplished. To think that, out of the babel of Indian tongues, there should gather together in one place annually some three thousand native gentlemen, to discuss state questions and to criticise one of the most modern of all governments in the pure English accents of Addison or of Macaulay! What an object lesson of progress in itself!

Nor is Great Britain as remiss, or as selfish, as many would lead us to believe in the distribution of the loaves of office. There are only 100,000 Britishers in this land—one to every three thousand of the population. Of these only 750 are found in the higher offices of government. In the Provincial services 2,449 natives are employed in high judicial and administrative posts. It is a significant fact that, out of 114,150 appointments, carrying Rs. 1,000 annually, 97 per cent. are in the hands of natives. To all offices below that of a Governor of a Province, natives are eligible. As Judges of the High Courts and as members of the legislative bodies, not a few Indians are now found; as they are also in the Indian Civil Service, which was so long exclusively filled by Anglo-Indians. It hardly appears how England can hold this great land to herself, and as a great member of her Empire, with fewer of her own citizens than are now found at the helm. Nor does it yet appear that a strong, efficient and acceptable government can be

maintained by a large reduction
"acceptable" advisedly; and it
Britain to discover and consult the
hungry office seekers—in this matter
vation and living among the people,
nine-tenths of the people would be
favor of the relative increase, and not
official force. The people have found
They know that they can be depended upon
with an even hand, and that they are
native officials they have no confidence.
too often that justice is sold to the highest
men" who arrange such matters are too well kn
paniments of native courts of justice. It is true
officials are above such venality. But the write
eral is the want of native confidence in native
has he been importuned to use his influence to
ferred from the jurisdiction of the native to the E
the reason invariably given is that "the white m
bribes and will give justice." Indeed, it may
chief difficulty which confronts the Government,
is that of saving the people from low, mercenary
native officials—especially those of the lower a
The police department is corrupt to the core. Th
dread the police almost more than they do the
the constable rarely touches a case without maki
of the transaction, and is expert in manufactu
hard to imagine how a department can be much
this. And yet it is difficult to suggest a way
department; for the system is not to blame, but t
of men who have to be employed. What India n
all else, is an honest, faithful, efficient class of o
presence of the few English dignitaries does ten
to the land in purifying and toning up the service
is worth.

The educational advance of the country has
nomenal.

It is sadly true that, at present, only
one female in one hundred and sixty, is
true that, owing to the poverty of the

are tired of such loud-mouthed [illegible]
all-round and heroic advance [illegible]
And their voice will prevail. [illegible]

Religiously, India has [illegible]
not simply, or chiefly, because [illegible]
towards Christianity. The religious [illegible]
encouraging headway. Its mere [illegible]
herents in this land furnish abundant [illegible]
and early triumph in this land of the [illegible]

Deep tides of influence, invisible to [illegible]
those in the country, are moving [illegible]
Christian hope and aspiration for this [illegible]
India for Christ is not articulate, nor is it [illegible]
trend. Even a strong feeling in the minds [illegible]
anti-Christian and pro-Vedantic. There is [illegible]
the conservation of the ancestral faith and [illegible]
the faith of the Vedas, the Upanishads an[illegible]
There is among such a fierce antagonism to [illegible]
and especially to the missionary. But these [illegible]
people; nor are they always sincere in their [illegible]
ment of a year and a half ago has passed. I[illegible]
kananda returned in triumph from his [illegible]
through which he claimed that he had gained [illegible]
to his Vedantic faith. He led many to be[illegible]
had suddenly waked up from its slumber of a[illegible]
upon a glorious era of world-wide conquest. [illegible]
subsided, and the yellow-robed "Swamy" wi[illegible]

Among the evidences of the religious pro[illegible]
found more than twenty laws enacted by [illegible]
the abolishment of cruelties carried on under [illegible]
duism. Not only Suttee, infanticide and [illegible]
hideous and nameless evils have been proh[illegible]
ancient faith has put on an appearance of [illegible]
would puzzle its devotees of a century ago co[illegible]
it now. Witness also the many Somajes which [illegible]
to the religious life of the land. Perhaps the [illegible]
not the most popular, is the Brahmo Soma[illegible]
this new eclecticism and religious reform [illegible]
wield a large influence and they reveal a [illegible]
content with the religious past of the land [illegible]

Thus, to sum up, England has done bravely and well the mighty work undertaken by her in this historic land. She has not been, and is not now, without failings; and her line of progress is studded with many errors. But she has been faithful to her trust and has carried it out in no narrow, selfish way. The warm and deep loyalty of India bears testimony to this; for native sentiment reveals marked appreciation.

Mr. Dutt, an Indian and a retired member of the Civil Service, in his recent book on "England and India," remarks: "We have thrown in our lot with a nation, not only one of the greatest on earth, but also one of the most progressive. . . . Surely the history of India during a hundred years has been emphatically a history of progress. . . . The times are with us, and the signs of the times are so clear that he who runs may read."

Great Britain cannot be too careful in correcting her errors in her Indian rule and in studying to solve well the large and vital problems before her.

But she certainly merits all praise from the world for the heroic work done here during the last century and a half and the marvelous results achieved. And she deserves the supreme gratitude of a great people whom she has raised out of the depths of semi-barbarism and carried, in many respects, abreast of civilization and progress. This gratitude she has not only won; she is enjoying it, too, from the hearts of the many millions of this stolid but appreciative people.

J. P. JONES.

government, should have found their ... again to Congress those principles for ... much. That they have never really ... day making these principles triumphant ... surrender was only a *ruse* to gain the ... thoughts that are now impressing the minds of ... followed the course of Mormonism since the sup... in their faith.

In the first place, polygamy has not been aband... sary part of Mormon doctrine. It is still a ... salvation as that of repentance. The revela... "prophet," Joseph Smith, promulgated begins sole...

"Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, My servant ... much as you have inquired of My hand to know and und... the Lord, justified My servants Abraham, Isaac and Ja... David and Solomon, My servants, touching the princip... their having many wives and concubines: Behold I and ... thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter. ... to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to ... all those who have this law revealed unto them must ... *behold, I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covena... not by that covenant then ye are damned*; for no one can ... and be permitted to enter into My glory; for all who w... at My hands shall abide the law which was appointed fo... the conditions thereof *as was instituted from before the ... world*; and as pertaining to the new and everlasting cov... tuted for the fullness of My glory: and he that receiveth ... of, must and shall abide the law or he shall be damned, ...

There is no hint, in these high-sounding phras... amy of the Orientals, none of the merely physi... which are founded the harems of the Turk and ... houris of the Arab. There is no suggestion of ... instinctively offends the senses. Rather, in the e... believe Joseph Smith was the "prophet," paving ... coming dispensation of Jesus Christ, the revelatio... tion of a majestic principle instituted by the ... and far above all thoughts of mere human ... lation continues:

"Abraham received promises concerning his seed ... loins, from whose loins ye are—namely, My servant ... were to continue so long as they were in the ... Abraham and his seed out of the world ... is yours also because ye are of Abraham ... of Abraham; enter ye into My law and ye ...

Succeeding prophets of the ...

strengthening the idea that the plan of plural marriage was not a temporary expedient, but a necessary part of the plan of salvation. Brigham Young told the people that Eve was only one of the wives of Adam when they came to this world to people it, and that Adam had come from among the gods, and was the only god with whom this world would be concerned. Men were taught that their position in the world to come would depend upon their activity in peopling this. Women were informed that the last dispensation—when Jesus Christ Himself should appear—was not far away, and that millions of souls were awaiting in the other world to be given " tabernacles of flesh " before that glorious time. Those who entered the order, it was declared, should become gods and rulers and queens in the world to come, while those who held themselves aloof should be only angels and servants to the faithful. In the Mormon theology, it will thus be seen, polygamy is not a question to be decided on grounds of human inclination, but a great vital principle on which is hinging salvation for themselves and for those souls in a previous existence who cannot reach the highest glory without being born into this world.

Against this stern and " everlasting " doctrine stands only one utterance of the Mormon church—the manifesto issued in 1890 by the late "prophet," Wilford Woodruff. By the liberal ones among the Mormons, and by the Gentiles hopeful of true Americanism in Utah, this document was taken as a formal abandonment of polygamy. Yet, when one reads it carefully, it appears woefully weak beside the command uttered by Joseph Smith. "My advice to the Latter Day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land," are the only words in it that can be construed as an abandonment of polygamy. In court, it is true, President Woodruff explained that the manifesto was intended to lead his people to " obey all the laws of the land." The present prophet, Lorenzo Snow, testified that the intention was that " the law should be observed in all matters concerning plural marriage." The manifesto was further interpreted in a petition for amnesty in 1891, addressed to President Cleveland, in which it was stated that "the present head of the church, in anguish and prayer, cried to God for help for his flock, and received permission to advise the members of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, that the law commanding polygamy was henceforth suspended."

terances, to show that the obligation t
ham" has been lessened in the theolog
nothing to show for what time the doc
inference is obvious that, whenever th
decide to end the period of suspension
Smith—still threatening damnation t
ence—will have all its old force in I
there any need of making public anno
It may be carried in secret from the h
the priesthood meetings to the faithfu
and no doubtful Mormon be the wiser.
amy for nine years was denied by M
lived under the system, and was not ar
in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mounta
to give this new doctrine to the world.

Now, to turn to the other objection
it can be asserted with equal positive
church control in political affairs has
best merely altered in its application.
has filled Mormon history with tales o
grations and suffering. From the or
the Mormon people have always reco
than the Government of the United St
ity they have called God, but it ha
"prophet" president of the church, h
quorum of twelve apostles. Until the
lines in Utah, in 1891, that authority
blindly and unitedly by the people. S
aroused the anger of the people of Mis
and in the first half of the century had
Mormons from the regions of civilizat
the most bitter sentiment, Americans n
other motive than the good of the Repu
of voters.

Mormon theological works are fill
people to obey their leaders in the pries
(the prophet's) words ye shall receive a
one of Joseph Smith's revelations. "

asked for statehood. [illegible]
at rest by the belief that [illegible]
polygamy and priestly rule [illegible]
tempt to restore the con[illegible]
grievously. Delegate J. L. Raw[illegible]
servative sentiment in Utah whe[illegible]
sentatives, in 1893: "The people of [illegible]
violative of the fundamental princip[illegible]
tions rest;" and "the practice of po[illegible]
tinued, but, so far as the great mass of [illegible]
cerned, is eradicated as a belief."

It is only now—when Utah has sent [illegible]
Congress one who typifies militant Mo[illegible]
nature of Mormon surrender has been lear[illegible]
of Utah are coming to realize that they are [illegible]
plete control of a sect which seems determin[illegible]
to recognize that which it has been at so m[illegible]
This is a strong statement, involving as it do[illegible]
three hundred thousand strong. I would [illegible]
it, had not personal investigation, convers[illegible]
have watched the growth of Mormonism for [illegible]
tact with Mormons who guide the policy [illegible]
close study of the course of affairs in Utal[illegible]
the conviction that the un-American polic[illegible]
is the policy of Lorenzo Snow and his follow[illegible]

Sufficient evidence in support of this s[illegible]
the attitude of Brigham H. Roberts, whon[illegible]
elected to Congress last November by a majo[illegible]
him have centered many of the dramatic [illegible]
political history of Utah, and he represent[illegible]
anybody else, the aspirations of the Mormon [illegible]
ence of their followers. He is a high offic[illegible]
seven presidents of seventies," the leaders [illegible]
elders. He is the author of the leading m[illegible]
mon theology, including an essay to prove [illegible]
churches apostatized after the time of C[illegible]
demonstrate that Brigham Young was the [illegible]
Joseph Smith; a discussion of the first p[illegible]
gospel, and finally a volume upholding the [illegible]
of Joseph Smith. He has devoted many [illegible]

for the church, and, in 1893, he was formally recognized as the leading speaker in it by being chosen to present its doctrines to the Congress of Religions at the World's Fair in Chicago.

In his latest volume, "The New Witness for God," is found the advanced belief of Mormonism. The work was examined by a committee of theologians, appointed especially by the first presidency of the church, who pronounced it "orthodox and consistent with our teachings." It was published in 1895, years after the supposed revolution within the church, and yet there is in it no sign of abatement of the doctrines taught by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. No stronger assertion of the ideas underlying polygamy could be found than in this passage:

> "When I say that the prophet taught that the resurrection is a reality, that the relationship of husband and wife is intended to be eternal, together with all its endearing affections, I mean all that in its most literal sense. . . . Instead of the God-given power of pro-creation being one of the chief things that is to pass away, it is *one of the chief means of man's exaltation and glory in that great eternity* which, like an endless vista, stretches out before him. Through it, man attains to the glory of the endless increase of eternal lives, and the right of presiding as priest and patriarch, king and lord over his ever-increasing posterity. . . . Through that law, in connection with all the other laws of the Gospel, *man will yet attain unto the power of the Godhead.*"

Nor is the assertion of the authority of the priesthood any less emphatic. Speaking of the organization of the Mormon church, he says:

> "First and highest of all officers, stands the first presidency, consisting of three presiding high priests. *Their jurisdiction and authority are universal.* Their jurisdiction extends over all the affairs of the church, as well in temporal as in spiritual things. . . . The quorum of the twelve apostles are equal in power and authority to the first presidency. . . . The first quorum of seventies" (of which Mr. Roberts is a president) "are equal in authority to the quorum of the twelve. . . . None, not even the highest, is beyond the operation of the laws and councils of the church.'

Now, having demonstrated, I believe, that Mormonism is still unchanged theoretically, it remains only to inquire whether its practices are still in accord with its theories. Has it really abandoned polygamy as an active tenet, and has the authority of the priesthood been absent from the councils of state in Utah since 1891?

Answering the first half of the question, we have abundant evidence that polygamy in one form, at least, is still being actively practiced in the State. Mr. Roberts was opposed, throughout his canvass for Congress, on the ground that one of plural

wives had borne children
was not denied, but it
men of the church were in
himself being publicly charged
plural wife within the last two
sionaries of Utah declared that
born in polygamy since Utah be
ary, 1896; and the reply of the Mo
was an editorial in the "Deseret News
declaring that there was an "understand
with the nation that old relations should
that the system should be permitted to
tion. There is no disposition anywhere to
relations entered into before 1890 are still

This in itself is highly significant, as
purpose to uphold plural marriage at all ha
no "understanding" that these relations
easily demonstrated. The amnesty procla
dents Harrison and Cleveland extended e
those polygamists only, who should not the
law against "cohabitation" with plural wi
Mormon legislature of 1892 passed a territo
who might commit this offence; that law
statute books of the State by a code commiss
mon, and it still exists there, though now ma

There would be little disposition, howeve
on the Mormons, if this were their only offe
sidered too ungenerous, no doubt, to dem
had been sealed to men in plurality for
should be put aside by their husbands.
question in this connection is, whether the
obligation by the people is paving the way
that new polygamous marriages are being
trine is being taught within the church with

In a recent visit to Utah I had occasion
Lake City, twenty cases wherein it was ch
gamous marriages had been made. The
stances, either, for I received evidence tha
multiplied many fold in other parts of the
I found, was of such a nature that I

The division of the Mormon people in 189
and Republicans was not a spontaneous popula
was decided upon at a meeting of the church le
ritorial committee of the People's or Mormon pa
left to their own resources, turned overwhelmin
cratic party in the first year of their freedom.
leaders soon found this unfortunate, however, f
tatives were received coldly by President Harris
lican Senate when attempts were made to secu
amnesty for polygamy. Orders were then give
should be more evenly divided, in order to enab
hold a balance of power, as well as to make bot
to gain the support of the prospective State.
through the territory, and in priesthood meetin
nated men to be Republicans, and gave orders
vision. The result was a great decrease in the D
1892, and the election of a Republican delegate
mission was made in the recent session of the U
on behalf of George Q. Cannon, of the Mormon
that in this time "he did plead with some of the b
did not have to be Democrats."

This programme was opposed by an influenti
church, the leaders of which were Moses Thatche
and A. W. Ivins. These men gained a great fo
the year of the first election of State officers.
and southern counties of Utah, they had organize
position among the young Mormons, and had se
orders of the priesthood. Mr. Ivins was the choi
Democratic element for Governor, but a week b
State convention he was ordered to take charge
mission of the church, and could do nothing
Thatcher was nominated for a Senatorship and
Congressman. In the midst of their canvass,
ruff criticised them for not taking counsel of the
before accepting the nominations, and it was th
cratic State convention was reconvened, open ch
of church influence were made by Mormons, and s
demanding the divorcement of church and sta
Mr. Thatcher and Mr. Roberts both defied th
superiors, and were supported by a great body o

They were defeated, however, and at the next conference a manifesto was issued by the high church authorities, which said:

"We unanimously agree to and promulgate as a rule that should always be observed in the church and by every leading official thereof, that, before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties, said official should apply to the proper authorities and learn whether he can, consistently with the obligations already entered into with the church upon assuming office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibilities of the new position."

Mr. Thatcher refused to sign this document. He was stripped of his apostleship, hurt in his business affairs, partially ostracised socially, and defeated in his effort to be elected to the United States Senate. Mr. Roberts signed the manifesto. He retired from the editorial chair of the "Salt Lake Herald" because of his action, and for two years took no part in politics. In the meantime, the leaders of the independent element of young Mormons were crushed politically, or sent away on missions for the church, and the rebellion died out. The result was the nomination last year of Mr. Roberts by a Democratic convention, which obeyed the will of Apostle Grant, the church leader who had been most active in suppressing all opposition to the political manifesto. Of those young Mormons who led the fight against church and State, Mr. Roberts is the only one who has succeeded in Utah politics, and the favor undoubtedly has come to him because he gave his influence to the church at the critical moment when it had set out to crush Mr. Thatcher.

Practically every important executive office in Utah is now in the hands of those who can be trusted to make no objection to the plans of the church leaders. The Legislature is kept in constant touch with the church office, when in session, by a committee of high churchmen, who watch all legislation and counsel policy in all matters in which Mormon interests may be concerned.

Only one political organization of importance is held by the Gentiles—the School Board of Salt Lake City. An election for members of that body, last December, is the best illustration of the union of church and State, even in the centre of enlightenment of Utah. The Mormons needed one member of the Board to divide it evenly and two for a majority. They wished to control the Salt Lake City system, in order to abolish a high school which seriously competes with their church seminaries, to stop the liberal

teachings that have been turning young Mormons away from the doctrines of their fathers, and also because of patronage and a salary list of $155,000 yearly. Once in control, the Mormon leaders could put devout churchmen in place of the teachers now employed—many of whom are of their faith however—and could exact from appointees the payment of the tithing which the church demands.

In one of the municipal wards of Salt Lake City, in December, a Mormon was openly a candidate against a Gentile who had been nominated by a non-partisan convention. In another, a candidate who had been nominated by a mass meeting was apparently unopposed, but learned only on the day before election that the Mormon leaders were plotting to defeat him, and that orders had been given by priests that all good Saints should vote for another man. These priests worked for the Mormon candidate at the polls next day, and it was only by a few score of votes out of 2,200 that the people's candidate was elected. Some liberal Mormons refused to follow priestly counsel, and saved the schools to the Gentiles; but the proof is clear that the great body of the churchmen in the capital itself are ready to do what they are told is in the "interests of Zion."

These are the conditions which have driven all the ministers of the Protestant churches of Utah together, and have brought a firm belief to many of the Gentiles that the old Mormon and anti-Mormon parties will soon be restored. What the end of such a fight would be no person can tell. The Mormons comprise about three-fourths of the population of Utah, and, with its immense power, the church could always rely on having a substantial following among the Gentiles. It would be forced to meet discontent and dissatisfaction within its own ranks, but a serious schism could not occur. Any attempt to start a movement against the designs of the leaders would be crushed, just as the Thatcher rebellion was. At any moment, the whole business, political and religious pressure of the priesthood can be brought against any man who might dare stand as a leader against it. In the history of Mormonism nobody has been found strong enough to resist this pressure. Mr. Thatcher, the strongest of all the revolutionists, bowed before the threat that he would be cast out from the body, believing, as he did, that by excommunication he would lose his hope of salvation.

RECOLLECTIONS OF "OR

BY EDMUND GOS

THE recent publication of the love lett
and 1846, between Robert Browning and
blown a little of the dust off several na
before the public then and have become s
two learned lovers speak of Mr. Serjeant
comparable tragedy of "Ion," of Sir Jo
nets, of the terrible criticisms of Chorley,
ham Heraud and Silk Buckingham and C
are faded notorieties with a vengeance
names, faintly echoing from the earliest V
with one more than the rest deserving
all events a greater mass of actually accom
it, the name of Mr. Horne, the author of
"Gregory VII.," and, above all, of "the
extremely celebrated "Orion." And with
back to me a vision of an extraordinary
saw a great deal in my youth, and of
garner some of my impressions before I lo

He had been baptized Richard Henry
life he had changed the second of these na
in 1874 that I set eyes on him first, in ci
somewhat remarkable. The occasion was
Arthur O'Shaughnessy, to the eldest daug
ton, the playwright. There was a large
pany present, and most of the prominent "
were still occasionally called. In the mid
tivities, and when the bride was surround
old gentleman cleared a space around hi
began to sit upon the floor and sing, h

voice, Spanish songs to his own accompaniment on the guitar. He was very unusual in appearance. Although he was quite bald at the top of his head, his milk-white hair was luxuriant at the sides, and hung in clusters of ringlets. His moustache was so long that it became whisker, and in that condition drooped, also in ringlets, below his chin. The elder guests were inclined to be impatient, the younger to ridicule this rather tactless interruption. Just as it seemed possible something awkward would happen, Robert Browning stepped up and said, in his loud, cheerful voice: "That was charming, Horne! It quite took us to 'the warm South' again," and cleverly leading the old gentleman's thoughts to a different topic, he put an end to the incident.

This scene was very characteristic of Horne, who was gay, tactless and vain to a remarkable degree. He had lately come back from Australia, where nothing had gone well with him for long together, and he did not understand the ways of the younger generation in London. But to those who could be patient with his peculiarities, he offered a very amusing study. He had delightful stories, many of which are still inedited, of the great men of his youth—Wordsworth, Hunt, Hazlitt, in particular. But he himself, with his incredible mixture of affectation and fierceness, humor and absurdity, enthusiasm and ignorance, with his incoherency of appearance, at once so effeminate and so muscular, was better than all his tales. He was a combination of the troubadour and the prize-fighter, on a miniature scale. It was impossible not to think of a curly white poodle when one looked at him, especially when he would throw his fat little person on a sofa and roll about, with gestures less dignified than were, perhaps, ever before seen in a poet of between seventy and eighty years. And yet he had a fine, buoyant spirit, and a generous imagination with it all. But the oddity of it, alas! is what lingers in the memory—those milky ringlets, the extraordinary turn of the head, the embrace of the beribboned guitar!

In a pathetic little letter which Horne wrote to me in his eightieth year, he said, quite placidly, that though he was now forgotten, no poet had ever had more pleasant things said of him by people dead and gone. It was perfectly true. Wordsworth and Tennyson, Leigh Hunt and Walter Savage Landor, had all praised his poetry; Carlyle had declared that "the fire of the stars was in him," and G. H. Lewes that he was "a man of the most unques-

tionable genius." How highly Robert and Elizabeth Browning regarded him may be seen, over and over again, in the course of their correspondence. But his talent was of a very fugitive kind. He was a very remarkable poet for seven or eight years, and a tiresome and uninspired scribbler for the rest of his life. His period of good work began in 1837, when he published "Cosmo de Medici" and "The Death of Marlowe;" it closed in 1843, with the publication of "Orion," and the composition of all that was best in the "Ballad Romances." If any one wished to do honor to the *manes* of poor old Horne—and in these days far less distinguished poets than he receive the honors of rediscovery—the way to do it would be to publish in one volume the very best of his writings, and nothing more. The badness of the bulk of his later verse is outside all calculation. How a man who had once written so well as he, could ever come to write, for instance, "Bible Tragedies" (1881), is beyond all skill of the literary historian to comprehend.

But, although Horne was, for a short time, a good poet, he was always more interesting as a human being. His whole life was an adventure; it was like a "book for boys." He was pleased to relate that even his birth was not ordinary, for he came into the world so exactly at the stroke of midnight on the last day of the year, that it could never be decided whether he was born in 1802 or 1803. I do not know who his parents were or what his family. In the days when I saw so much of him, he appeared to be quite solitary; he never spoke of possessing a relative. He was trained for the army, and lost his chance through some foolish escapade. But before this he had been at school at Enfield, where Tom Keats, the poet's brother, and Charles Wells, who wrote "Joseph and His Brethren," had been his school-fellows. He used to tell us in his old age that he was once scampering out of school, when he saw the chaise of Mr. Hammond, the surgeon, standing at the door. John Keats, who was Hammond's apprentice, was holding the horse, his head sunken forward in a brown study; the boys, who knew how pugnacious Keats was, dared Horne to throw a snowball at him, which Horne did, hitting Keats in the back of the head, and then escaping round the corner at a headlong pace. It used to be very thrilling, in the eighties, to hear the old gentleman tell how he had actually snowballed Keats; almost as though one should arise and say that he had sold Shakespeare a cheese-cake.

a shilling's worth, but was refused [illegible] chasers had to produce their brass farthing[illegible] no change was given. This was done "to [illegible] tempt into which epic poetry has fallen;" but [illegible] good advertisement. Everybody talked about [illegible] thing" poem, and after some editions had [illegible] cautiously raised. But when the tenth edition appeared, [illegible] of seven shillings, the public perceived that its leg was pulled, and it purchased "Orion" no more. In spite of [illegible] "Orion" is far, indeed, from being a humorous composition; [illegible] an epical romance of Greek mythology, with some remote [illegible] to the "Hyperion" of Keats, and contains some noble passages [illegible] poetry.

Space is not here at my command to say what varied employments Horne took up when the Muses began to abandon him. He was sub-editor of "Household Words" under Dickens, and special commissioner of the "Daily News" to Ireland when the great famine broke out. Suddenly, and desperately determined to marry, he went down to stay with Miss Mitford in Berkshire, and proposed to all the neighbouring heiresses one after another, to the intense indignation of that lady, who declared that he had used her hospitable dining-room to propose to a lady (with £50,000 a year) at lunch, and to another (with £40,000 a year) at tea. None of these efforts was crowned with success; perhaps, he had the presumption to be in love with Elizabeth Barrett, whom he had at that time never seen, although oceans of correspondence had passed between them. At all events, directly Robert Browning had carried off his eminent bride, Horne appeared with a little Miss Foggs upon his arm, whom he presently marrried. They did not get on together; why should history conceal the fact, when Horne himself was wont to dilate upon it so freely to his friends? Mrs. Horne, in tears, threw herself upon the paternal sympathy of Charles Dickens, and Horne sought a southern hemisphere.

In Australia he was commander of the Gold Escort, and it was delightful, years afterward, to hear him tell how he convoyed several tons of bullion from Ballarat to Melbourne amid every species of peril. Then he became Gold Commissioner to the Government, but here his flow of high spirits carried him away. He then flung himself into the cultivation of the cochineal insect, edited a Victorian newspaper, became Commissioner of Waterworks, gave

lessons in gymnastics, professed the art of natation, and was one of the starters of Australian wine-growing. Long afterwards, when the first Australian cricketers came over to England, Horne wrote to me: "I learn that the cricketers have made *each* £1,000 over here! Why, oh! why did not I become an Australian cricketer, instead of an unprofitable swimmer? When years no longer smiled upon my balls and runs, I might have retired upon my laurelled bat, and have published tragedies at my own expense. Is there any redress for these things in another world? I don't think so; I shall be told I had my choice." He certainly paid his money. No one, I suppose, ever failed in so many brilliant, unusual enterprises, every one of which was sure to succeed when he adopted it.

When he came back from Australia, I think about 1869, he was in very low water. He had managed very deeply to offend Charles Dickens, who had taken up the cause of Horne's neglected wife. What happened to Horne in the early years after his return, I never heard; I fancy that he went abroad for some part of the time. A little later, Robert Browning, who had always felt a sincere regard for Horne, was able to be of practical service to him. He was encouraged to republish his poems, and to appeal by means of them to the new age. In these days, one used to meet him at afternoon parties, carrying with great care, under his arm, the precious guitar, which he called "my daughter," and was used ceremoniously to introduce as "Miss Horne." A little later Horne would be discovered on a low stool, warbling Mexican romances, or murmuring with exaggerated gallantry to the prettiest girl in the room. At this time he was thirsting for publicity—if he could only be engaged to sing in public, to box in public, to swim in public, how happy he would be! It used to be said that when he was nearly seventy, Horne persuaded the captain of a ship to tie his legs together and fling him into the sea, and that he swam with ease to the boat. A wonderful little ringletted athlete, no doubt!

A great deal of Horne's work in verse, and even in prose, remains unpublished, and is not very likely, I should think, to be ever printed. As I have said, his faculty, which had been so graceful, faded away from him about forty years before he died. When he was in Australia he wrote a good deal, among other things a choral drama, "Prometheus, the Fire-Bringer," which was actually composed out in the bush, and lost, and written all over again,

still in the bush. The first edition of this poem is
ard *Henry* Horne," and the second, which followe
Richard *Hengist* Horne," showing the period at
the more barbaric name. I have glanced thr
Horne's manuscript, which I possess (I believe
Forman possesses a great deal more), to see w
anything unpublished which is good enough to o
of this REVIEW. The following impromptu is at
composed when the poet was in his seventy-eighth

"THE SPRING-TIDE OF THE BARDS.

" Ah, where is the Spring-tide of Poets of old,
When Chaucer lov'd April and all her sweet
When Spenser's knights felt not their armor s
Tho' lost in wet forests or dreaming in bowe
'Tis a far other planet to us in this season,
And Nature must own we complain with so

" For north winds, and east winds, and yellow-f
And thunders and lightnings that scare buds
May cheer the hoarse chorus of cold-blooded fr
But Man craves life's future, and fears for it
Then come again, Spring, like the dear songs o
Where the crocus smiled daily in sunlight an

Horne's cheerfulness was a very pleasant fea
acter. Life had treated him very badly, love
fame had come down and crowned him, and
snatched the laurel away. If ever a man might h
for sourness, it was Horne. But he was a galla
and if it was impossible not to smile at him, it
sible not to recognize his courage and his s
enough, Elizabeth Barrett, who carried on so cl
ence with Horne in her unmarried days, but who
Mitford, never would allow him to call upon he
an accurate instinct of his merits and his weakn
casual remarks about Horne, which she makes in
letters to Robert Browning, strike one who kne
later years as singularly exact and perspicuous.
her letters to him, published about twenty years
umes, is becoming a rare book, and contains m
markable interest and importance.

It was from 1876 to 1879 that we saw him

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mers to feats of natation, and he very often beat them, carrying off from them cups and medals, to their deep disgust. He was nearly eighty when he filled us, one evening, with alarm by bending the drawing-room poker to an angle in striking it upon the strained muscles of his fore-arm. He was very vain of his physical accomplishments, and he used to declare that he was in training to be a centenarian. These are things that should never be said, they tempt the fates; so one day, just after poor Mr. Horne had been boasting, he was knocked down by a van in Lisson Grove, and, although he rallied in a wonderful way, he was never the same man again. Presently, on the 13th of March, 1884, he died at Margate, whither he had been removed to take the benefit of the sea-air. He was in his eighty-third year. It would be a great pity that a man so unique and so picturesque should be forgotten. As long as the world is interested in Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Horne can never be entirely forgotten, but he deserves to be remembered for his own sake.

EDMUND GOSSE.

BRITISH CAPITAL ABROAD.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.S.S.

THE rapid growth of British investments in foreign countries is one of the most striking features of the concluding quarter of the nineteenth century. Widespread and vast as is the colonial empire of England, the rule of British capital is still more extended. It may be termed universal; for there is hardly a nook or corner of the globe where we are not confronted with docks, railways, shipping, banks, newspapers, water works, tramways, factories, etc., bearing the hall-mark of British gold, as conspicuous as the letters, "S. P. Q. R.," in ancient Rome. The heart of the true-born Englishman swells with pride at this manifestation of British wealth and enterprise, and yet he is, perhaps, mistaken in his reading of the oracle. And here, by way of preamble, it may be well to lay down a few general remarks, viz.: (1.) Investments abroad are a portion of the floating capital of a nation; (2.) The floating capital of Great Britain is much larger than that of other European countries; (3.) Floating capital may increase or diminish without reference to national wealth; (4.) Borrowing countries are sometimes richer than those that lend; (5.) Any arguments based on the overflow of capital as a proof of prosperity are fallacious.

1.—FLOATING CAPITAL.

Under this heading are comprised all stocks and shares, of whatever kind, that may be transferred from hand to hand at a moment's notice. It includes not only every variety of joint-stock companies, but also all public debts, national or local, and hence must always be considered apart from public wealth. Any fresh issue of public debt increases floating capital, but adds nothing to a nation's wealth; in like manner, a reduction of

debt reduces floating capital, without detracting from
fortune. Although there is no relationship between
is well, for the sake of comparison, to place side by
latest estimates of wealth and floating capital of the
European States, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.		Dollars per [illegible]	
	Wealth.	Float. Capital.	Wealth.	[illegible]
United Kingdom..	59,100	11,200	[illegible]	[illegible]
France............	45,400	18,160	[illegible]	[illegible]
Germany...........	40,200	7,260	[illegible]	[illegible]
Russia.............	32,100	2,080	[illegible]	[illegible]
Austria	22,600	1,960	[illegible]	[illegible]
Italy	15,800	1,410	[illegible]	[illegible]
Belgium...........	4,900	1,480	[illegible]	[illegible]
Holland...........	4,400	1,090	[illegible]	[illegible]
Eight countries	227,500	49,630	700	[illegible]

Neymarck showed in 1895 that the floating capital
consisted of 10,820 million dollars at home and 2,24
invested abroad. An official return for Belgium, in Ma
sums up 1,420 million dollars. The figures for the ot
tries in the above table (except the United Kingdom)
from a table published by *L'Economiste Français* in 18
make a reasonable estimate for countries omitted, the f
ing capital of Europe will be found to reach 52 milliar
millions) of dollars, which may be classified under th
as in the following table:

	Millions [illegible]	
	1848.	[illegible]
Debts..	[illegible]	[illegible]
Railway Stock*..................................	[illegible]	[illegible]
Miscellaneous....................................	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total..	12,340	[illegible]

Thus it appears that the floating capital of
doubled since 1870, and quadrupled since 1848.
and municipal, have risen with astonishing rapidity
stock system has received unprecedented impulse
ward march of commerce and civilization, calling
ways, banks, mining and other enterprises, in
world.

2.—NEW CAPITAL CREATED.

In 1898, Neymarck published a statement

The net increase of floating [illegible] the last thirty years, has [illegible] We shall presently see [illegible] Great Britain.

3.—[illegible]

In some countries, notably [illegible] floating capital has been more [illegible] internal industries, and for this [illegible] flow of capital which has not only [illegible] ing countries, but has fertilized many [illegible] unproductive parts of the earth's surface [illegible] Georges Martin, of the Statistical Society [illegible] interesting statement, showing the number [illegible] countries quoted on the Stock Exchanges [illegible]

Held by	United States.	British Colonies.	[illegible] America.
Great Britain............	341	478	[illegible]
Germany....................	94	0	[illegible]
Holland......................	128	10	[illegible]
France.........................	3	8	[illegible]
Belgium..........................	2	0	[illegible]
Switzerland............	9	2	[illegible]
Other countries.........	0	0	[illegible]
Total................	577	498	[illegible]

It must always be borne in mind that the [illegible] in many instances, quoted on the various [illegible] Europe, and as the number quoted in London [illegible] Martin, is only 1,613, we may conclude that [illegible] exceed 1,700. The above table, meanwhile, [illegible] to the approximate amount of capital lent [illegible] another. If we examine the details of Mr. [illegible] which are too lengthy to be given here, we [illegible] curities are largely held, not only in France [illegible] many and Holland; that Spain and Italy draw [illegible] country in Europe; and that the great bulk [illegible] securities is held in Germany. We know, [illegible] pendent sources, that the overflow capital [illegible] about 9,300 millions of dollars, that of [illegible] and we shall not be far astray if we estimate [illegible] flow capital of Europe at 17,000 millions [illegible] floating capital. No other part of the [illegible] capital.

4.—BRITISH FLOATING CAPITAL.

The floating capital of the United Kingdom at three periods during the second half of the nineteeth century, was approximately as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	1860.	1882.	1896.
National Consols	3,700	3,500	3,200
Local Stocks	100	400	700
British Rails	1,700	3,500	5,500
" Banks	600	900	1,200
" Sundries	500	900	1,300
Home Investments	6,600	9,200	11,900
Foreign "	700	4,400	9,300
Total	7,300	13,600	21,200

The estimate made on the London Stock Exchange in 1882 showed that the gross value of securities quoted was 25 milliards of dollars, of which 13½ milliards were held in Great Britain. In 1896, the gross value would probably exceed 40 milliards, since the stocks held in the United Kingdom (as shown above) exceeded 21 milliards. The "Bankers' Magazine" gives a list of 325 first-class investments, the quotations of which in December, 1897, summed up a value of 16,400 millions of dollars; besides these, there are, as already shown, 1,300 investments of minor importance, held partially or wholly in Great Britain. The above table shows that British floating capital has trebled in 36 years, while the wealth of the nation has only doubled; the increase of the former averaged 286 million dollars yearly from 1860 to 1882, and 550 millions yearly from 1882 to 1896. Most people flatter themselves that commercial prosperity and floating capital go hand in hand, and that the latter is simply wealth in its most portable and useful form; hence its rapid increase is regarded as an unqualified blessing. This is, however, a manifest error. A country may be ruined by over banking, and in like manner by over capitalization. Therefore, a time may come when the floating capital of the United Kingdom will have reached such an amount as to cause motive for anxiety.

5.—BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

[illegible] the increase of floating capital has been surprisingly rapid, [illegible] of foreign investments is unprecedented in the his[illegible]. The Stock Exchange estimate for 1860 was [illegible] dollars, or less than 10 per cent. of the floating cap-

ital, whereas in 1896 British investments millions, or 44 per cent. of such capital

Foreign Loans..............................	
Colonial Loans..............................	
Railways....................................	
Banks, Mines, etc..........................	
Total Foreign..............................	

To go back no further than fourteen years, we home investments show an average growth of 20 lars yearly, the amount of capital that emigrated no less than 350 millions. Money, like water, is its level; and, as it is impossible to find suitable United Kingdom for the employment of fresh capi rate of interest, the capitalists are compelled to of it to foreign countries, where it must necessa to extra risk in case of war or international compli of course, implies higher interest, and the creatio fresh capital every year in England for exportatio other phase or development of the gambling spirit, to be inseparable from the business of the Stock capitalists would content themselves with less in risk), we should see the home investments increase foreign. There are numerous desirable undertakin for which the capital is not forthcoming. The em can hydraulic engineer, Mr. Corthell, in his (1898) on the growth of commerce and steam shows that it will be necessary in a few years harbors and docks of Great Britain, as well as ropean countries. Another beneficent enterpr build Peabody blocks in every parish of every the basis of drawing only 2 per cent. profit provide cheap and sanitary habitations for and even for the poor. Nor would it be British millionaires to employ a portion reviving those branches of manufacture suppressed by penal laws of the British

NOTES AND CO

RAILWAY POOLING AND THE INTER COMMISSION.

In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for while discussing the opposition to railway pooli in favor of the increased powers demanded Commission. Mr. Newcomb seems to share with for very much greater power.

There has been a constant tendency on the its friends to treat its demands for additional po to any proposition to legalize pooling, when, in fa tirely distinct.

Every proposition to legalize pooling has em the Interstate Commerce Commission supervisi the pooling contracts but also of the rates to The Commission would thereby acquire new pow ance, but no question is made in any quarter as ring such powers as an incident to the authoriz

But the Commission is not content with an i the control of pooling contracts, and the rat What it desires is something in no wise connecte ing—a power to make rates generally for all the all traffic whether pooled or not, and to put the any resort to the courts for their enforcement.

Mr. Newcomb's description of these powers mission's description of them, in that it fails t their real magnitude. But the amendments p as embodying what it wants show clearly that th power to enforce the rates so fixed, which the Co tically unlimited, and will really vest in the Com is given the most powerful State railroad comm Mr. Newcomb himself, although he speaks of "limited" rate-making authority, further on in the Commission, if its demands are gratified, as rates," which it would undoubtedly be.

Mr. Newcomb fails to state any reason why should be acceded to. He says that they are Interstate Commerce Law mean what the publi time of its enactment. The Interstate Comm

making power on the Commission. In the lengthy debates in Congress preceding its enactment, the question of rate-making was rarely referred to, and the few references to it show virtually without exception that the law was not intended to give the Commission the rate-making power. The law provides no method for its enforcement, except a resort to the courts. It is impossible to understand, therefore, how any portion of the public could have thought, at the time of the enactment of the law, that it was intended to confer on the Commission the practically unlimited power to make rates, and to give "substantial finality" to its rate-making decrees.

Mr. Newcomb assumes that there is an intense public sentiment in favor of giving the Commission these tremendous powers which it is so actively seeking. There are no evidences of the existence of any such sentiment. Practically, the only cry that is heard for the granting of these powers is the cry of the Interstate Commerce Commission itself.

Although pointing out that the constant tendency of the whole modern industrial and economic organization is to secure ever cheapening transportation, by virtue of which fact railway companies now have no substantial power to determine their own rates, at any rate to the extent of securing extortionate returns, yet Mr. Newcomb intimates that the only reason railway companies can have for objecting to the Commission's aspirations is that they desire to continue to exact unreasonable compensation for the services they supply. The existence of such unreasonable rates, however, is wholly inconsistent with Mr. Newcomb's premises, and inconsistent with the facts. The Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, moreover, has admitted that rates excessive in themselves are practically obsolete.

The result of the genuine competition of trade, as Mr. Newcomb points out, is that railway rates tend uninterruptedly toward the lowest rate that will produce a revenue sufficient to meet the expense of operation and maintenance, and, in addition, the lowest recompense for capital. Nor is this tendency to reduce rates confined to what are called competitive rates. In the development of traffic, every railroad company is bound to and does make rates low enough to enable the products of so-called local or non-competitive points on its line to compete in the markets of the world with the products of sections having the most favored means of transportation. In this connection it is well to state that Mr. Newcomb is misinformed as to the policy governing the railways in the region south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, and east of the Mississippi. He says they have formulated their rate schedules in accordance with the purpose—by them freely acknowledged and warmly advocated—to foster the wholesale and jobbing business of certain cities and to compel the residents of all other cities and towns to purchase their supplies in the favored cities, while restricting the sales of the merchants located in places discriminated against to the goods to supply the retail demand of their several localities. The railway companies in that section simply recognize competitive conditions which are beyond their control and make rates necessary to meet that competition. In doing this, they do not injure any locality or give any locality an advantage which it would not have just the same independently of the action of the railways. There is no rational motive which could induce a railway company to seek to build up a business at a city enjoying competition of other lines, and at the expense of business at some point local to its own line. For, in the latter place, it is sure of all the traffic that moves, and is sure to reap the benefit of any development of the business of

the place, whereas it must divide with competing
be developed at competitive points, and may
It is a significant circumstance that, in the
a little over a year ago, it made various gloomy
astrous results which would follow certain decisions
recent) of the Supreme Court of the United States
sion rate-making powers which it had, without any
to exercise. Yet, in its last annual report, made in
appears that the Commission in the year covered by
eight cases involving alleged unreasonable rates; and
the Commission found the rates to be reasonable, and
would seem that, if the Commission is correct in the
unreasonable, it is because they are unreasonable as
rates in force. If so, the law affords ample remedy

Indeed, whatever unjust discriminations, if any,
published rates of any railroad between localities or
ble of complete correction under the law as it stands.
now conducting various legal proceedings to correct
discriminations between localities. In these proceedings
is whether the rate adjustments involved constitute
If so, the courts can and will undoubtedly prevent
view of the fact that rates in general are so very low
clear, if any particular rates are too high, that they are
general rate adjustment, and are, therefore, unjust
be remedied as such.

The only serious evil in the railway traffic situation
pointed out by Mr. Newcomb of secret reductions in
to persons in a position to extort such concessions.
of pooling would tend to decrease the evil (although
results will not be nearly so great as Mr. Newcomb
stated without qualification that the powers
sion would not in the slightest degree tend to prevent or
gal discriminations. There will be just the same
same motive for the secret cutting of rates fixed by the
is now for cutting the legally established rates.

There is, therefore, an entire absence of any
plying with the ambitious designs of the Commission,
radical legislation should not be enacted without

The serious objections to conferring such unlimited
sion have often been pointed out, and it is unnecessary to
is sufficient to say that the Commission would be
intelligent discharge of the task of making the
railroad and adjusting the conflicting commercial
of localities in this country. The power which
over the comparative commercial prosperity of
country (entirely independently of the power
roads), would make it by far the most potent
although it is wholly unfitted for the exercise
tially conclusive jurisdiction, by reason of the
wholly incompatible functions of detective,
plainant and court. The Commission,
to disregard commercial

worthy changes. There has been an [illegible]
societies devoted to political organisation [illegible]
their delegates, are co-ordinated into a [illegible]
New Zealand. This council was founded [illegible]
a half after women obtained the political [illegible]
Its session lasts about ten days and its [illegible]
resolutions which they believe to have a [illegible]
being of society. As the council [illegible]
possess votes, its deliberations are watched [illegible]
stances its recommendations are given effect [illegible]
administrative or legislative reform.

At first the National Council of women [illegible]
jeers, especially from the newspapers; but [illegible]
is now seriously accepted as a public institution [illegible]
who misjudge and misrepresent it. Not long [illegible]
to religion wrote disparagingly of the members [illegible]
dislike of motherhood, a love of money, a desire [illegible]
publicity," and charged them with clamoring [illegible]
easy divorce law." This, however, is in no just sense [illegible]
is true only as a typical expression of the prevailing [illegible]
described by the poet who says:

> "Yes, and the creed of man's whole [illegible]
> Is, 'Do forever as we do,
> Else be then damned; and leave us [illegible]
> To go whatever way we will,
> Or we shall damn thee.'"

As a matter of fact, neither the Wild Woman [illegible]
the comic papers has yet come to the front in New [illegible]
ful if either species exists in the colony. Of course, [illegible]
is fairly applicable to women of character and [illegible]
desire to effect reform called for on the broad [illegible]
then it may be applied to a good many women in [illegible]
their representatives in the National Council, [illegible]
stand by the principle that, morally, constitutionally [illegible]
they are as much citizens as men. They, therefore, [illegible]
with men, all the rights of citizenship, and to [illegible]
applied to them as individuals and citizens applied [illegible]
men. Whether this creed is capable of being [illegible]
whether men are or ever will be willing and able to [illegible]
is a thing apart; but the object of its upholders [illegible]
ment of society. They do not wish to kick the [illegible]
balance as between the members of the state.

Amongst New Zealand women, this principle [illegible]
the principle whence they start and to which [illegible]
as reformers. For instance, in advocating [illegible]
women, they do not seek to separate or [illegible]
of man and wife, but to get the law to [illegible]
factors in the household and the state. [illegible]
logical and civilised sense of justice [illegible]
means of the law and public opinion [illegible]
line with the principle. Then [illegible]
[illegible]

to adjust the moral obligations of the sexes, by placing man and wife on an equal footing under the law. Equal pay for equal work, in callings open to both men and women, is asked for on similar grounds; firstly, as a matter of economic justice, and, secondly, in order that the woman, as a citizen, may have the same opportunities and the same advantages as the man, and be under no temptation to accept, for economic reasons, the first offer of marriage that is made to her.

So with other reforms. Women in New Zealand, like women elsewhere, are, of course, influenced by their feelings; but, in advocating matters of public policy, they are seldom at a loss for sound constitutional or economic reasons. For instance, in asking for special legislative and administrative machinery to deal educationally with the waifs and strays of society, they plead humanity, it is true, but they take their stand chiefly on the ground that society suffers, not only morally but economically, by having citizens who have not enjoyed human sympathy and educational care in their youth.

Notwithstanding the good sense exhibited by women in connection with these and other matters, there are, in New Zealand as elsewhere, grave and reverend persons who regard the whole woman movement as reactionary, and even look upon it as a menace to the very foundations of society. But, surely, they may possess their souls in patience. Man need have no fear, at least, that women will unfeminize themselves. They will still be mothers, sisters, sweethearts and wives, and it will be only in exceptional cases that they will compete directly with men in governing the world, or in doing its more strenuous work. There are vocations of paramount importance to which women are never likely to turn their serious attention; for example, those of the navigator, the explorer, the soldier, the pioneer, the bushfeller, teamster, roadman, engineer, builder and bridgemaker. But, as a citizen, woman's human and economic value is equal to that of man, and, therefore, in citizenship, she claims to be in every respect the man's equal. On this plane there must be no economic or other distinctions. This is all that is meant by the woman movement—at least in New Zealand.

JOHN CHRISTIE.

WHEAT PRODUCTION FROM A FARMER'S STANDPOINT.

WITHOUT presuming to attack any position taken by Mr. Hyde in the February REVIEW, can it not be shown that the danger of a wheat famine in 1931 is, perhaps, purely imaginary? Mr. Hyde overlooks the possibilities of greater production upon the present area of improved land, except as it may be aided by science. It is to this feature that, omitting what may be expected from methods not already in use, the discussion will be confined.

For several years prices have, quite generally, been unremunerative and production consequently limited. Farmers have refrained from hiring help and have contented themselves with what could be produced by the family. I know of no farm that is yielding to its fullest capacity; yet some are producing more than twice as much per acre as adjoining farms equally good.

To illustrate: A farm of 200 acres, 160 of which are improved, receiving careful treatment and above the average condition of farms in the vicinity, has a cash income of from $600 to $700 yearly as the result of the work of two men. An adjoining farm of 40 acres, with the same labor, averages about $500. A "river" farm of 40 acres, with a little more work, gives about [illegible]

Small holdings, diversity of crops, and [illegible] double our production without any increase in [illegible] France, with nine times our population to the square [illegible] eight bushels of wheat per capita for the five years ending [illegible] production for the same period was but little more than [illegible] *capita.* Let us see what that means.

As it would be manifestly unfair to compare France with the [illegible] United States, let us take these twelve States: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, [illegible] souri, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, [illegible] consin and Michigan. This is our great agricultural region, and [illegible] as fertile as France. These States have an area 3.7 times that of France [illegible] population is 28,000,000. At the same ratio the States in question should [illegible] tain a population of 140,000,000. At eight bushels per capita they would [illegible] duce 1,120,000,000 bushels or 400,000,000 more than Mr. Hyde says we [illegible] need.

Should these states reach the average already attained by Iowa, [illegible] would produce as much of the principal crops as does the whole U[illegible] States at present. From 1870 to 1896, the North Atlantic States ave[illegible] 14.1 bushels of wheat. Mr. Hyde speaks of the very high average obt[illegible] by the Western States because of irrigation. For the same period [illegible] average was but 14.2. From 1890 to 1896, the North Atlantic States [illegible] 14.9 against 14.7 for the Western States. In corn, the North Atlantic S[illegible] exceeded all other sections, and were above the average in the produ[illegible] of oats.

There is no evidence that the yield will be less in the future than i[illegible] past. Quite the contrary is probable.

Let the great region, the Central States, adopt the methods [illegible] tain in the Eastern States, and a marvelous increase in yield [illegible] follow.

The silo is adding very greatly to the productiveness of [illegible] Eastern States. Every silo decreases the number of [illegible] a cow, adds to the area that may be devoted to other crops [illegible] demand for Western corn. Yet we are only at the beginning [illegible] ment.

Is the result which has been suggested impossible of [illegible] so, there are still left three-fourths of the area of our [illegible] toward the deficiency.

For the four years ending with 1896, we exported to [illegible] than four and a half million bushels annually. With [illegible] sumption *per capita* than ours, she is very nearly [illegible] dense a population, the Central States would have [illegible] mated population of the United States in 1931. Wh[illegible] possibilities inferior to the present attainments of [illegible]

after much controversy, ... States—largely as a ...

The Ten Years' War ... ceased purely through the ... only to be recommenced, with ... tion which had been in ... of the late war. The voice ... tion. The "Virginius" affair, ... of our citizens and others, had not ... people; nor was the final adjudication ... The summary execution of the victims ... was directly contrary to treaty obligations ...

The character of the war waged by ... insurgents was cruel, and often barbarous ... given by our nation that it should be ... manner. It was becoming a war of ex... of the Antilles" was ruined, and its p... hundreds of thousands by death, in ma... With a forbearance that, perhaps, no ... shown, we had preserved the strictest ... with much loss in our trade relations.

On the 15th of February, 1898, the ... horrified by the blowing up of the ba... United States Navy, in the harbor of ... 253 of her crew. It does not matter ... whether or not any Spanish official w... struction of this magnificent ship, nor ... theless, the disaster caused great const... land, and from that moment Spanish r... The whole nation with one voice de... Party feelings were forgotten, and, on ... propriated fifty millions of dollars for ... this large amount, the executive depar... make preparations for the impending ... ment succeeded in securing large quanti... including a considerable number of rap... tion, some third or fourth rate vessels, ... others that were used as an auxiliary ... less jewels are the modern appliances ...

purchase a single battleship, a first-class cruiser or a modern high-power gun of the greatest destructive power. It requires years to build these great engines of war, and they cannot be obtained in an emergency.

On the 25th of April, Congress declared war, making the declaration that war had existed from the 21st of April.

Congress had been much more generous in its appropriations for the Navy than for the Army, and much progress had already been made in the construction of battleships and cruisers. At the time of the breaking out of the war, indeed, the Navy was in fairly effective condition, except for a shortage in ammunition, and it proved to be in every way superior to the Spanish navy. The magnificent results of the operations and the splendid record of the Navy during the war were eminently satisfactory.

Although, for many years, Congress had been urged to make appropriations for the adequate protection of our seacoasts, it had been so tardy in doing so that, when the war broke out, the condition of our coast defences was far from satisfactory. A very few modern guns of high power had been placed in position. It is true that much work was in progress, but it takes years to construct guns and to build emplacements for them, so that at that time it required many months still to accomplish the necessary results. Suddenly attacked by a first-class naval power, most of our seaports would have been practically defenceless.

The Army, of 25,000 men, was doing duty in various parts of the country, where for many years it had paved the way for the advance of civilization, and had afforded constant protection to the citizens on the frontier. It was, as far as practicable, well trained and in excellent condition. It was fairly well armed and equipped, and it was ready for any emergency, its officers and men having been hardened by service and training in the West. It was, as far as intelligence, physical excellence, discipline and devotion to duty are concerned, unexcelled by any military body of equal numbers in the world. Such a force, however, was not even sufficient to have properly guarded our seacoasts, in the event of a war with a strong naval power.

The Militia, composed of the National Guards of the several [illegible] was, as a rule, inefficient, and, as a body, could practically [illegible]ded. Its arms and equipment were obsolete, and un-[illegible] troops fighting an army properly organized and

equipped. Never, in the history of the
so obvious to the people for proper legi
ization of the regular Army, as well as
Smallarms using smokeless powder had
the use of the regular troops, but there
serve supply of these arms to equip ever
into service at the time of its mobilizati
our siege guns and all our heavier gun
and used, black powder. This in time of
great disadvantage; and, in fact, the
which were present with our Army in Cu
from the firing line on account of the obso
they were armed, while the field artillery
disadvantage. Had our field artillery bee
smokeless powder, there is no question t
ment would have produced much more
same disadvantage was experienced by the
on the fortifications at San Juan, Porto
from the guns to a great extent prevented

It is safe to say that, with an Army
equipped, at the time of the declaration o
been secured without requiring a single
country, and thus the necessity of the en
and the expense and inconvenience incid
and maintenance, could have been avoided
men were landed on Spanish soil before
signed.

The President was authorized to call
of Congress approved April 22, 1898, a
proved April 26, 1898, authority was give
Army to 62,527 men, while the Act appr
thorized the enlistment of 10,000 "imm
into ten regiments, and of 3,500 engineer
brigade of three regiments.

organized, and discip
be done with the least
sixty days in their State
provision for their State
field service. After being
vice of the United States,
plete camp equipage, arms,
stationery, including blank
ter's, Commissary, Medical,
will also require complete
ter's, commissary, and medical
portation, including ambulances,
commissioned officers will have to
in their duties and responsibilities,
tical exercises, guard duties, etc.,
importance to the efficiency and health
inary work should be done before the
this is being done, the general officers
ed and properly instructed, large camps
iously selected, ground rented, and stores
days the regiments, batteries, and troops
into divisions and corps, and proper
and this great force may be properly
into an effective army with the least

Very respectfully,

Major

The Secretary of War.

General Orders,
No. 54.

Headquarter
Adjutan
Wa

The following standard of supplies and e
is published for the information and guidance
service of the United States. The allowance
mum for field service:

Headquarters of an army corps.—Three wag
pack mules; 1 two-horse wagon; 1 two-hors
saddle horses for contingent wants; 2 wall te
eral; 1 wall tent for every two officers of his

Headquarters of a division.—Two wagons fo
mules; 1 two-horse spring wagon; 1 two-hor
horses for contingent wants; 1 wall tent fo
wall tent for every two officers of his staff.

Headquarters of a brigade.—One wagon for
1 two-horse spring wagon; 2 extra saddle ho
1 wall tent for the commanding general; 1 w
cers of his staff.

Allowance of transportation for regiment
144 pack animals.

Allowance of transportation for batter
Allowance of transportation for

Supplies to be carried in wagons per company: Ten days' field rations per man; 100 rounds of ammunition per soldier; 250 pounds of officers' baggage and supplies; tentage; grain for animals; utensils for each company mess, not to exceed 350 pounds for each troop, battery, or company; horseshoes, nails, tools, and medicine for cavalry horses, not to exceed 300 pounds; to each soldier or civilian employee (compactly rolled in one piece of shelter tent) 1 blanket, 1 poncho and 1 extra suit of undergarments.

Whenever the amount of rations or grain varies from the above, the weight to be carried per six-mule wagon may be increased or diminished, but should not exceed 4,000 pounds, and for four-mule wagon 3,000 pounds, and if possible should be less per wagon.

Whenever obtainable on line of march, full forage will be allowed all animals, the rate of purchase to be regulated by the quartermaster's department.

To be carried on the person or horse: One overcoat, 1 piece of shelter tent, 50 rounds of rifle or carbine, and 24 rounds of revolver ammunition.

Supplies to be carried on pack mules for one troop of cavalry: Five days' field rations per man; 100 rounds of ammunition per soldier.

The utensils for each troop of cavalry must not exceed 350 pounds.

The weight of load per aparejo must never exceed 250 pounds, and should, if possible, be less than 200 pounds.

Troop of cavalry, company of infantry, or light battery.

	Troop of cavalry. Lbs.	Company of infantry. Lbs.	Light battery. Lbs.
Field rations, 10 days: Cavalry, 100 men; infantry, 106; artillery, 125	3,640	3,858	4,550
Ammunition, 100 rounds: Cavalry, 100 men; infantry, 106 men	725	769	....
Officers' baggage and supplies	250	250	250
Tentage (7 conical wall for cavalry and infantry, each: 9 for light battery)	854	854	1,098
Grain for animals, 10 days, 6 pounds: Cavalry, 115; infantry, 12; artillery, 126	6,900	720	7,560
Utensils for each company mess	350	350	350
Horseshoes, nails, tools, and medicines for cavalry and artillery horses	300	....	325
Soldiers' baggage: Each 1 blanket, 1 poncho, 1 extra suit of undergarments, and 1 piece shelter tent	1,662	1,761	2,078
Total	14,681	8,562	16,211

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

General Orders,
No. 57.

Headquarters of the Army,
Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, May 30, 1898.

After a prolonged period of peace our Army is once more called upon to engage in war in the cause of justice and humanity. To bring the military forces to the highest state of efficiency and most speedily accomplish what is expected should be the earnest effort and call forth [illegible] energies of all its members of whatsoever station.

[illegible] laws and regulations which govern military bodies in civilized

countries have been developed to their present by the experience of hundreds of years, and the strict laws and regulations is essential to the honor a Army.

All authority should be exercised with firmness orum on the part of superiors, and should be re obedience and loyal support from subordinates.

Every officer of whatever grade will, so far as n guard and preserve the health and welfare of thos He must labor diligently and zealously to perfect h ordinates in military drill, instruction, and disciplin must constantly endeavor, by precept and examp highest character, to foster and stimulate that true patriotic devotion to duty which must characterise The Major-General Commanding confidently trust and soldier in the service of the Republic, each in will contribute his most zealous efforts to the end character of the Army may be preserved untarnish forts crowned with success.

This order is given upon a day sacred to the m dead, whose services and sacrifices afford us exam and it is expected that all will be fully impressed w imposed upon the Army by the Government of our

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, Ad

The difficulty of obtaining clothing and many men was soon apparent. In fact, the articles necessary for these equipments had not manufactured, and it would take a long time while even the cartridges necessary to fight bat in the possession of the government. Had our able for immediate service, this fact alone wou such service impossible.

Much time was necessarily lost for these Spain the opportunity to concentrate her tro Porto Rico, to supply them with food and mu take steps to strengthen the defences of her sea der them as able as possible to withstand a things were done as far as lay in the power

On the 15th of April, the regular troops mobilized, the infantry being directed Mobile and New Orleans, and the

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parts carrying the

also at war with

cans being taken

campaign were for

all between 1,700 and

posed to them was

the British. It is said,

British force was on the

In 1553, the French

wards on the payment by

In October, 1663, a British

men were landed at

Spanish, marched on and

ish fleet, under Admiral

force of 5,000 men under

Army, was landed there.

At the commencement of the

sion was that the Spanish were

they proved to be. In fact, their

markable. Even with the vessels th

sailors as the British or our own,

damage to us. With their fleets fre

unknown, the embarkation of a la

was hazardous. Good judgment de

erations should be commenced, thes

captured, and it was my opinion

should take place until this was don

lowing letter which I wrote to the

SIR: Referring to my former

the troops and the uncertainty of

to Cuba at this season of the year,

to the letter of the

March 25, of this year, as to the

And still another element of extreme danger would be to place an army there with the possibility of our own Navy not being able to keep the waters between our own territory and that island clear of hostile ships or fleets.

By mobilizing our force and putting it in healthful camps and using such force as might be necessary to harass the enemy and doing them the greatest injury with the least possible loss to ourselves, if our Navy is superior to theirs, in my judgment, we can compel the surrender of the army on the Island of Cuba with very little loss of life and possibly avoid the spread of yellow fever over our own country.

There is still time, if this is favorably considered, to put a small force of regular troops, number approximately 18,000 men, in healthful camps until such time as they can be used on the Island of Cuba with safety.

Very respectfully,

NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General Commanding.

The Secretary of War.

The plan of campaign was carefully considered. The wet season, which would be especially dangerous to the lives of those not acclimated, and would render the movements of troops more difficult, was near at hand. It was utterly impossible to organize an army and equip it properly before that season commenced. Spain's army in Cuba was strong, well organized, and seasoned after long fighting with the insurgents. I was ordered, however, on May 9th, to take 70,000 men to Cuba, for the purpose of commencing hostilities immediately, and I sent the necessary orders for the movement of the advance corps, and instructions as to its landing on the north coast of Cuba; and supplies for ninety days for the men and thirty days for the animals were ordered concentrated at Tampa, Florida. It is with great reluctance that one hesitates to accept the command of an army of that magnitude in the field; yet, knowing the condition of the troops, the strength of the enemy, and the near approach of the sickly season in a district infested with yellow fever, I considered it my duty not only to the troops, whose lives must necessarily be sacrificed, but to the country, to explain fully to the highest authority the serious objections to such a movement at that time, and also to express my regret that I felt called upon to state such objections. The army was enthusiastic, composed of the best young men of the land, brave and resolute, but, outside of the regular regiments, not properly instructed and very insufficiently equipped, as far as proper clothing, tentage, camp equipage and transportation, hospital supplies, and all other munitions of war

The most serious obj
an army, but partly organ
ped and acclimated, was the
amount of ammunition required by
and leaving a small amount for the
Atlantic coast, supporting the batte
the possibility of any force landing
ammunition enough left in the United S
70,000 men in one hour's serious battle
factories were making the only kind of a
used by the troops with the Springfiel
rifles, it was impossible for them to m
amount to equip an army of the size me
foreign army of equal strength in less t
facts I reluctantly presented, and it was
that the army must not move until it was
that time in the country was one of imp
most to impetuosity, and the cry of "On t
to that of "On to Richmond" in June of 1

In the public journals of that time ma
ing statement from myself in regard to thi

> "Regarding the matter of invading Cuba, G
> regard to the invasion of Cuba, I have nothin
> United States will in due time bring Cuba un
> cious methods and without useless waste of life
> too great, too strong and too powerful to co
> connection with the proposed invasion. As fo
> say that no officer is fit to command the troo
> whatever would needlessly risk the life of a s
> disease or the bullets of the enemy. I have
> of the men under my command, and I do not
> to any unnecessary risks in the present campa

With a properly equipped army ready
bad season set in, we could have divided
sections, occupying the greater portion o
the troops in healthful localities, thus ena
organize and become thoroughly equippe
problem; and, with the Spanish Navy once
and the coast thoroughly patrolled by ou
forces must have yielded in a few month
Havana could have been effected at
forced to surrender, in all probability,

senior general officer at Tampa, was designated
expedition.

Urgent despatches came from Admiral
ing the necessity of immediately sending a
the garrison. On the 6th of June, he reported
enced the forts and that "if 10,000 men were he
could be ours within forty-eight hours. Every
mands immediate army movement. If delayed,
fended more strongly by guns taken from fleet."

The following day General Shafter was direc
tary of War to sail immediately.

Later, on the same day, the same authority
order of the President, to sail at once with wl
ready, provided it was 10,000 strong.

On the 30th of May, I left Washington for
there early on the morning of June 1st.

In order to utilize as far as possible the
Cuban insurgent forces in Eastern Cuba, I se
communication to General Garcia on the 2nd of

Headquarters of
In the Field, Tampa, F

DEAR GENERAL: I am very glad to have received
eral Enrique Collazo and Lieut. Col. Carlos Hernan
whom returns to-night with our best wishes for your

It would be a very great assistance if you coul
force as possible in the vicinity of the harbor of Sant
communicate any information, by signals, which C
will explain to you, either to our navy or to our ar
which we hope will be before many days.

It would also assist us very much if you could d
any Spanish troops near or in Santiago de Cuba, thre
ing them at all points, and preventing, by every mean
enforcement coming to that garrison. While this i
before the arrival of our army if you can seize and h
ing position to the east or west of Santiago de Cu
would be advantageous for the use of our artillery,
ing gratifying to us.

With great respect and best wishes, I remain,

Major-General Commanding
Lieutenant-General Garcia, Cuban Army.

Mole St. Nicholas (via Washington), June 9, 1898.

General MILES,

Commanding United States Army:

Garcia's reply on June 6 to your letter of June 2:

"Will take measures at once to carry out your recommendation, but concentration of force will require some time. Roads bad and Cubans scattered. Will march without delay. Santiago de Cuba well fortified with advanced intrenchments, but believe good artillery position can be taken. Spanish force approximates 12,000 between Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo, 3,000 militia. Will maintain a Cuban force near Holguin to prevent sending re-enforcements to Santiago."

The above given to me by Admiral Sampson to forward to you.

ALLEN.

The following is an extract from a cable message from Admiral Sampson to the Secretary of the Navy, which was repeated to me at Tampa on June 12th, for my information:

Mole St. Nicholas, Haiti.

General Miles's letter received through Colonel Hernandez on June 6. Garcia regards his wishes and suggestions as orders, and immediately will take measures to concentrate forces at the points indicated, but he is unable to do so as early as desired on account of his expedition to Banes Port, Cuba, but he will march without delay. All of his subordinates are ordered to assist to disembark the United States troops and to place themselves under orders. Santiago de Cuba well fortified, with advanced intrenchments, but he believes position for artillery can be taken as Miles desires. (Approximate) twelve thousand (12,000) regulars and three thousand (3,000) militia between Santiago and Guantanamo. He has sent force in order to prevent aid going to Santiago from Holguin. Repeats every assurance of good will, and desires to second plans.

SAMPSON.

It will be observed that General Garcia regarded my requests as his orders, and promptly took steps to execute the plan of operations. He sent 3,000 men to check any movement of the 12,000 Spaniards stationed at Holguin. A portion of this latter force started to the relief of the garrison at Santiago, but was successfully checked and turned back by the Cuban forces under General Feria. General Garcia also sent 2,000 men, under Perez, to oppose the 6,000 Spaniards at Guantanamo, and they were successful in their object. He also sent 1,000 men, under General Rios, against the 6,000 men at Manzanillo. Of this garrison, 3,500 started to reinforce the garrison at Santiago, and were engaged in no less than thirty combats with the Cubans on their way before reaching Santiago. With an additional force of 5,000 men, General Garcia besieged the garrison of Santiago, taking up a strong position on the west side of the harbor, and he afterwards received Admiral Sampson and General Shafter at his

camp near that place. He had troops
both sides of the garrison at Santiago be
troops.

The expedition for Santiago was dela
count of the reported presence along the
of some Spanish war vessels, but it finally
June.

As most of the regular Army was inclu
and on account of the importance of the
go with it, but was directed to return to W

It cannot be denied that this expeditio
factory condition, as regards accommodat
for the men and animals, and the necessa
troops. Fair weather, however, attended t
out the voyage, and the great discomfort
have been experienced in stormy weather

Previous to the departure of the expe
the best point and method of attack had be
and I had obtained and furnished the Com
maps and photographs of the country.

Covered by the Navy, on the 22d of J
fected by part of the troops at Daiquiri, an
the remainder were landed at Siboney.
points from Santiago were very short, th
not over sixteen miles, while the distance
over ten miles. The roads, however, we
movement of supplies and artillery was dif

The troops had been landed, largely b
short time, but the landing of artillery and
much more difficult matter, the number of
ing in every way insufficient. It was wi
enough supplies were landed for the absol
while the necessity of providing for a m
had left Santiago made the conditions still

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CHINA AND THE P(

BY REAR-ADMIRAL LORD CHARLES]

None of the Powers has greater inter
whether existent or prospective, than (
United States. As will be seen by my Re
sion, shortly to be published by Messrs.
the latest figures I was able to obtain du
last year (1898) showed that these two Po
two per cent. of the whole of the foreig
their hands; all the other Powers combin(
eight per cent. between them, of which Ja]
share.

It is perfectly true that, upon examini
seems to be a great disproportion betwe(
of trade possessed by Great Britain, and t
sessed by the United States. It must be
that it was Great Britain who opened up,
veloped the foreign trade of the Chines
years, Great Britain held an almost undis]
tion in that country. Subsequently, oth
began to compete with her; but the Ame
probably about the latest of these compe[illegible]
distanced all rivals, and obtained [illegible]
trade, as against the twenty-eight per [illegible]
combined (including Japan). View[illegible]
seen that the disproportion between [illegible]
and the United States is less real th[illegible]

American trade carried in British bottoms, but, in addition, a considerable amount is consigned to the old-established British firms in China, and therefore is rightly treated as British commerce by the Chinese customs. This trade in American goods is very large, I am told; and, while it is rightly classified as British, being British owned, and carried in British ships to Chinese ports, yet its place of origin is none the less American.

The second point is, that this eight per cent. of *actual* American trade as against sixty-four per cent. of *nominal* British trade, has been obtained in a comparatively few years, and the proportionate increase of trade in the last two or three years would therefore be found to be in favor of America.

The third, and still more important, point is that, while the British volume of trade is still growing, there is no doubt that in several directions, notably in drills, jeans and sheetings, the trade of the United States has steadily gone ahead in China, while in British trade there has been a decline. The cotton piece goods trade as a whole declined during 1897, but, in the items quoted above, there was actually an increase of nearly 500,000 pieces, all of American manufacture.

It is apparent, therefore, that the interest of the United States in the foreign trade of China is not only an increasing one, but is also a *proportionately* greater interest than that of all European competitors, with the exception of Great Britain, and this despite the fact that most of them had the start of the United States in competing with Great Britain for the China market.

I was pleased to find that on the whole the American press, as the representative of public opinion in the United States, warmly endorsed the views which I expressed relative to the open door, in my speeches on my way back to Great Britain, and all appeared to be very much interested in the China problem. Despite this interest, however, I was unable to obtain any definite expression of opinion in favor of an active policy in Chinese affairs.

The commercial community of any country knows its own business better than any outsider can teach it, and all I propose to do is to lay plain facts before my American readers, without presuming to dictate to them as to what their line of policy should be.

The position and importance of American trade with China I

have already shown to be considerable. The
velopment, and the many openings for
found on reading my Report. The only ques
and which I propose to shortly deal with here
tion and prospects of China herself, and how
are thereby affected.

Some of the American journals which
seemed to doubt the wisdom of the policy
speeches in America, because, they say, "If
force the United States into a situation wh
war," and therefore the interests involved are
with the risks and responsibilities likely to b

I can quite understand this argument, a
must appeal to the people of the United Stat
endeavored to observe a policy of non-interve
fairs, unless important interests of the Ameri
stake, or their sense of justice was appealed
fectly intelligible policy on the part of a co
which peace is of the highest importance,
turbing effect of war on trade and commerce.
casions on which it is necessary to protect c
by going to war, and there are occasions on
policy is necessary in order to prevent war,
parable damage to trade and commerce. Th
now facing comes under the last-named hea
opinion, in the present state of affairs with
would be better in the commercial interests
States and Great Britain, that they should
so prevent the total collapse of this immens
with the consequent disorganization of trade
ture of blood and money which will be
and order, and to re-establish that
trade cannot flourish.

If it were merely a question of the
Chinese trade being involved, I can
the United States to remain an

of an Empire of over 430 millions of people, destroy the present governmental system to be reconstructed? What will become undertakings of China, and what security pectant heirs of the Sick Man of the Far East sponsibility for his obligations? The phrase ence" is easy to use in theory, but how is the to be carried out in practice?

Nominal spheres of influence, such as Germany in Shantung, or Russia in Manchuria, may exist is a Chinese Government with some authority to maintain law and order; but when that Govern turned and the authority of the hated foreigner for it, the question becomes less easy to settle the face of it. Are the Powers going to land armies repress 400 millions of people, who even now sh guised hatred and contempt for the foreigner and ods? Are we going to destroy an Empire which 4,000 years, and replace it with something else in manner, within a period of ten, fifteen, twenty or years? What man of common sense can doubt that means endless trouble, anarchy and rebellion; an ence with trade and commerce which may be fel come? To foreign bondholders, it means a loss of and sixty millions, sterling, because the debtor and will both have disappeared.

How are the rival interests of conflicting amicably adjusted, if such a state of affairs Capital has been invested and railways are Power, in the "sphere of influence" regarded as peculiarly its own. For instance, in which, if "spheres of influence" are will take measures to secure as her own, ly obtained territorial concessions, which disturbance of British firms who

American trade preponderates over that of other Powers. If one Power is allowed to close the door in the South, and others in the North, no sphere of influence can compensate America and Great Britain for the loss they must sustain.

The policy of inaction will, therefore, by allowing the Chinese Government to fall to pieces, bring about a condition of affairs which must lead to an expenditure of blood and money to protect the lives and property of foreigners resident in China. It most probably will lead to international complications, and to a European war; and, most certainly, it will mean great disturbance to, if not eventual loss of, trade.

"THE OPEN DOOR."

The alternative policy to that which I have just described is that of the "Open Door, or Equal Opportunity for All." This policy was advocated in my recent speeches in America on the China question. I suppose that, even in a protectionist country, such as the United States, no one will deny the advantages of such a policy as applied to American exports to China; and that, whether the American manufacturer prefers to have preferential rights at home or not, it must be to his advantage that he has an equal opportunity with the foreigner abroad, and that no foreigner secures preferential rights in China which would leave American trade in the cold.

This being so, only the question of the cost remains to be calculated, and how such a policy is to be carried out if adopted. It is upon this point that I think some of the American journals misunderstood my arguments, which probably were not sufficiently clearly stated.

I deny that this policy can lead to war, or that it will cost the United States a single cent, or a solitary soldier, to carry it out.

The first thing is to see how this policy is to be undertaken, and then we can estimate the cost of it. It means a policy to be inaugurated now, whereas the alternative policy is a policy of procrastination. This is a most important point, when it is remembered that there are only two Powers ready to go to war in China to-day, or who can possibly do so with any chance of success. As time goes on, this will be altered. At the present moment Great Britain, with her enormous fleet in Far Eastern waters, and the 100,000 native troops she can bring up from India, can land in shorter time than any other Power can land an army,

combined with her possession of the chief
pre-eminently in a position to deal with
war, if she so desired. Next to her, come
fleet in close proximity to the scene of opera
to land 200,000 troops in China at any mo
these two, the United States, by her positio
of the Pacific, and the object lesson she has
of her ability to mobilize men and ships rap
has also to be counted with; while, as an
would probably mean European complicatio
have to be regarded as an important fact
Above all, these four powers represent the fo
of China, the proportion divided up amongst
so inconsiderable that it has no such strong c

These four Powers, therefore, have a mo
their own interests, and the ability to do so.
combine, not for purely selfish motives, but
dependence of China, and the maintenance o
favor for all comers, who can suppose that an
reasonably (or even unreasonably) object.
d'être of such an understanding would lie in t
be too powerful to attack, and that it could
while preserving the open door to all. Ther
ace to other Powers in such a combination,
agreement between the contracting parties w
vation of the open door with equal oppor
China herself, the Powers would prove fri
guaranteeing her integrity, they would give
to the Chinese Empire. They would be e
powerful enough to secure, that reforms for
and the improvement of foreign trade should

The re-organization of China's finances,
enable her to stand alone in the near futu
to go to Congress, or to the Imperial P
men necessary to assist China to effect
as the four Governments induced China
in return for their protection,

have mentioned, could obtain these
themselves, and benefit to China, and

In a very few years, with this
China would have an army capable of
as she retained the foreign officers. The
are not good soldiers is a great mistake.
spect most of the armies, and all of the
China, as will be seen by the detailed acco
I am convinced that, properly armed, dis
could be no better material than the Chin
to the commercial classes of the United
it is not worth their while to incur such
great profit, and for so good an object.

On sound business lines this policy ap
nation; but, in addition to that, are we g
tunity slip of drawing the two Anglo-S
for the cause of civilized progress, and th
at large? Great nations have great respons
must be true, and when those responsibiliti
hand in hand, it would be unwise to miss t

Events are moving very rapidly in the
must be arrived at, and action of some sor
is the duty of Great Britain to lead, ar
United States will not refuse to follow,
will combine to hoist aloft the banner of
trial progress, for the benefit of their own
the benefit of China, and of the world.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. JOHN WATSON, D. D. ("IAN MACLAREN").

IT is a historical fact that any crisis in the Church of England affects, not only English history, but also the greater history of the Anglo-Saxon race. The persecution of the Puritan party in the seventeenth century laid the foundation of the American nation; and Puritanism found a home in New England, whence the Puritan spirit has been acting upon the world. Wesley's exile from the English Church created the most aggressive and enthusiastic of Protestant denominations, and has taught new methods of religious work to the Christian Church. The Church of England is again in a ferment, and what may come out of this commotion for Anglo-Saxon Christianity no man can tell. But it may be interesting, especially for American readers, to have a succinct and, so far as may be possible for any writer, an impartial statement of the present religious situation in England.

I.

It is necessary, at the outset, for the reader to remind himself of the unique position which the Church of England holds in English life and society. To her belong the great cathedrals, which are not only monuments of beautiful art, but are also associated with great passages of the past, since within these cathedrals the classic dead of England lie, and great events of English history have taken place. The service of the English Church has also so endeared itself to all Englishmen, whether they be Anglicans or Puritans, that many persons who are not members of the national Church still desire the sanction of her rites at the great moments of life. Dissenters love to be married within her walls; [illegible] children are frequently christened by her ministers, and af- [illegible] own remains are committed to the dust with the

words of her beautiful death office. The public where the sons of the middle and upper from which our legislators and statesmen and largely come, are under the control of the that the lads, at the most impressionable pe brought up in her spirit and are taught her doct must be, in England, a member of the Anglica in Scotland, she is a member of the Presbyter is in accordance with the theory of establishe Houses of Parliament are opened with the servi Church, and throughout the land all kinds of poorhouses to jails, are equipped with Anglic every turn, one comes up against the Church; a subtle ways, the Church has struck her roots t and breadth of English life.

One ought also freely to admit, whether h member of a liturgical church or not, that no f ship is so perfectly satisfying, in its comprehens uality, in its reverence and beauty, as the office Church, and especially the services for mor prayer, with the litany. Many dissenters year their own communions to the Church of Engl are tired of extempore prayer and offended by ence; and, indeed, it may also be laid down a when a person reaches a certain height of c longer be content to be at the mercy of, it may b cated person in the conduct of divine worship, t culture, in the sense of imagination and delicac thought, should render her highest service in th The dissenting communions of England do not resentatives of the cultured classes, and, whilst ous reasons for this fact, undoubtedly one is and miscellaneous forms of worship, compa order and the grave, sweet melody of the

Besides, it is possible that too little in the fact that the Anglican Church, in

spiritual clergy of the Church
and disfavor those that have
but for fashion's sake. This
Anglican Church is sometimes
ment, but with little insight or
disestablished would still be as
of the roads into select society for

II.

We must now fix in our minds the i
were, of the Church of England, which i
vincial parties, each with its own distinct
There is, first of all, the High Church
a solid historical basis, and represents
never desired to separate from the Cathol
weary of the abuses of the Papacy. Thi
satisfied, at the time of the Reformation,
removed and the ecclesiastical tyranny
High Churchmen have always desired to
olic tradition, from the days of Cyprian
joiced in the offices of the Catholic Chu
lose one spiritual prayer of the past that
Christ's Church, or one beautiful ceremon
as in a picture, the mysteries of Christ's fa
when the questions that are agitating ou
to their bitter end, this party was represe
George Herbert and Bishop Andrewes, an
one in whom both its strength and weak
bined, Archbishop Laud; while, in our c
life and strength under the guidance of
Liddon and Gore. This party stands for
Church, the principle of authority in reli
lic worship and the Apostolical succession
The second party represents the
which was called Calvinistic, and

ship, and were especially keen against kneeling at the sacrament, the sign of the cross, turning to the East, the wearing of priestly garments, and every other form of symbolism. Their real and characteristic idea of worship was and is, unto this day, praise sung by all the people, extempore prayer in which the people are not able to join, the preaching of a sermon, and the administration of the two sacraments after the simplest and sometimes baldest form. Low Churchmen accept, of course, the service of the Church of England, but they reject as much as they dare of what is Catholic, and introduce extempore prayer where they can. Low Churchism was represented in the burning period by Bishop Hooper, of Gloucester, who refused to wear the Episcopal garments, and was in the end condemned as a heretic in the reign of Mary, and burned at the stake. It revived in later days, under the spirit of Whitfield and Simeon, and is to-day most accurately represented by the venerable Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool.

While the fire was burning keenly, and Puritans and Anglicans were at one another's throats in former times, the third party could hardly put itself in evidence. Perhaps the Broad Church party can, however, be traced back to Lord Falkland, who gathered around him so thoughtful a circle of friends, and labored so hard to reconcile Puritans and Cavaliers, dying at last on the battlefield with the words "peace, peace," on his lips. Chillingworth, who had been both an Anglican and a Roman, and in the end went deeper than either, and Henry More, the religious philosopher, may be called fathers in this school of thought. No province certainly has reared nobler sons, or afforded richer harvests to religion in our day, since the Broad Church has given us Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Robertson of Brighton and Dean Stanley. The Broad Churchmen occupy a detached position, as regards both Anglicans and Puritans, since they do not hold the high doctrine of the sacraments and of the ministry, while, at the same time, they are in favor of an ornate and reverent service. Everything which is historical and everything which is aesthetic appeals to their culture, but they are at the same time cleansed from a belief in ecclesiastical authority and doctrinal obscurantism. Their cardinal tenets are the Fatherhood of God and the true Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Incarnation as a perpetual force in human life, and the salvation [illegible] through the spirit of Jesus.

III.

From the revival of the High Church ... this century, the religious life of the Church ... ily deepened, so that, before the eyes of the ... less secular and worldly, and has given ... devotion, to the cause of missions abroad ... the people at home. Her churches have been ... to a former beauty, her services have been lifted ... coldness, and have been inspired both by art and ... have ceased to be fox hunters and diners out, ... amples of self-denial and heroic sacrifice, many ... all their means to the service of Christ and, for ... nying themselves the comfort of family ties. ... cent results, others have mingled which the E... regarded with growing suspicion; such as ... Anglican ministry to be priests after the Roman ... tion of the Lord's Supper into something app... in mediæval theology, the reproduction of Ro... had been abandoned by universal consent at the ... inculcation of the duty of confession and the cr... orders.

Certain churches have had for years a worshi... distinguished from the Roman rites, and there h... indignation in the popular mind. With so ... terial lying loose, it was easy to set a match, ... name of Kensit, an obscure publisher, interrupt... ritualistic church in London, where the people ... the adoration of the cross, by protesting in ... rite, as a superstition of Rome and an illegal ... of England. He was brought before a magistrate ... brawling, but was eventually dismissed ... tainly was not punished. His act was the ... caused the explosion, and now the whole ... out the borders of the Church of England ... smoke. Sir William Harcourt, the ...

a district, and take common-
and it is also very important
of Non-Conformity the slightest
est anxiety to come to terms with
ed by an uneasy feeling that
treme High Church party. Possibly
ists are in favor of disestablishment
equality, and also of the supposed
Church. Many Non-Conformists,
politics, and their number has been
Rule split in the Liberal party; and
ity is not at all enthusiastic for
clined to meddle with the affairs of the
Non-Conformists are, as a body, Evangel
represent in the fullest manner the
Puritanism.

V.

With this situation before us, the
will happen? And here all one can do
ferent possibilities. It is not at all
agitation and after all the threats of
conflagration may burn out, as such
out in the past; and the Church of Eng
with a party at one extreme furiously
other almost Roman, and a party in the
both, composed of quiet, reverent, cultur
ble that the Bishops may put their
time may put their feet down, and if
the Bishops could be felt through
But to the present time they have
and their advice, when it has been
been flouted and set at naught.
to temporize and to make peace, if
ties, but it is said, with some justice
years has been against the Low C

tendency could be easily removed from their livings, and the Protestantism of the Church of England secured by stringent legislation. Against this effort it may be urged that Parliament, a body composed of men of every creed and of no creed, is a most unsuitable body to discuss theological questions, and many feel that it would be utterly profane that discussions regarding the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ should take place on the floor of the House of Commons. High Churchmen are, of course, aghast at the idea, and consider that Parliament has no right to intrude upon the spiritual province of the Church, while many Non-Conformists agree with High Churchmen so far as this, that for Parliament to regulate the worship and doctrine of Christ's church would be an act of gross Erastianism. There are also some Non-Conformists, but one hopes that they are few, who would object to any Parliamentary reformation of the Church, because they would prefer that the condition of the Church should be allowed to grow worse and worse, in order that disestablishment might become inevitable.

It is open to prophesy that the strain of the present situation may soon become intolerable to the parties within the Church, and that there may be a disruption. As the High Church party has been for some time dominant, winning their cases in the law courts, and carrying everything before them in the Church courts, this could only mean the secession of the Low Church party. Undoubtedly, if a large body of Low Church clergymen seceded because they would not remain in a church which was, as they believed, teaching the worst superstitions of the Roman creed, their departure and their sacrifice would have a great effect upon the nation, and might do more than anything else to advance their views and win their cause. Very few people, however, are able to believe that, in any circumstances, the Low Church would take this heroic step, because, for various reasons, it has become a weakly party, with comparatively few scholars and with practically no leaders, and because, while it has fumed and fretted in the past, as a party, Low Churchmen have ever held fast to the idea of an established church, and have never shown the slightest inclination on any ground to abandon their livings. Many people, on the other hand, find it easy to believe that, if the High Church party were worsted and were denied the privilege of Catholic rites, a [illegible] number of its members would make any sacrifice, as the

High Church party have ever put [illegible]
Established Church of England, and [illegible]
to charge the High Church with [illegible]
Erastianism, or to cowardice.

VI.

The solution of the situation which occurs t
one which is certain to be proposed and which has
in its favor, is the disestablishment of the Chu
This action would be approved by the
of politicians, who regard the Christian Church
an enemy of the people; by doctrinaires, politi
who insist with somewhat wire-drawn logic tha
of any single church is a violation of the prin
equality; by the class of Non-Conformists who
are suffering a social wrong by the precedence
Church; by the extreme wing of the High Ch
would be much relieved to see the Church de
royal supremacy and the interference of the St
general body of pronounced Protestants, who f
responsible as citizens for the Established Chu
present circumstances, are eager to wash their
sponsibility without delay.

On the other hand, disestablishment would be
servative politicians, on the general ground of
change; by that school of religious people who
duty of the State to endow the Church, and tha
has not established Christianity cannot be call
the Low Church party, who are unable to imagin
established and free; and by the Broad Church
believe, with some reason, that no sect is likely
and comprehensive as an established church; [illegible]
cumstances the anti-disestablishment party [illegible]
that large number of persons, of all political [illegible]
who have no theoretical opinions on [illegible]
who argue, with some semblance of [illegible]
tion should be punished which has [illegible]

tion, so rich in possessions and in ... Home; and others, who consider that ... situation except disestablishment, ... Church of England goes out with her ... her large endowments, it shall be upon ... circumstances must they be handed over ...

VIII.

Perhaps, after all, the crisis may be ... fashion, and the Church may be saved by ... middle party. A large number of English... Low nor Broad; they do not trouble them... either of doctrine or ritual; they prefer a ... sermon to any theological discussion; they ... musical service; they respect a parson who ... sick and the mourning and the poor and the ... week, and, if he chooses to wear vestments on ... tainly do not think any more of his judgment; ... him (and the women) and does them no injury ... position. This kind of man does not enter ... versy, and refuses to attend party meetings, ... whether as yet he has expressed himself upon ... tion. He is beginning, however, to watch events ... of the issues in question, and as soon as he is ... Church of England is in real danger, and that ... from the foolishness of a few hot headed extre... his voice heard, and also his power. In no ... man, the average, intelligent Englishman, ... Church, or throw away the national and reli... was won by his fathers; nor does he propose ... the national church, which is his home and ... take refuge in a Non-Conformist chapel. ... has any suspicion that the confessional ... be re-established in the Anglican Church ... to some purpose, and will be inclined to ... Anglican confessors. It is this ...

cal fervor of the ritualists will be of no avail. One by one, in their parishes, they will be ostracised and condemned, and an atmosphere will be created in which they cannot live; they will either have to return to their senses and the orderly worship of the Anglican Church, or else they will have to go, and enter the church which they regard with so much envy as the undeniable branch of the Catholic Church, but which regards them as weak imitators and willful impostors. The policy of prosecution a ritualist welcomes—it is a cheap martyrdom; the policy of refrigeration he will not be able to endure—he will be frozen out. The salvation of the Anglican Church lies with this middle party, who are stronger than all the Bishops and all the clergy, and who really represent the best mind of the English nation. I can still hear a fine old clergyman of the moderate High Church school saying to me: "I am not a Ritualist, I am not a Low Churchman, neither am I a Broad Churchman; I am a member of the Church of England, and a Prayer-book Christian." This man, clergyman or layman, could never become a Puritan, neither would he ever become a Roman; he will ever walk in the way along which the main current of English life has gone, and he can now render his greatest service to the nation and to the Church, by coming forward in this present crisis and recalling the Church of England to that attitude of religious sanity and cultured moderation which, in days past, have been her distinction and attraction.

JOHN WATSON.

THE NICARAGUA CA[illegible]

BY THE HON. T. B. REE[illegible]

Ever since the time when the bewildered [illegible] bus failed to find the transit to the East, by [illegible] pass by the land they had discovered to reach the Orient they originally sought, the isth[illegible] the Northern and Southern continents of sphere and separates the Atlantic from th[illegible] been the subject of the deepest interest, a wonderful amount of research, conside[illegible] of topography and climate. At first, all surrender the old idea, which had hardened tion, with imaginary maps and charts, that, [illegible] goons and tropical forests, was a passage-way ture, which was only waiting the sails of the [illegible] discover or rediscover the highway of nation[illegible] commerce of two worlds would enrich and sat[illegible]

It was soon found, however, that there [illegible] by nature; and Philip the Second felt assured [illegible] intend the connection to be made between the we have since learned that the intentions of be lightly assumed, there was certainly [illegible] for argument; for a more closely [illegible] of hills and peaks can hardly anywhere [illegible] range which runs from one end to the [illegible] its immediate connections. Provi[illegible] that any world, any less rich than [illegible]

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tion. The level of 110 feet
in the Ludlow suggestion, must be
while the top of the Lake may be
bottom cannot be, and the difference
bottom is where the vessel runs. This le
or 112 feet, is the height to which ships m
altitude between the two Oceans. To thi
be lifted on both sides by locks, and lower
same means. The 110 feet level exists, nat
itself when it is high, and in the upper
This would be only 56 miles of the 170, to
a part of the San Juan River on the eas
this distance, whatever it might be, so as t
for more than 140 miles, Mr. Menocal con
singularly bold and attractive. On the Pa
have the first nine miles from the lake end
and a half in length, and a mile in width
called the La Flor Dam. This would add
gation on the 110 feet level. On the Atla
dam at Ochoa on the San Juan sixty-four
which is the Lake, which would have exte
the Lake level sixty-four miles more. T
rather, would have to be, 110 feet high, to w
depth necessary to reach rock bottom, th
plated surface dam. At Ochoa, the route
the Valley of the San Francisco, where, by
by embankments on the sides, another b
carrying the Lake level seven miles farther
tensions to the 56 miles by which you cross
that, from La Flor Dam to the end of th
there was to be a stretch of 142 miles on t
of the Lake, not a natural varying level, bu
created. This 142 miles being taken
27 miles of canal to be made. Of the 27

45½ feet by each, and about 90 feet by both, to the Tola basin, to begin its voyage of 142 miles to the Lake, through the Lake and on the San Juan River, down by the Ochoa Dam to and through the San Francisco Basin; then three miles through the Eastern Divide, a rock cutting 140 feet in depth, to the Deseado basin; at the end of which the ship was to be lowered 45 feet by a lock, travel three miles further, and then, being lowered 30 feet, go on another mile, drop 31 feet and then, after 9 miles of canal, reach the Harbor of Greytown, which was to be made available by whatever expenditure might be necessary. It will be seen, even from this inadequate description, that it was not an exaggeration to call this plan both bold and attractive.

It was attractive, because it gave a long reach of 142 miles, and in many ways seemed to lessen the amount of canal making and the amount of dredging in the river San Juan. It was bold, because the dams and retaining embankments were, perhaps, without precedent in magnitude of work and in risk of disaster. The dam at La Flor on the Pacific side and the dam and embankments at Ochoa, together with the embankments of the San Francisco Basin, were well calculated, to use the language of Admiral Walker, "to keep its superintendent awake nights." Especially would this be so on Mr. Menocal's plan, which did not propose to go down to rock formation, but to have "a dam of loose rock," which, Admiral Walker says, "would have to be enormous in size; it would be like moving a hill into the river." Of course, as was afterwards discovered, by going 80 feet below the bottom of the river, a dam could be built 190 feet in full height at a cost as yet unestimated. As for the San Francisco embankment line, General Hains regards it "as the most dangerous matter in connection with the whole project." General Abbott, who, however, represents a rival project, says that "enormous embankments are required in the San Francisco Basins. They are sixty-seven in number and six miles in length, and some of them will rise from 60 to 85 feet above soft mud, which must be excavated to a depth of 30 feet to reach a clay foundation." Prof. Haupt, a member of the Walker Board, the most recent of all, says that there are some eight miles instead of six of artificial work along the entire length of the line of the San Francisco Basin.

The Canal Board, at the head of which was General William Ludlow, expressed grave doubts, similar to those expressed by the

Walker Board, as to the risk and ... under the Menocal plan.

After the Canal Board, which ... money to make an examination such ... certainly brought back most valuable ... and skill, had made its report, a new board ... sisting of Admiral Walker, General ... Lewis M. Haupt.

This board has devoted and is still devoting ... investigation of the various engineering ... While their investigations will in time be more ... than those of their predecessors, they were ... plete at the last session of Congress. Hence, ... were not able to give opinions, except with that ... of their eminence would feel necessary with ... undetermined. Perhaps it would not be ... suitable reservations, that General Hains expressed ... pression of the Board when he said he "would ... a lock and dam at Machuca Rapids," about ... Ochoa, "and lock down 25 or 30 feet so as to redu... those," the San Francisco, "embankments." Thi... the average height of the San Francisco basin ... about 50 per cent., and of the Ochoa dam about ... "something like that." There is one disadvant... plan which General Hains states, which is, that th... you leave the San Juan is the level you must maint... is called the Eastern Divide, and you must go ... in your excavation, which would add 25 or 30 ... ready planned for, making it 165 to 170 feet ... This would be an extra expense, but not at all ... avoided. The Tola Dam and Basin are ... structive criticism on the part of both the ... Hains would do away with both and con... canal which, he thinks, presents no ... seems rather to be in favor of lowering ... eliminate the Basin.

ments of cost. So unprepared
the members differed by the
As Admiral Walker put it: "We
use to figure until we have all
on the street might speak," he puts
not be surprised if it came considerably
thinks the canal could be constructed
General Hains, an army engineer, says:
a guess now and guarantee that I would
lions," but with that margin "of a possib
000 or $30,000,000," he states the
000. Of course, such estimates are not
When, in fact, you consider that the Suez
$40,000,000, and constructed but with
instead of 125-feet bottom width for $110,
chester Canal, executed, not in the tropics,
estimated at $50,000,000 for all expenses
more than $75,000,000, we can be sure that
certainty as to cost will be quite likely to
so strong a desire on the part of some of
canal, that there is much intolerance of
real or imaginary. Engineers are liable to
sciously by this feeling. It was only when
that one Board regretted that they had not
where they had said 134; members of another
sums, but added the possibilities of large
ence of the wishes of ourselves and others
fect estimates of costs, but it never affects
the testimony given by the members of the
in a certain sense, premature, and no one
than the members themselves, it was certain
showed that the Canal Board had made the
the maturer subsequent examination
parent also from the testimony that the
templation the consideration of others

Much has been said about the feasibility of the canal, and it would be well to understand what that terms means. When the canal has been pronounced "feasible," it simply means that with time and money it can be built. Whether it should be built, when and how and by whom, are questions which depend upon other considerations as well as upon cost; though that is an important element. The Clayton Bulwer Treaty, it is claimed, gives to England at least the right to demand the same privileges we have. If so, we cannot use the canal, as suggested by Mr. Hepburn, to subsidise indirectly our merchant marine by giving them lower tolls or making the canal free to them alone. In time of war, a blown up dam or embankment might shut up a war vessel. In time of peace, however, there would be but small chance of damage.

As to the possible tonnage which would pass through, the subject has not been studied by any persons who were at once competent and unprejudiced. The estimates or rather prognostications run from 300,000 tons to 5,300,000 tons, certainly a great discrepancy. It would seem, therefore, that after the question of cost is determined, or perhaps while it is being determined, a commission of competent persons unprejudiced should be invited to study this part of the subject, and we shall be then equipped with the necessary facts to enable us to judge of the commercial success of the undertaking. In this connection we must reckon with the Panama Canal, which seems to be two-thirds excavated, and, taking into account the whole "installation" or plant for want of a better word, to be one-half finished. Vast sums of money have been spent there, and still more wasted or worse. It is estimated that $100,000,000 additional will now push it from ocean to ocean. Whether this is a sound estimate or not we do not know, for, unlike the Nicaragua Route, there have been no other investigations made than those made by the company through its employees. This matter will now be investigated by our people, and we have a right to make all proper inquiries, because by the Treaty of 1846 with Grenada we guaranteed the neutrality of this canal.

The Panama Canal was originally intended to be a sea-level canal running on that one level without locks from Ocean to Ocean. It is not needful for the purposes of this article to relate the history of its failure and of the disgrace and scandal connected

with it. As a sea-level canal it was
proposes to take up the enterprise in
haps to many, Americans, it will be a
the enterprise as a sea-level route has
has survived and is now in progress. W
not no one can definitely say, but the
that where so much money has been spent
always gone, and such works are quite likely to
we able to free ourselves from ancient obligati
and make at Nicaragua such a canal as our peo
canal which would be part of us like the Sault
nations would have to finish the Panama. How
it has seemed worth while, to enable us to give
to the whole question, to state what the canal
to be, if the great enterprise is ever ca
haps that can be best done by taking a ship ove
have over that in which we have been specially
selves. We have to build our harbors, one at Br
and the other at Greytown on the Caribbean
canal has two harbors made by nature: Panam
and Colon on the Atlantic. These harbors are
by a railroad built long ago, while on the othe
track railroad will have to be built at once from
oceans before any work can be done. Tran
otherwise be impossible in those almost unin
From the harbor of Panama the ship is to go
miles on the sea level to Miraflores, where she
one lock 23 feet, more or less, depending on the
which has a range of 20 feet at this end; then
and three-quarters to Pedro Miguel where
the ship 55½ feet to a new level 80 and 90
The ship then moves one and three-quarte
where two locks are to lift her 55 feet
which is about 130 feet above the level of
over this high level she proceeds six and
she begins to descend towards

ting rates in favor of its own citizens, v
time of war, then we must consider e
seems admitted by the friends of the Ni
relations do not, as they stand now,
cur part. Hitherto, the treaty in on
amendment by Great Britain, though th
is also not seriously expected that, even
relations, any change of attitude will tak

Even from the cursory description he
to contain some inaccuracies, it will
to be gathered to establish the best ro
ture of both time and money, but a
not out of proportion to the magnit
When you add to the picture the tropical
the wonder is that so much has been d
hand, not a wonder that so much remains

Congress has probably done well in g
last River and Harbor Bill, for the full
proposed canals, and if that sum is used
unprejudiced, sensible sources of infor
better off. There ought not to be any
opinions on this great and important en
cult a problem to be mastered by ent
sense and discretion must also be called
result no one can doubt. The comme
time will eliminate Cape Horn to as co
eliminated the Cape of Good Hope.

The uneasy dream of 400 years will
and, across the rock bound ridge which f
fied the ingenuity of man, the great shi
the rich cargoes and the civilization of co

WHAT SPAIN CAN TEACH AMERICA.

BY NICOLÀS ESTÉVANEZ, FORMERLY MINISTER OF WAR OF SPAIN.

THE great actor, Talma, used to frequent second and third rate theatres, and even amateur theatricals, because they offered the best opportunities for seeing the defects of actors and stage setting. So, likewise, should the colonial powers study the policy of Spain in her colonies, in rare cases to imitate her, but in many to learn wherein her example should be avoided.

The special advantage which modern peoples enjoy consists in the fact that the world is old. If a man needs to acquire the experience of life, nations can and should avail themselves of the experience of other nations, for that is the function of history.

Spain, with more examples before her than the other colonizing nations—for she was herself colonized by divers races—has, in general, exercised little skill in her colonial policy. She learned very little from the foreign colonies that, settling from time to time within her shores, gave to her blood, life and organization—the Phoenician, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, Gothic, Arab and Moorish colonies. Among the numerous settlers of the Iberian peninsula, there were examples and contrasts of all kinds: Phoenicians, whose commercial instincts led them to establish a hundred factories on her coasts; Carthaginians, also merchants, who carried on wars in order to penetrate into every portion of the peninsula and extend their commerce everywhere; Greeks, who became permanent settlers with their wives and children, whose colonies preserve the artistic stamp of the Hellenic genius even at the present day. The Romans used and abused force to accomplish their conquest, triumphing finally over the Cantabrians and Iberians after a century of resistance; and, although Spain appears to be a Latin nation, and so accounts herself, she does not [illegible] any other legacy from these conquerors than her

language, the foundation of her ... ruins. Subject to Rome—a condition ... tunes came to her at that time and ... the civil strife between Cæsar and Pompey ... she produced great Latin poets, like L... learned men, like Columella and Seneca; ... bus; famous emperors, like Trajan, Hadrian ...

The invasion of the men of the North ... the most peaceful of all. Kelts, Alani, Goths ... and Suevi, though they warred among them ... against the country. Taking advantage of ... invade the empire, these barbarian hordes ... in the peninsula than the civilised armies of ... imposing their language upon the people, ... the country; instead of plundering the Iberian ... fields, established families and founded towns. ...

Although considered ferocious, these people ... softening of manners and customs; perhaps too ... invasion of the Mohammedans in the eighth ... feeble resistance, characteristic of a weak, effem... race.

In the eighth century began the repeated ... incursions. Even the first one spread victorious ... peninsula, without encountering much resistance ... iards, because the Mohammedans respected ... and customs of the conquered people. In ... formed the race, invigorating it with new bl... mixture of races rather than conquest. A ... had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias ... to reconquer the territory for Christianity ... seven centuries to regain what had been ... the struggle was over, the blood of the ... Arabian as that of the Moors. During ... iards were cured of their ancient effem... by contact with the Arabs, the ... which distinguished the Khalifs ...

selves and their witnesses [illegible] in question, as may be seen [illegible] conquest. Even if we reject [illegible] whose evident bias in favor of [illegible] geration, many other witnesses [illegible] lutely irrefutable. Father [illegible] how many victims perished, but [illegible] like several other chroniclers, [illegible] tion of the natives was God's [illegible] rifices. That is to say, that God [illegible] which they had ceased to make.

What is certain is that the native [illegible] Spanish-American continent continues [illegible] Antilles have disappeared. Shortly [illegible] found necessary to import natives [illegible] and Cuba to do the work, because the ab[illegible] had disappeared. It could not have been [illegible] manity, because the inhabitants of these [illegible] bals, as has been supposed. In Mexico, [illegible] human sacrifices and even cannibalism. [illegible] in his letters that his Tlaxcaltecan allies [illegible] roasting them.

The efforts of Cortés and his compan[illegible] in their rigor, were of little avail to force [illegible] ican Indians; a century after the conque[illegible] thentic testimony of the Spanish [illegible] Nicaragua and Peru continued to wo[illegible] cretly followed their ancient practices [illegible] only apparent, a pure formalism, to avoid [illegible] and viceroys.

The Castilians were not the only [illegible] humanity and history for the extinction [illegible]

The Portuguese, the French, the [illegible] also guilty. It is, perhaps, for this [illegible] historian, Bancroft, laments the [illegible]

ica, a foreigner was obliged to become naturalized. Those who wished to settle had to become Spaniards and Catholics. Such a policy gave rise to an enormous contraband traffic which lasted for two centuries, and to an interminable series of fights with pirates, corsairs, filibusters and natives. The last repeatedly rebelled, and even the American born Spaniards, children of the conquerors and colonists, were from the first violent enemies of Spain, of her monopolies, of her laws. The first Mexican separatist was the son of Ferdinand Cortés.

It is evident that the Americans, the conquerors of to-day, will not fall into the errors of religious intolerance and commercial monopoly, which are unsuitable to these times. Nevertheless, they may make equally grave mistakes by treating the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos in an overbearing or unsympathetic manner. In general, the Anglo-Saxons of both hemispheres hold the theory which divides races into superior and inferior, a theory which is as false as it is unjust and dangerous. Even if it had a solid foundation and a scientific demonstration, it would only be humane and wise to elevate those who are not favored by nature or circumstances, instead of abasing and humiliating them. I foresee that the Americans will have difficulties in the Antilles, especially with the negro race, as they already have in the Philippine Islands, because they believe the natives unworthy of freedom. A great people like the Americans, a people who have cultivated federal principles ever since the foundation of their government, are obliged by self-respect to respect all autonomies. A people who have not self-government are not in the plenitude of their dignity and rights. The republicans of North America should treat all the inhabitants of their new possessions in a democratic spirit, and without humiliating and mortifying any by overbearing conduct. Man does not live by bread alone.

From the punishment of the Spaniards, tardy though it was, the Americans may learn whither intolerance and commercial exclusiveness lead. Observe what has happened at Mindanao. That rich and beautiful country, discovered by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century, has never been conquered. The sovereignty of Spain has been merely nominal in it. Its inhabitants profess the religion of Mohammed, carried there by the Arabs. On the arrival of the Spaniards, the people of Mindanao perceived

the disadvantage of their isolation, and
the protection of Spain opened to them.
tion to submit, and asked only for the
ligious beliefs. If that right had been
have been a great source of wealth. And
thing truly absurd, senseless, incredible: Spain
the submission of the Mindanao Indians unless
tized. They were willing to sacrifice their
they would not their religious conscience; and
counsellors and even the judges of the governing
compromise in matters of religion, since the Spanish
subjects who would not begin by having water
heads, for the sake of a few drops of water we had
centuries with the people of Mindanao Island.
session of the coasts, but the Indians retained the
their territory, and caused us great losses.

Mindanao now belongs to the United States; it
less resistance than Luzon and the other islands, if
respect the religion and customs of the inhabitants;
try to force Christianity upon them, there is danger
bloody struggle.

By means of tolerance and commerce, the Americ
complish in Mindanao in a few months what the Span
to do in a little more than three centuries.

All the European nations pride themselves upon
their ancient heroic deeds; all the peoples of the
who sing of their struggles for freedom and indep
Mindanao is still waiting for the poet and the histori
mirable history. The ignorance of its inhabitants,
lation in which they have been compelled to live by
who kept them blockaded, explains but too
chroniclers and poets. The sons of Mindanao
portunity for sharpening lances than for
ian heroism was not sung by the natives of
Ercilla, a Spanish poet who had fought agai
Spaniards who fought against Mindanao
fanatics, but there was no Ercilla. It
reserved for the Americans, who will

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ENGLAND IN EGYPT AN

BY COLONEL CHARLES CHAILLÉ LO
STAFF TO THE LATE GENERAL GORDO
OF THE SOUDA

THE declaration, cynically termed
tion," which was signed by Lord Cro
Cairo, on January 19, 1899, is the
repeated prediction that a protectora
purpose of the prolonged presence of
rôle of Cassandra is neither pleasant n
compensation in belonging to the few
by the solemn promises and repeated
ain, that her occupation was entirely
benefit of Egypt alone. The writer
facts were opposed to these assertions,
pation, which began in 1882, was the c
which dates from the commencement

A distinguished writer has said tha
is confined to putting down everythi
only when this is done may he be p
conclusions, in common with his rea
in mind, the writer deems it opportun
of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

undertaken in Egypt is to put down disorder, and thus establish some beginnings of tolerable government. That is a duty we have undertaken, not on our behalf only, but for civilization. We undertook it with the approval of the powers of Europe—the highest and most authentic organ of modern civilization. We must fulfil it as we received it from them. I know the word 'protectorate' is sometimes spoken; perhaps it is not spoken in its technical sense, but it is a dangerous word."

Just here it is appropriate to quote the words of a member of the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Gladstone on the occasion above mentioned. He said:

"You need not pretend to be disinterested. It is all a sham. The first object you had when you went to Egypt was to establish English interests. It was for the gospel of selfishness that you went, it was for the British interests, and, thank God, there are some people who will stand up for British interests."

For the purpose of this article, it might suffice to limit our review to the events of 1882, but the presence of Mr. Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, and the continued reference to his proposition to construct a road from the Cape to Khartoum and to Cairo, induce us to look backward a hundred years, that we may show that Mr. Cecil Rhodes' project was not born yesterday, but dates from the commencement of the century.

On August 1, 1798, Nelson destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir, and to-day there may be found upon the shores of Aboukir uniform buttons bearing the inscription "Army of Egypt," which sufficiently explains the original purpose of that army. The battles of July 25, 1799, which followed, and the victory of Kléber at Heliopolis on March 20, 1800, were a part of this plan. In 1806, Great Britain seized anew the Cape of Good Hope, colonized by the Dutch and by the French Huguenots, with the manifest purpose of joining the two points of Africa, the Cape and Cairo.

In 1807, under pretext of protecting Egypt against a renewed invasion of Bonaparte, Great Britain sent a fleet to Alexandria, which was repulsed by Mehemet Ali.

In 1840, England organized a coalition composed of Russia, Austria and Prussia, which, by the Treaty of London, July 15, 1840, undertook to settle the difficulty between the sublime Porte and the Pacha of Egypt, without the co-operation of France. Beyrout was bombarded by an English fleet for nine days, and [illegible] to ashes, and the Egyptian troops obliged to evacuate

were replaced by the Turks. In 1859, ... France was engaged for Italian independence ... fleet to Alexandria for the purpose of occupying ... the peace of Villa Franca came just in time ... embarkment of troops destined to form an army ...

In 1869, the missions of Sir Samuel Baker, as ... ernor-General of the Soudan, and, later, of Col... the same capacity, were manifest indications of ... England in Egypt, and were intended to open ... future occupation of the country.

In 1869 a number of American military me... French mission in Egypt. Great Britain protested ... Ismail Khedive to dismiss the American officers; ... tated, and, on one plea or another, they were ret... finally discharged in 1879 on the plea of economy.

In 1874, General Gordon was sent to Egypt or... ice as Governor-General of the Soudan. Nubar ... Gordon's nomination, but the extreme individu... sonal ambitions of the latter, rendered him a ... ment to manipulate solely for Government intere...

In 1875, the British Foreign Office, in accord... lish and American journalistic enterprise, sent a... the African lakes, ostensibly in the interest of ... in reality to hoist the British flag in Uganda.

Ismail Khedive forestalled that purpose by ... 1874, an American officer, then in his service, C... Gordon, with instructions to proceed to Uganda ... after executing a treaty with King M'Tesa, occup... Egyptian military posts. This mission was p... plished, and when, in April, 1875, the British ex... at the capital of Uganda, bearing both a British ... can flag, it was confronted by the fact of ... tion. Gordon's Chief of Staff had arrived ... and, returning to Gondokoro, had taken ... treaty by which M'Tesa recognized Uganda ... an Egyptian territory.

from suspicions which, as you ... tentions."

Tewfik was reassured by Lord ...

Time passed, and the simple military ... pond grew into a serious insurrection, ... the European and the Christian.

On June 11, 1882, occurred the ... Alexandria. On July 11 an English fleet ... The battle of Tel-el-Kebir followed, and ... British occupation.

One day in 1882, shortly after the ... again admonished, this time that Great Britain ... notwithstanding the assurances of Lord ... tion, he was told, might be compared to that ... who had assisted in extinguishing a ... pleased with the building he had preserved, ... to remain, but to put out the rightful owner. ... alarm, addressed a communication, dated July ... ing his fears to Lord Seymour, commanding the Br... Alexandria. The admiral's reply was as follows:

"I, the Admiral commanding the British fleet, believe ... to confirm without delay to your Highness that ... Great Britain has no intention to make the ... deed to make any attack in any way against the ... ties of the Egyptians. The Government has only ... of protecting your Highness and the people against ...

In 1883, Lord Dufferin was sent to Egypt, ... declared that the zone of English intervention ... Wady Halfa. Nevertheless, during the same year ... was disembarked at Suakim for the avowed ... structing a railway to Berber, a purpose which ... Mahdi's lieutenant, successfully prevented.

General Gordon's return to the Soudan ... ing the generally accepted judgment on ... rect opposition to the wishes of Mr. ... Baring and of Tewfik Pacha, the Khedive ... the very last moment, and, explaining ... ... urged that no ...

but the writer does not feel at liberty to announce it at present, and that for certain reasons of state.

Mention is made here of Gordon's return to the Soudan, because of the dramatic incidents which followed; but the writer, with an intimate knowledge of the question, is of the opinion that neither Mr. Gladstone nor his Government should be held responsible for Gordon's action, which was inspired by a purely personal ambition. The tardy attempt to rescue Gordon is quite another question, and beyond the scope of these notes.

Dr. Schnitzer, or Emin Bey Hakim, after General Gordon's retirement in 1879 from the Government of the Equatorial Provinces, became the Egyptian Governor-General *ad interim*.

In 1886, Emin Bey Hakim, feeling himself neglected by Egypt, decided to sell the provinces of which he was the guardian, and he therefore made propositions in that sense to Lord Iddesleigh, Secretary of the Britsh Foreign Affairs. Immediately a cry of urgency went up in England for the "succor of Emin." The Foreign Office in the name of Sir Wm. MacKinnon put 30,000 pounds, sterling, in the hands of Stanley, who hastened to Egypt, where 10,000 pounds more were added from the Egyptian Treasury to pay Emin for the sale of Egyptian provinces. The writer denounced the fraud which was being perpetrated in an open letter addressed to the Khedive of Egypt, which said:

> "The series of robberies of Egyptian territories accomplished since 1882, Monseigneur, should put us on guard against the acts of this pretended expedition for the succor of Emin, who, after the latest news, is in perfect health and in no danger or want whatsoever. I invite the attention of your Highness to the fact that the Stanley Expedition can have no other object than to take from Egypt the Provinces of the Equator and the Nile Basin, which I have annexed to the Khedival crown. I protest, therefore, in the name of Egypt against this premeditated rape."

In an article on the subject in the *Nouvelle Revue* of Paris, in the number for March 15, 1887, the writer said:

> "At the moment when an effort is made to plant for all time the English flag in Uganda on the borders of the Great Lakes, it becomes my duty to speak. The English expedition hides, under the appearance of succor to Emin, a political design conceived a long time ago. It is the first step *en avant* towards the constitution of an immense Anglo-African Empire."

The burlesque rescue expedition left London amid the hur[illegible] and systematic tears of the public and the Foreign Office, [illegible] had taken care to furnish its chief with Emin's

letters. It does not appear, however, ... ing with him a proposition from the ... and one also from His Majesty the King ... cret of the affair, now *secret de Polichinelle* ... pected a large sum of money for his ... *soi-disant* rescuer; but he received not ... tation of Emin. The agent of the British ... by the delay to sow discord among Emin's ... this was accomplished, the latter was obliged to ... to the coast. The object at which Great Britain ... ing Stanley to Uganda in 1875 was thus achieved ... occupation of Uganda by the British East African ...

The *Anglo-Congolais* incident followed, ... a convention, executed in London in 1891, by the ... in consideration of a band of territory 25 kilo... situated between the lakes Tanganyika and M... Albert Nyanza, the British East African Associa... words, the Foreign Office, abandoned to the Con... the left banks of the Lake Albert Nyanza and ... far as 5 degrees latitude, north. The French ... virtue of rights reserved in the charter of the Con... protested against this cession of territory belong... Free State, and the treaty, signed May 12, 1894, ... pold and Lord Rosebery, was practically annulled ... tion signed at Paris between France and the Co... August 14, 1894. Great Britain on the demand ... stored the band of territory to the Congo Free ...

The *entente* between the British East Africa... and the Congo Free State was made manifest ... and it is likewise apparent that the King ... accord with Great Britain as to the real purpose ... Emin Relief Expedition.

Great Britain, in the recent affair of ... oda by the Marchand mission, claimed ... territory, and that France by such ... treaties which had been invoked ... Minister of Foreign ...

Sixthly, she should not hav

second convention proposed by

to the evacuation of Egypt.

This bill of errors is incompl

by mentioning a proposal which,

indubitably given to France the

established her prestige and power in

The writer acted as the

States Government at Alexandria in

citizens of the United States in Cairo

the approval of the Government at

agents abandoned their posts in a

to Europe. Returning from Egypt in

a note, dated December 11, 1883, to the

eign Affairs, based upon certain

a competent authority, by which he

mand (conjointly with King John) of

200,000 Abyssinians, which, from Adowa,

Gallabat on the Blue Nile and Khartoum,

ing the Mahdi, he would declare King

Soudan under the protectorate of France.

ried with it no responsibility nor expense

of Abyssinia and the Soudan, to which

King John. M. Ferry, then Minister,

of Tonkin had caused him already

that he had no desire to add to his

of *Abyssinien*.

The writer's note must have been

basket of the ministry. However

appeared in an English journal forty

lowed by the significant announcement

under Admiral Hewett would leave

charged with a special mission to

miral Hewett at Adowa tried

upon Khartoum. It is

take the conquest of Khartoum alone. He left Gondar with 150,000 warriors. Descending the Bahr-el-Azrak, he arrived at Gallabat on March 9, 1889, where he attacked and defeated the principal army of the Mahdi. Victorious, he was about to resume his march upon Khartoum, when he was killed accidentally by a spent ball. The victorious march was arrested, the chiefs engaged in jealous wrangling as to who should assume the chief command; and, during the disorder which ensued, the Mahdists recovered from their defeat, and, attacking the mutinous camp, drove the Abyssinians back to the Abyssinian frontier.

Had the French Government accepted the writer's proposition five years before, there is scarcely a doubt that the Abyssinian army of 200,000 warriors could have been led victoriously to Khartoum, for with each Abyssinian chief it was proposed to place an experienced European commander. King John, during the year 1884, would have been crowned Sultan of the Soudan (which, by parenthesis, would have fulfilled both an Arab and an Abyssinian tradition). Besides, the return of General Gordon to the Soudan would have been forestalled; and, consequently, the world would not have had to lament the irreparable and useless sacrifice of the hero of Khartoum.

In 1894 the writer again submitted the possibility of taking Khartoum, this time to M. Casimir Périer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who received him in private audience on January 17, 1894. The minister listened with earnest attention to the proposition, which was to do with King Menelik what M. Ferry had failed to do with King John. M. Casimir Périer objected that both England and Italy had secured a footing on the Abyssinian coast since 1883, and that any expedition from the Red Sea, by way of Obok, might cause complications with Italy.

The writer could not, of course, combat these objections; but, not only to the minister, but also to certain members of the Colonial Group, he insisted that any expedition having the Nile as an objective point, should be sent from Obok, either down the Bahr-el-Azrak or Blue Nile, or from Obok down the Sanbat, the objective point in either case being Khartoum. Such an expedition, needless to say, should be based upon a strong, offensive military force, capable of crushing, if need be, the Mahdists or [illegible]. The writer was asked by a member of the Colonial [illegible] would accept the command of a mission having its

point of departure from the Mobangi, and he
plicitly refused; but, on the other hand, he ex
lingness to accept the command of an expedi
base on the Red Sea, with Khartoum as an objec
ported by an Abyssinian army. Judge, then,
surprise when, several months prior to the recen
Nile, he learned of Captain Marchand's defens
Fashoda!

Fashoda, it must be assumed, was a mere in
the terminus of this mission; which, if it did no
at once to Khartoum, should have at least crosse
or more miles south, and occupied the mouth
where, aside from the defenses of the two rive
cure its communications with Abyssinia. Fashod
eral Gordon's administration of the Soudan Pr
the southern limit of the Governorat of Khart
Egyptian penitentiary, a desolate and unhealthy
to which were relegated those who had incurr
of the Khedival palace at Cairo.

In conclusion it will prove instructive to quo
ticle by the writer, entitled "*Du Cap au Caire*,"
lished in *La Nouvelle Revue*, August 15, 1895:

> "Khartoum is the key to the Soudan; for Englanc
> the door to the African continent, to which she has as
> dred years. Should England seize this last remainin
> vince, she establishes effectively her route from the Ca
> thus becomes the mistress of Egypt."

It was Mr. Gladstone who reminded us that
fered in Egyptian affairs "with the approval of
Europe." England cannot escape her responsibi
which fully understands that Egypt is not the p
one nation, but the common property of the world
tional passage way indispensable to the comme
tions."

Europe, therefore, is the arbiter of the destinies
it needs no voice of Cassandra to predict that Er

be owned, even by those who, like me, thought that Tennyson is in a certain eclipse; Clubs, if there are still Browning Clubs, it wil Browning is on the wane. Doubtless both tined to a renaissance, but hardly to a evening glories that are past for them. shine steadfastly in the firmament; but there weather when Milton could hardly be seen there was more than a century when Shakespe out only by the curious observer. It would, p say that the time will never come again when Sl read less than now; but as for Milton, has his lasted to our day? We all know, or we all own, do we read him?

Within the memory of men still young, or still young, there have been finer gradations of poets, still favorites, have been shifted in their topped in the public favor by other poets, cunni thing that the public thinks it thinks. One nee far back as Mr. Swinburne or as William Morris for illustration; one need go back only so far as or Mr. Austin Dobson, who were before Mr. Ki Watson was. The poetry of Mr. Lang and of concurrent with an emotion which has exhau which it sprang, which it prolonged, and of wh charming record; but it is not the poetry first heart of 1899, as it was in the mind and heart o

II.

Then, what is the poetry first in the mind I believe I have said what in naming Mr. Ki moment, possibly, the most famous man in work, in some sort of measure, is known name. All must own this, whatever and it seems to me that the fact ought whether this is a poetry-reading

The fact has not so much to do with the quality of Mr. Kipling's poetry as we might think, and I may safely say this in my sense of its great qualities. It is none the less a prodigious thing to utter one's age, or one's day, as Mr. Kipling has uttered his, to sound the dominant of its scale so that it shall be felt in the nerves vibrating to the limit of our race, which is our world. The prodigy is none the less because this dominant is the note of race-patriotism, which is so much less pleasing to some fine ears than "the still, sad music of humanity." It is a mighty and a lusty note, full of faith and hope; and it is the note which makes Mr. Kipling famous wherever an Anglo-Saxon word is spoken or an Anglo-Saxon shot is fired; it stirs the blood both of Briton and American; and it is not the poet's reproach if they forget the deeper meanings of his song. He says what he came to say; he happened in the time which could hear his voice; he does not so much teach as tell; but no doubt the time will come when the warning in his message will be plain to senses now holden. It may not be plain to our American senses, till we have trampled into the red mire of tropic morasses the faith in men which made us the hope of men; but that is not the blame of a poet who has read us and said us more keenly than any alien before.

It is inevitable that the universal acceptance of Mr. Kipling should ignore the beauty of his work, except such obvious beauty as lives in its potent music and its bold picturesqueness; but the other sort of beauty can safely bide its time; for, though he is so immensely and intensely of our day, he is not for our day alone. He is useful to the present argument as a proof that our day is not so prosaic as it might seem without his overwhelming popularity. But in the same sky with the comet blaze there are lambent planets to which the eye turns from the wonder and the portent, and willingly gives a watch of the night. The wonder and the portent is not less in its kind because of their difference in brightness; and the difference is so great that any sort of parallel would be futile and tiresome.

III.

I shall not, therefore, try to contrast my pleasure in Mr. William Watson's poetry with my pleasure in Mr. Rudyard Kipling's poetry, or in fact do much more than affirm it. But I may say [illegible] disadvantage to either that there is in Mr. Watson's verse

nothing of the primal force of Mr. Kipling
ent seas, that beat of orient suns. One is
other is Imperial; one is contemplative wher
tical; one feeds his flocks beside the Thames,
herds over the Asian plains, where our race
from the morning with something of the el
him. It should not be strange, though it
teresting, to note how much more immedia
who is really less modern than the other; for
ways of the prime, while our convictions are t
educated conscience beginning late in the cen

Mr. Watson's work is very charming to me
a grace that seems to have come willingly an
insight; a serene thoughtfulness; most in
with the peculiar things that are the un
doubt; a delicate passion; an essential repos
and unerring art, the perfect music of his p
good fortune of his diction are the minor qual
clear thought and the pure feeling. Here,
some of us have been saying is unpoetical, is
the glory of the golden age when Keats and
ridge and Wordsworth were reluming the Eliza
English rhyme, and lighting the way for Tenn
With like magic he has won his way into t
the great tradition, and his unquestioned welc
age of readers is proof that he has not fallen u
day. It appears that we not only love poetry
that often deals with life through literature,
appeals has still something to remind us of bo
pleasure it imparts, to make us remember
looking through the recent volume of Mr.
Poems must be struck with the large numb
his veneration and affection for the masters
of poetry for him, and whose genius he
subtilely. Wordsworth, Shelley, Arnold,
Tennyson, Shakespeare, Keats,

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ality which, if they mistakenly like to
are not otherwise in error. He adds his
war-drunken time, are for peace; and
beauty of rightmindedness, which in itself
which lends the grace of quite a new
conscience in certain pieces of his dealing with

The same purity is in the poetry of Mr. E. H. C
is more purely poetry, and more singly devoted t
which the universal masks as the personal. It is i
it is charming to find this new Coleridge at his
tic strain, the playfulness, the intimacy in whict
Coleridge excelled. There are three characteriz
traits of young girls, so young as to be not yet you
are as delicately critical as Mr. Watson's studies o
all Mr. Coleridge's verse there is the better mod
spirit which is beginning to reflect upon what it ha
which upon the whole seems to me the distinguishi
new English poetry.

I find this so in the poems of Mr. Stephen Pl
more passionate poet than Mr. Watson, or Mr. M
Mr. Coleridge, but of much the same critical, th
fineness. My words undersay it, of course; I m
rarer than critical, something better than ethical,
had better retreat upon such a word as spiritual.
fine way Mr. Phillips's work is, running into frank
modern theme is dealt with, and keeping a high
the question is of fable, or of faith. His poems
with a Dead Soul," and "The Wife" are example
and his "Marpessa" and "Christ in Hades"
other. In power of picturing to the imagination
charm, and in them all one feels the glow
Tennyson at his age had not done better; but
he has from Tennyson is that of the
such things as "Sea Dreams" and "Tithon
more of the beautiful words than one
found myself senilely impatient of them
lips's words are beautiful; they
Watson's; but, then, whose words

idson's, some of his greatest things, though he is greatest of all when he is most himself. "The Ordeal" and "The Coward" are poems that need not be abashed in the presence of the best of the Idyls of the King; they are both indeed poems of surpassing truth and pathos; but the very John Davidson speaks with his own voice to supreme effect in such pieces as "The Hymn of Abdul Hamid," the tremendously veracious "War-Song," "Holiday at Hampton Court," "Waiting," "The Aristocrat," and that eclogue between "The Artist and the Votary." Till now, English speech has uttered no such burning truth about the shame of selfish diplomacy, the inalienable criminality of aggressive war, the horror of prison-waste, the hardy insolence of money-might, the hope of life that dwells among the dead. It is all far more than worth reading; it, perhaps more than any other new poetry, embodies the universal human spirit, the spirit of the vast unfriended, unbounded commonness, before which imperialism shrinks to the measure of parochialism. It would be a wrong that I should deeply regret if I gave an impression of something hortatory, something less than artistic in work so splendid, and I wish to say that this poet is never so much a poet as when he is giving voice to the mute protest in every conscience against the ferocious pretences of our Zeitgeist.

V.

Tennyson is gone, Browning is gone, Rossetti and William Morris are gone; Swinburne is silent; the verse of Mr. Dobson, so airily imaginative, so graciously creative, is not of the immediate charm it once was; and a new kind of English poetry, spiritualized, humanized, has appeared in the books which I have been so ineffectually studying. So far as it is characterized by the past it is characterized by the art of Tennyson, and reasonably so because that is the supreme poetic art. There are also hints of Wordsworth, hints of Keats, hints of Shelley in the new poetry; but no hint of Byron, and what is stranger, none of Browning; perhaps because these were not artistic poets, and the new poetry is as artistic as it is spiritual.

As a condition of English poetry, what has American poetry to show? With us the greatest ones are gone, too. Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, have passed into a shadow which shall lift more or less hereafter. We have Mr. [illegible] and Mr. and Mrs. Stoddard, we have Mr. Aldrich and

Mr. Gilder, we have Mr. Hay
Mrs. Piatt, who all continue
of true quality and of ascertained
little, and they are hardly, with
istic of the time. Foremost of our
for the day which is not yet yesterday,
Whitcomb Riley, who has known how
range of American humanity than any
his popularity were the sole proof of
among us it would be no weak proof.
poetry generally was so much read as it
imply that poetry of exquisite loveliness
had come home to the common heart as it
ably the most widely read American
Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and Whittier's
Riley's poetry is much more widely read
the lettered as well as the unlettered; it has had
familiar, the homely, qualities which are the
it is not because it is American (although we
cause it is human that it finds its way
where men are all equal. I do not prize it
lish poetry in form or spirit, for I think
artist, with insight as subtile as the best of
and sympathy as generous. The Hoosier
subdued to rhyme has not the
given the Scottish dialect in Ramsay and
as tenderly and as intimately, and on the
music. If he is above all others the
is significant of a more entire liberation
than we have yet realized; at the least
who could have come in no other time
quite so much could not have been said
fore. One feels this not only in his
poems in literary English; he is
our common life; and perhaps
he divined best, in its sweetness

the time has not yet come when we desire [illegible]
cialists for our ancestors, and I am afraid [illegible]
Mrs. Stetson's satire is mostly confined to [illegible]
and other Dangerous Persons. But that [illegible]
owning its brilliancy.

The contribution of Mr. Hamlin Garland [illegible]
call, without offence, Americanistic poetry, is [illegible]
ble to be passed over. The prairies and the [illegible]
and the coulés of the Northern West speak [illegible]
too consciously, perhaps, but always strenuously [illegible]
tive charm, in a voice not to be mistaken for [illegible]
poems are sometimes wronged by a wilful [illegible]
they are not spoiled by it, and there is the [illegible]
things in them.

I name, rather at random, certain of our poet[illegible]
me cases in point, and I am not trying to name all [illegible]
of mention. But I could not leave out the name o[illegible]
the young negro poet, who has won popularity [illegible]
tion. It is a proof of the love of poetry in a time [illegible]
parently so prosaic as ours that he has quickly [illegible]
widely known, and has found not only favor but [illegible]
not as a phenomenon that he has done this, not [illegible]
negro who has been able to deal objectively with [illegible]
something far more positive, it is as an [illegible]
verse that he has written since his earliest [illegible]
lished, he has carried his work on rather than [illegible]
no higher than the mark he struck at first [illegible]
made good his claim to our attention, and [illegible]
alienably a part of our literary history.

VI.

The group of young Canadian poets [illegible]
enjoy is as a whole rather more dramati[illegible]
like groups among ourselves. Death [illegible]
est and clearest voice among them; [illegible]
more. But his spirit abides and his [illegible]
to interpret faultlessly in the [illegible]

than these young poets who are not otherwise like him. In him was a cold electric flame thrilling from the deeply intellectualized sources of the puritan consciousness; but these young Canadians, who are so like us other Americans, and who have some of them made their home with us, derive æsthetically from the England that was before, and has been since, the time when puritanism fixed a gulf between her and us. They are on all accounts a most interesting group, which I should like to study more closely and fully; but a passing glance divines them in the superficial traits that represent their essential qualities. They are pictorial, rather than dramatic; the characteristic which they have most in common is that love of nature in which each of them appears a sort of solitary. Their delicate art is curiously unsocialized; the pulse of the time which beats so strongly in the new English poetry is scarcely felt in their rapture with their native skies and woods and lakes.

At least this is the impression that their work has left with one who does not pretend to know it exhaustively, but still has greatly enjoyed it. One might easily make too much of it; after all, it is not of vast bulk; and here, toward the end of what I have to say of the new poetry, I am tormented with an unhandsome misgiving that I have been making too much of it on every side. The names of the great poets who are gone recur to me dismayingly, almost accusingly. What are all the new Presences when confronted with such tremendous Absences as Browning and Emerson, Longfellow and Tennyson, Rossetti and Lowell, Arnold and Whittier, Holmes and Morris, and the great companionless vague which was once Walt Whitman? I am almost afraid to make answer; I can only shrinkingly suggest that To-day may soon be brow-beating To-morrow as Yesterday is now brow-beating To-day.

Again I wish that I could know just how a younger man felt concerning the fact, which is rather a question. I am of the past, too, in my small way, and perhaps I am no fit judge of the present. I would gladly yield the judgment seat (which is never so luxuriously upholstered as people think), but before I left it, I might like to say in defence of the new poetry that if it did not come from poets so great as those gone, it came from poets as true. I might hint at the proposition, with which I have sometimes [illegible] that the potentiality of the arts was now almost as widely

diffused as the suffrage, and that if ...
profound it was farther reaching over the
the common ignorance. It is possible that
cratization of poetry it is more widely re
though the great poets, the heroes and pri
read so much since their apotheosis. Judgi
tion I have known in the poets of my own
that there never was a time whose poets utte
wholly. But what right have I to shake my
in doubt of the music which I hear in the a
do not feel the doubt, and I will not affect it
sure that I felt the security and did not affe
I have been tolerably honest in my praises o
I hope that I have made out not a bad case
not assumed to prophesy concerning it.
seldom get over our fancy that we decid
sometimes the poets themselves share our d
are touched by it. But we really do nothi
can say, "Ah, here is something rather nice,"
but there is always an appeal to a higher co
difficult cases the supreme tribunal of time
cisions.

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absolute and supreme, and that the
cases of dire necessity, when all other
with the situation. For this reason, in
to insist that all civil officers in all
ment, from the policeman up to the
shall be treated with respect, and every
guard given to their offices.

A small military force, of perhaps one or
be necessary for some little time in the differen
for their moral effect. There will be occasion
ment of the new state of affairs in Cuba, when
few troops, representing the power of the Uni
power back of the civil government, will be nec
and will be for a year or so, a small fraction of
clined to brigandage, and impatient of the rest
civil officers. I do not believe that there will e
during which they cannot be controlled by the
do believe that the knowledge that behind the
mander are a thousand regular troops, ready
officers, will prevent many little disorders whi
occur.

The condition of the people in Cuba to-day
poverty, and in many provinces great suffering
The people, contrary to the statements of thos
charging the Cubans with being lazy and unwi
not only willing but anxious to work. The
been one of finding workers, but of giving
wished it. The present condition of the country
is an enormous amount of work which it
should be done in the near future, such as
building of bridges and telegraph lines,
and villages that have been destroyed;
the country, great sections of which have
ed by war. I believe that, throughout
been adopted in Santiago Province
public improvements and issuing
will meet with the success which
been able to open up many of the

either a daily wage of seventy-five cents or fifty cents and a ration. In some cases they have received three or four rations per day for ten hours' work, with no money, and by this method many laborers have been able to feed their families. Whenever we have heard of great destitution in any section of the Province, officers have been sent there immediately with money and authority to start needed public works, such as those mentioned above. The result has been that, all through the Province, the people have gradually gone to work in one way or another. Of course, they are desperately poor, yet all my officers and couriers, both American and Cuban, report no starvation, and, generally speaking, a quiet, contented condition of the people.

All the larger towns have become self-sustaining, and many of the little ones, from their own local municipal taxes. Those which are not self-sustaining I have assisted, to a limited extent, from the general revenues of the Province, which are derived at present entirely from the customs receipts.

It has been impossible to follow any hard and fast policy, but we have had to meet the different conditions in different parts of the Province as best we could, giving more here and less there, but giving only just enough to make it possible for the people to re-establish themselves upon the most economical basis. Economy has been insisted on, and it has been impressed upon them that, no matter how limited their income may be, they must try to adapt themselves to it; and that, if it was impossible to have what they considered the necessary number of officials at the old salaries, men must be found who would serve for much smaller salaries, or, if necessary, for none at all. Instead of these economies being in any way narrowing, they have had a very beneficial effect on the people, who are beginning to realize that there is a certain satisfaction and independence to be gained by paying their own way, and I believe that out of it will come permanent good results.

After all, it has been a good deal like housekeeping on a gigantic scale, and, as some of our best and ablest men have sprung from the very poorest families, and their development under conditions of the greatest hardships and adversity has tended to foster the very qualities which have made them successful in after [illegible] the desperate struggles which these little municipali[illegible] having tend to make them all the better in the fu-

ture. They are learning the hard
the necessity of the closest attention
many of them men are serving in
giving their whole time to establishing
basis. School teachers are working for
salaries, as indeed are all the officials of
are all working cheerfully, and the
among them promises much for the future.

Disorders are few, and travellers passing
find everywhere open-hearted hospitality and
The disposition of the people is buoyant
very improbable that any extensive police
even in the wilder portions of the interior,
once more fairly re-established on their

When it is remembered that this country
dition of more or less continuous warfare for
and also that the long and serious wars which
place were of a most brutal and demoralizing
markable to see how little brigandage exists
people have returned to peaceful occupations.
in Cuba to insure good order is an army of
work, free them from militarism, and, with
police force, good order will prevail. The
but the disorders of hungry men without food
to buy it. They are willing to work, and
nues of Cuba, outside of the limited
the comparatively simple machinery of
is needed just at present, should be
character, which will tend to open the
commerce and to restore the towns
dition of cleanliness and sanitation.

The people are anxious to learn,
every effort which has been made
that I have ever seen

sary, at times, to tide over troublesome [illegible] have we had to resort to actual force. [illegible] more creditable to the Cubans, when it is [illegible] country has been full of hungry soldiers, [illegible] hands, unpaid for three years, without clothing [illegible] out food, and, in some cases, incited by lawless [illegible] violence.

It is not intended in this description of [illegible] the Cubans are without faults, or without a great [illegible] it is a fact beyond dispute that they have [illegible] condition, following a most disastrous war, [illegible] what has practically been a famine, and have [illegible] out a decent respect for life and property, which [illegible] most creditable to any people under similar [illegible] culty ahead of them lies in their own temperament. [illegible] learn, in civil affairs, to act with deliberation; [illegible] emotions, and, while many think that they will [illegible] this, I am confident that they will succeed, knowing [illegible] well they have conducted themselves during this [illegible] period of reconstruction.

There is another point which cannot be too [illegible] upon our own people, and that is the absolute [illegible] ing Americans and all others than the inhabitants of Cuba out of office in Cuba. We want an absolutely [illegible] est, clean-handed policy in dealing with the people. [illegible] The military governors in the different Provinces [illegible] their officers and such civilians as they may have [illegible] diate staffs, are absolutely all that are required [illegible] Collector in each Custom-House, so long as [illegible] sponsible for the revenues. The appointment [illegible] office here, except as above stated, is regarded [illegible] great injustice; and, if we are here to teach [illegible] selves, it would seem that the best way to [illegible] try, standing here ourselves simply to [illegible] check, when we see affairs going wrong. [illegible]

The question of the customs [illegible]

present impossible, except in some favored districts and in the larger cities, the only source of revenue, in a general way, is the customs. While the revenues pertain, strictly speaking, to the General Government, yet in this Island, for the present at least, they will have to be used in different ways, for the general purposes of supporting the courts, re-establishing the schools, maintaining the rural police, opening up highways and general public improvements of all kinds. In short, they must be expended with broad intelligence, and, if so expended, much may be accomplished with them, both in the way of giving employment to large numbers of men and in the restoration of public works. The condition of the country will rapidly improve, and in a comparatively short time the old systems of general taxation, with modifications, can be gradually put in force. At present it would be almost extorting blood-money to attempt to tax directly the wretchedly poor people in the interior of most of the Provinces.

Another great benefit to the Island will result from the commencement of large enterprises, such as the building of railways and the improvement of harbors on a large scale. At present plans are on foot for the completion of a railroad from Santiago to Havana. Such a work as this will give employment to many thousand people, and will do more to restore prosperity and re-establish the ruined towns than almost anything else. The tastes and wants of the people are simple, and the wonderful productiveness of the soil renders it easy to obtain sufficient food, and, with steady labor, means will be furnished to the small farmers to purchase tools and, perhaps, a mule or a horse, and to establish themselves once more upon a comparatively prosperous basis.

The issue of rations to indigents in the Province of Santiago is practically at an end. Since last October the Province has been practically self-sustaining and has paid for all its own officials, schools, lighthouses, courts, etc., besides doing a great deal in the way of road building and other public works. In addition to all of this the Province has been able to accumulate nearly a quarter of a million of dollars for sanitary work in Santiago and its harbor. I believe that this result can be accomplished in every Province in Cuba, with the possible exception of Pinar del Rio and Puerto Principe, and the surplus revenues from the richer Provinces will be sufficient to pay the expenses of these two poorer [illegible]. I believe that the revenues of Cuba, as existing to-day, will

plish the necessary public
this is not only possible, b
that any other than a smal
various Provinces, and th

Order in the interior
by the rural mounted poli
of these men has been foun
Cuba. Both men and offi
the best material in the Cu
ganization up to the pres
ficiently performed their
small gangs of highwaymen
more unsettled parts of t
tainly be sufficient in othe
rule, much more open and
developed. The Cubans ar
their own civil officers, w
United States, would give
friction. It has been the
avoid using our troops for
cepting guard duty on som

The courts of the Pro
prompt and efficient in th
maintained at a cost to the
their cost under the Spanis
pressed with the responsib

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opening words: "There is an old saying, 'Courts Martial are organized to convict.'" During a period of now nearly seven years I have had, in my official capacity of Judge Advocate General, the duty of reading many, and of hearing of many more, proceedings of Courts Martial, and the conclusion at which, without hesitation, I arrive is that Courts Martial in England are almost invariably conducted not only with substantial justice, but also with respectful adherence to the principles and forms of law. The members of the Courts Martial are educated officers and gentlemen. I should not, therefore, have expected to find, and I certainly never have found, any want of intelligent perception or any presence of prejudice, or of that professional prepossession which Mr. Cranston thinks inevitable. I can make only two criticisms on the action of Courts Martial, as I have observed it. It sometimes happens that a legal principle correctly remembered is carried beyond its proper limitations. The rule, for example, that opinions are not evidence, except in the case of experts, has sometimes been held by Courts Martial to exclude evidence of drunkenness, or even evidence of hand-writing. There is, perhaps, also a tendency to convict a prisoner on scanty evidence, if the offence has become rife. I remember an instance in which, after several cases of stealing from the regimental canteen had occurred, a private was found guilty of stealing tea from the canteen, the only evidence in his case being that he had a bag of tea in his possession. I have no doubt, and, indeed, an explanatory note to that effect was appended to the finding, that the natural and proper desire that an example should be made was allowed to compensate for a deficiency of proof. But I have known a similar tendency, not only at Quarter Sessions, but in a much higher stratum of legal atmosphere. I remember a distinguished Queen's Counsel, in the Court of Chancery, adjuring the tribunal: "In these times, when commercial fraud has become rampant, is the arm of this Court to be shortened because of a mere want of strict proof?"

Mr. Cranston feels a strong objection to the members of a Court Martial being judges both of law and of fact, and he bases on that opinion a recommendation that, whenever possible, a legal member should be added to the tribunal. I confess I do not share this objection, and I altogether deprecate the remedy. The questions that come before Courts Martial very seldom present any such complexity of law and fact as to call for that process of unravel-

who has served on several
of responsibility which
feel, is by no means ill q
legal question that is likel
important to increase this
responsibility ; and for t
to see a professional lawye
evitable that the officers w
facts, practically to him,
and thus the value of the

Mr. Cranston has very
of a Judge Advocate, to
want of legal training in t
he adds that there is a ris
sufficiently impartial if h
opinion I certainly concu
sponsible for the law of A
to profit by our experienc
generally the Adjutant of
Advocate. The Judge Ad
General acts in peerage c
his view of legal points,
pointing out the issues an
leaves it to the tribunal to
Attorney-General in such

experience. I hope and believe that few, if any, errors in law or procedure escape notice; and thus this department, if efficiently conducted, supplies a safeguard, fulfilling some of the more important objects to which the aspirations after a Court of Criminal Appeal have been so long and so vainly directed. It is by an accident that the office of Judge Advocate General has come to be filled by a member of the judicial body. It was till recently always held by a member of the House of Commons, entering and leaving office with the ministry of the day, and it was said that the name of the office was singularly inappropriate, as it was filled by a person who was not a judge, an advocate or a general. When difficulty arose in 1892 in filling the office in Mr. Gladstone's ministry, Mr. Gladstone did me the honor to ask me to accept the office, as it had been previously held for a short time by a predecessor of mine in the Probate Division of the High Court, the late Sir Robert Phillimore. Since then I have formed the humblest, but the only immutable, element in the ministries of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury. I do not know for how long or how short a time it may be that the office of Judge Advocate General is to be filled by an official who at least fulfills one-third of the appellation; but so long as it is held by a judge, it will, of course, be administered in a judicial temper and according to judicial principles, with, it is to be hoped, the result that the execution of the law and nothing but the law may be relied on. And that result will not be unsatisfactory if it can be felt with confidence by every British soldier, down to the humblest, that, if he has the misfortune to be tried, his trial will be conducted with as strict an observance of the law as if he pleaded at Bar before the Chief Justice of England and two of his brethren.

A long established custom has given a still further security in the case of all general Courts Martial, that is those which deal with the more serious offences, and are empowered to inflict the more severe sentences. It is the duty of the Judge Advocate General to present the proceedings of all such Courts Martial to the Sovereign in person, either at an audience or in writing, and to advise the Crown whether the sentence should be carried out. This is a safeguard which is far more than nominal. In ordinary cases it probably happens that the attention which has been previously given to the case renders needless any special explanation or remark. But in any proceeding which for any reason is out of the

common, it constitutes a valuable as well as an unique protection, that the experience of the Sovereign, which is in nothing more remarkable than in matters connected with the army, should be brought to bear upon any new departure, or any question of doubt; and I should suppose that any Judge Advocate General must feel his own judgment strengthened, as well as his responsibility quickened, by the personal attention invariably bestowed by the Sovereign upon every important decision.

F. H. JEUNE.

himself in the universe. It [illegible] made the schoolhouse a fetish in [illegible] stands in a village in New England [illegible] an Indian reservation, we all believe [illegible] out of it which will conquer not only [illegible] crime.

This idea came naturally enough [illegible] found his gates besieged by hordes of [illegible] Russians, Huns and Italians, and with [illegible] of ignorant negroes and Indians. [illegible] him the deadly disease which would [illegible] that, by a certain amount of book learning [illegible] would be the typical intelligent and [illegible] the world.

Hence the public school.

Has the public school done its work? [illegible] ways an unmixed blessing to America and [illegible]

This question cannot be answered so [illegible] loyal sons of the Republic may suppose.

Two or three facts which come up in [illegible] me to have a bearing on it.

First: On the table before me lies the [illegible] of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary [illegible] Here is one item: Ninety-one convicts [illegible] last year had served one or more terms [illegible] hardened offenders, only nine were [illegible] Of eight, no record had been kept; [illegible] them were forgers and counterfeiters, [illegible] some mental training. The remaining [illegible] cated, having attended school for from [illegible]

Another fact: Three years after [illegible] in London, a marked increase was [illegible] venile offenders in the city prisons [illegible] was, too, a change in the kind of [illegible] number of boys and young [illegible]

[illegible] in Parliament, "that our graded schools are breeding-houses of crime?"

But this was too pessimistic a view. Education did not breed crime in the pupils; education only gave crime tools to use. The three R's never begot a desire in the mind of a boy to work harm to his fellows; but, finding the desire there already, they taught him to forge a note instead of picking a pocket. Without education, he tramped barefoot in the mire of the broad road that leads downward; with it, he drove in a chariot, but on the self-same road and to the same dark end.

Again: About fifteen years ago, I was in a lonely corner of Louisiana—a district of pale green prairies sloping down to the gulf, dotted with the half-cultivated farms of the French Acadians. There they had been since they left Acadie years before. An isolated, separate clan, they had retained the character, the handicrafts and the bits of homely, useful knowledge which they brought with them, and also the same utter ignorance of the outer world. Very few of them could read or write. The men tilled the fields on the shores of the black bayoux which crept lazily through banks of purple and yellow *fleurs-de-lis*, and the women in their cabins wove the soft, gay cotton stuffs in which they all were clad. They had no railways, no school-houses, no bosses with schemes for making big fortunes, no politics and no newspapers. For years, there had not been a case from among them in the parish court of theft or adultery or murder. They worked enough to keep them from want; they went to mass in the morning, and to a dance at night. They were faithful husbands, loyal friends, tender mothers; a single-minded, honest, merry folk. What more would you have?

When I went away from this Attakapas country, and looked back at the great, dull green plain rolling down to the sea, with its pleasant farms and snug little homesteads gay with flowers, soft floating gray mists now and then clouding the sunshine, it seemed the very land of peace. Surely its name should be Arcadia, not Acadie.

A year later, I heard a philanthropic Northern lecturer descant on the ignorance of this people, and beg for aid to "send the schoolmaster among them, to open the way for railways, business and civilization."

[illegible] not any intelligent American question seriously

whether these people would be
scale of being by these things?

Take another community—
England. Fifty years ago, X——
The heads of the families were
crews. They could read and write,
eyed, red-blooded men, who gathered
cisely the kind of knowledge which
ing, and brought home, too, histories
tries beyond the seas. Sometimes, indeed,
folk with them on their voyages, and
were opened through which glimpses of
came into the lonely hamlet. The life
work, but not without its fun; it was

But the whaling industry is dead in
are the old seamen who followed it. The ge
ceeded them have not found any industry
The swamps remain undrained, the fields unt
port themselves by millions in the bay undi
people in the village keep themselves and th
by renting their houses to summer boarders.
have but one ambition—to be educated; their
its only outlet in an academy and college
be more laudable, according to ordinary
look with awe at the three huge school
brary, which tower over the village houses,
there is not a cobbler nor a tailor nor a
mechanic in the village. Then they
book learning is the only wholesome and
of a community.

The young girls of X—— go
at a dozen sciences, and philosophies
long enough to learn the flavor
to find any actual food for their
to teach them the first lesson of
They find no place as

WORK OF THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

BY A CANADIAN LIBERAL.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the labors of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission have been fruitless. While a final result of negotiations has not been reached, and upon one point disagreement has resulted, there is still good prospect of an ultimate settlement that will be satisfactory to moderate and reasonable men of both countries. The Commission was called upon to deal with a wide range of subjects, many of them of prime importance. These subjects were, the question of Trade Relations between Canada and the United States, Pelagic Sealing, the Alaskan Boundary, Reciprocal Mining Rights, the Alien Labor Law, the Southern and Eastern Boundary, the Northeastern Fisheries, the Inland Fisheries, the Bonding Privilege, Rights of Transit, the Transmission of Prisoners, the Construction of War Vessels upon the Lakes; and other questions of difference between the two countries. Public impatience is manifested, especially in Canada, because the solution of all these questions has not been reached. The truth probably is that tentative agreements have been arrived at upon all of them, with the exception of the Trade question and the Northeastern Fishery question; these provisional agreements being dependent for final adoption upon the settlement of the entire range of questions referred to the Commission.

The work of the Commission is of an importance that can scarcely be over-rated, not only with reference to the character of the questions themselves, but also with reference to the higher and more important question of future relations between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family.

It is a fact, perhaps not hitherto understood in the United States, that the Canadian tariff regulations, as relating to the

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was fairly entitled to, as an equivalent for
towards the United States. It is reasona
vances in the direction intimated were no
American Commissioners, with that deg
ingness to concede reasonable requests
hoped for. This was due, probably, to
public sentiment in the United States a
and to a feeling in the United States Sena
tion of broad concessions in the realm of t

The Canadian Commissioners were, of
the removal of duties upon several class
which the Canadian farmer might find a
the United States; and the fact that the
British Columbia will speedily furnish a
American farm products, and that the
the consumer of vast quantities of Ameri
titled in return to sell, in the American
fair proportion of the products of his own
be strongly urged. But it is reasonably
for concessions in this line did not meet
of success, and that the American Comm
fused to open the markets of the United S
of Canadian farmers, except, possibly, in
important products.

The dependence of the Canadian farm
market has, of late years, very greatly dim
total exports of Canada to Great Britain w
the total imports from that country were
balance of trade in favor of Canada of $71
516,000 worth of farm products which Ca
tries other than the United States, Eng
over 95 per cent., and by means of cold
methods of production and transportation
hams, vegetables, poultry, fruits, eggs, a
Canadian farmer begins to feel a sense of
can markets. Indeed, it may be seriously

cultural list, it is fair to presume that the Canadian Commissioners pressed with vigor for the removal of restrictions in other directions, and especially in the matter of duties upon fish and upon lumber. The importation of lumber from Canada to the United States is trivial in amount, compared with the production of lumber in that country. Since 1890, the export of lumber from Canada to the United States has averaged only about one and one-half per cent. of the total volume of lumber produced in the last named country. This makes it clearly evident that the removal of the lumber duties would produce but a slight effect upon lumber prices in the United States, and that the most serious consequence would be the loss of revenue upon Canadian lumber importations. It is more than probable that a proper presentation of the facts bearing upon this case would conclusively prove to the American Commissioners, that free lumber might be granted without serious consequences to the lumber interests of the United States. This, however, would be but one step in the direction of securing for Canada this concession, and the more serious obstacle to overcome would be the prejudices of those interested in the production of lumber in some twenty-five of the American States, represented by fifty votes in the United States Senate, where it requires but thirty-one votes to defeat a treaty.

There was at no time, probably, sufficient reason for believing that Canada's desire for free fish would be gratified; and yet a settlement of the vexed Northeast Fishery question, by the free admission of Canadian fish into American markets, and the total sweeping away of all Canadian restrictions imposed by virtue of the Convention of 1818, would have been the most desirable adjustment of a long standing difficulty.

It is pretty certain that the free importation of fresh fish from the Maritime Provinces is already largely secured by clandestine arrangements, fresh fish being transferred from Canadian vessels at sea to fishing vessels from the United States, which go out with scanty provisions and speedily return with phenomenal catches.

With the Fishery and the Trade questions definitely settled, the relations between the two countries should immediately assume a more friendly form, as the main causes of friction and bad feeling would be removed. These two questions, it is safe to [illegible] will be settled. The prediction is hazarded that the next [illegible] the Commission will result in the framing of a treaty.

which in many respects will be satisfactory to the people of Canada, and which in all respects will be infinitely preferable to a continuance of the present condition of affairs.

The disagreement upon the Alaskan Boundary question appears to be of a character to do no discredit to the members of the Commission. The possession by the United States of a narrow strip of coast, from latitude 56 Northward, between the Canadian Northwest possessions and the Pacific, is a subject of deep regret and no little annoyance to the Canadian people, whose vast tracts of auriferous territory, in the Yukon District, is a Hinterland shut out from access to the sea by the intervening strip of coast, ten leagues in width. The determination of this boundary was, from the nature of the case, a difficult one. The coast line has deep indentations, such as the Lynn Canal, sixty miles in length. From the head of this canal, passes lead to the upper waters of the Yukon and to the Klondike mineral regions. The Canadian Commissioners contended that as the canal was less than six miles wide at its mouth, it was territorial waters, and not a part of the high sea, that the coast line should cross at its mouth, and the boundary line be ten leagues from the mouth of the bay or canal. The American contention was that the coast line followed this indentation, and that the boundary line should be at the crest of the mountains, ten leagues from the waters of the bay or canal. An arrangement is understood to have been agreed upon, by which Canada was to be granted one port at the head of this canal, with access from the port to the interior, the United States government retaining sovereignty; but this was protested against by the citizens of Seattle, and other American towns upon the Pacific coast, and the arrangement was consequently withdrawn. Nothing then remained but to submit the question to Arbitration. The American Commissioners are said to have proposed that the Court of Arbitration should consist of three members from each country. The Canadians objected that this would not secure finality, and that it was necessary to have an umpire from a neutral State. The Americans, it is said, proposed an umpire from one of the Spanish-American States. The Canadian Commissioners objected, because these are practically under American protection.

and having on their hands idle mills and ... ments in timber lands on the north shore ... purpose of transporting in rafts logs cut u... their Michigan mills. These investments ... vitation of the Ontario Government, which ... public lands and Crown timber limits. The ... timber properties, sold at auction by the G... chased from parties who had previously obta... Government, were very large, ranging from ... much per thousand feet, board measure, or ... area, as timber properties sold for in other ... ince. These Americans were permitted to pro... ruption with their business of exporting logs f...

When the Dingley Bill was under considera... probably suspected that, in the event of lumb... able again, the Canadian Government would ... duty upon the exportation of logs. This ... well founded. American investments in tim... made in good faith, for the purpose of expo... been made at a time when no export duty or o... in force. It was evidently thought proper ... Means Committee of the House of Repres... Finance Committee of the Senate, to protect t... American lumbermen, by guarding against th... export duty; and a proviso was inserted in th... enacted that, if any foreign country imposed a... saw logs designed for export to the United St... such export duty should be automatically adde... upon lumber sent from such country to the U... provision created great indignation in Cana... sition of an export duty was rendered practi... penal consequences provided against it, ... pedient of securing from the Ontario Gover... required the manufacture in Canada of ... ment limits, or, in effect, which pro... This provision, if it had been made ... been within the right of the Gover...

ing the provision was, that the conditions under which licenses were issued permitted the Government to make regulations for the management of timber lands. This reserved power applied simply to regulations for fire protection, the reservation of the smaller sizes of timber, to ground rent, and to Crown Dues. This law has been retained in spite of protest, and has no doubt proved a serious obstacle in the way of the Canadian Commissioners, when seeking for a reduction or the removal of the lumber duties. The full effect of the law falls upon a class of men who are strongly in favor of securing either a reduction or a total abolition of the lumber duty, and it serves well the purpose of that great mass of American lumbermen who desire to exclude Canadian lumber from the American market.

It is a striking proof of the forbearance of the American Treasury Department that no notice has yet been taken of this law. With a logical interpretation of the proper mode of applying the provision of the Dingley Bill against export duty, unquestionably this flank movement for securing the same purpose, in the most drastic and high handed manner, would be considered as, *pro tanto*, an export duty, calling under the automatic provisions of the export duty proviso for an order from the Treasury Department, either prohibiting the importation of lumber from Canada, or increasing the duty upon lumber to the maximum rate of export duty which the Canadian Government may impose at pleasure by order in Council, this maximum rate being $3 per thousand feet, board measure.

The effect of this Ontario law has already been mischievous, it may be presumed, through its adverse influence upon negotiations, by the creation of a spirit of indignation on the part of the American Commissioners as relates to the law itself. It has, beyond question, shaken confidence in Canadian honor and good faith among American investors, and has led to the withholding of millions of capital designed for investment in Canada. American capitalists naturally feel that American investors in three million acres of pine land, whose investments were sought for, the purpose of whose investment was well known, whose intentions when making the investments were permitted to be carried out for years, and who were then abruptly confronted by an Act of [illegible] confiscation, were made the victims of bad faith and [illegible] by legislation of duly acquired property rights. The

natural inquiry on the part of the
we to suppose that we shall possess
Canadian enterprises, while some
may at any time paralyze them by regula
lating to the management of the propert

The selfishness and greed that deman
and prohibition of export may
unless effectually checked. The Ontario
likely to be imitated in other Provinces b
acter, applicable not only to saw logs
pulp wood and other forest products.
duty upon nickel ore has been sedulousl
speculators who, acting upon the belief
supply nickel ore, think it possible to s
fining nickel. A demand for an export
the interest of local smelters is made, an
of the aggressive jingo spirit in Canada a
export embargo and export duties extend
natural products, forest and mineral, as r

Canada has many of the peculiarities
ventures upon many manifestations of
would not be attempted but for trust i
Motherland. Many of its public men,
of its people, seem to lack all sense of
considering the adjustment of internation
possibility of the successful coercion of 7
000,000 people is not understood. Fool
the United States to terms by withholdi
other natural products, are indulged in.
senseless impudence are a source of anno
men, who look at times with ill concealed

Progress, however, is being made. I
tion of view are characteristic of a fair
tion. Periodical crazes will subside
United States were to adopt towards
sponsive in liberality to our own

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[illegible]ected to the sensitive tube at the receiving station, cohere the filings in the tube, and allow the local cell to actuate the relay. The relay, in its turn, causes the larger battery to pass a current through the tapper or interrupter, and also through the electro magnets of the recording instrument. The practical result is that the receiver is actuated for a time equal to that during which the key is pressed at the transmitting station.

With apparatus as thus explained, and with the addition of a few important details which for brevity I shall not describe, I have made most of my experiments and worked numerous important installations.

After the experiments across the Bristol Channel, I gave some important demonstrations to the Italian naval authorities at Spezia. With the transmitter on shore and the receiver on board an Italian warship, a distance of twelve miles was bridged. A series of trials were also carried out with other ships, and between ship and ship, and the Italian Navy was not slow in permanently adopting my system.

On Salisbury Plain, I introduced kites as a means of raising and suspending the vertical conductor to a considerable altitude. In these experiments I attained my greatest distances—between Salisbury and Bath, a distance of thirty-four miles.

Immediately after this, I set up two experimental stations, one at Alum Bay, in the Isle of Wight, and the other at Bournemouth, the distance between them being fourteen miles, in order to test the practicability of the system under all conditions of weather, and also to afford an opportunity of proving that "Wireless Telegraphy" was not a myth but a working reality.

It has, apparently, been thought that the weather, or varying conditions of atmospheric electricity, may interfere with or stop the signals transmitted by this system; but experience of over fourteen months of continual every-day work has brought me to the conclusion that there is no weather which can stop or seriously interfere with the working of such an installation.

We have given demonstrations to several eminent scientists who came down, often when we did not expect them, but on no occasion have they found any difficulty in the work of transmitting and receiving messages between the two stations. Among [illegible] inspected these stations, was Lord Kelvin; and he was [illegible] express himself as being highly pleased with what

he saw. He sent several tele
paying one shilling royalty on
show his appreciation of what
ness at that time for commercial
In July of last year, we gave
at Kingstown Regatta, in reporting
cidents of the several yacht races.
various yachts were thus wirelessly
in progress, sometimes over a distan
lished long before the yachts had re
of these excursions we had the compa
and business men of Dublin, who tran
ceipt of the daily Stock Exchange qu
shore station, much to the amusement
After finishing at Kingstown, I ha
to install wireless telegraphic commun
yacht, "Osborne" and Osborne House
order that Her Majesty might commu
Prince of Wales, who at the time was
knee. Although quite hidden from o
hills and trees, constant and uninter
maintained. These obstructions woul
nalling between the two positions im
flag, semaphore or heliograph system.
In December of last year, it was th
strate that the system was quite pract
abling telegraphic communication to
lightships and the shore. This is a m
By the kind permission of the officials
nected the East Goodwin Lightship
guarding the dangerous Goodwin San
land light house, twelve miles apart
on board in an open boat and
The installation started work
the slightest difficulty, and it has
through all the storms which
were. By its means two

SCIENTIFIC HISTORY AND FUTI
WIRELESS TELEGRAPH

BY J. A. FLEMING, M. A., D. SC., F. R. S., PR
TRICAL ENGINEERING IN UNIVERSITY COL

PUBLIC attention, on both sides of the At been strongly directed to the possibilities of space, by the remarkable experiments of S Taking advantage of well known scientific with very important and novel additions of his inventor has startled the world by flinging te across thirty miles of sea, wrapt, it may be, i storm, and recording, in the well known Morse bet of dot and dash, the communications thu continuous connecting wires or cables of thoughtful person desires to gain some glimp which this feat has been performed, and som prognosticating the future of the new telegrap

It is very seldom that a new scientific depa prehended at first, in regard either to its uses o

Imagination is often carried captive by a a speedy revolution of old methods is anti other hand, it is decried as containing no ventor is set down as a mere user of other ventor, be it remarked in passing, is not does anything new. He is often one poetic insight which enables him to issue familiar facts, or he casts a known processes by some simple

nected by the ordinary telegraphic wires, is the crowning achievement in a long series of scientific labors, the product of many minds and the outcome and reward of profound research.

Thoroughly to grasp the details and meaning of the whole process requires a scientific training and much acquaintance with physical research. It is, however, quite possible to convey a fairly correct notion of the nature of the operations involved to an ordinary reader who has patience to follow the argument.

Modern scientific research has conducted us to a position from which we see that the phenomena of the physical universe indicate three fundamental sources of all observed events, which form the underlying basis of the physical actions concerning which our senses inform us.

These great actualities are, respectively, matter, energy and ether. It is perfectly impossible to give any independent definitions of these things which shall be satisfactory to the metaphysician. Collectively speaking, the material objects we can handle and see, are, from the modern standpoint, the vehicles of energy in various forms; and every chemical or physical change we notice or can produce, is an exhibition of the changes in something called energy, associated with that which we call matter. A discussion of how far matter is entitled to a separate recognition, apart from energy, would be foreign to our present purpose, and would in any case plunge us into the seething caldron of metaphysical discussion. The chief fact of importance here necessary to note is, that the research of the present century has shown that large quantities of energy can be conveyed through space, or associated with that which we call a perfect vacuum. Hence has grown up the notion that space may not really be empty, but may have everywhere in it something which, like tangible matter, can be the vehicle of energy, though not possessing those qualities of ponderability, or power to affect directly our sense of touch, which characterizes that which we generally call material substance. This space-filling, non-material vehicle of energy is called the ether; and it is one of the most suggestive of modern physical conceptions, that the atoms which build up ordinary matter may even be only ether—in certain states of localized strain or motion. Leaving, however, the confines of speculation, we may say that the tendency of present day physical theory is to find, as our ultimate elements of analysis, in

dissecting the phenomena of
viz.: energy, ether and matter
amount, but all susceptible of
by its interactions with the others
which are the immediate
The deeper we penetrate into the facts
that the only things we have a right to
neath the immediate objects of cognition.

Hence, research has wended its way
sition from which we are able to
assumption of a space-occupying ether.
important position in existing physical
it has advanced from a position in wh
speculation, called in, as it were, to
volved in analyzing physical processes,
many converging lines of argument
basis for the adequate explanation of eff

The most philosophical minds have
that, if the facts in more than one bran
taken seemed to necessitate the assum
it would be necessary to make the funda
enough to make one ether sufficient fo
effects. Modern science has, therefore,
manifold imponderable fluids; but, on th
ened and strengthened the foundations
the hypothesis of one single sufficient
cal hypothesis grew up originally out of
nomena; but the consideration of electri
little by little forced physicists to the
and electro-magnetic effects must be
causes, and must therefore depend on

When Prof. James Clerk Maxwell
vember, 1879, he left as his most
the world his remarkable Electro-
the beginning of the century
Young, Professor of Natural

places about one forty-... our number is called the *frequ*... its *wave-length.* The process of ... this particular kind of action, ... and the speed with which it is ... locity. It is impossible to dis... the fact, that no optical effects ... been found which cannot be dedu... sumption of the existence of a spac... of having produced in it a wave-m... by the presence of material substan... the non-scientific mind to grasp the... may thus be full of an ever movin... and that, in truth, no such thing as ... lutely void of everything, does or p...

Another line of argument leadi... found as follows: One of the great... nineteenth century has been the el... association with mere material su... else called energy, which we can m... which presents itself under many fo... subject to a law of conservation; th... our unaided human powers, to a... Energy, however, must be thought ... article, which can exist in many di... transformed from one type to anot... or cannon ball, for instance, is an e... tion with matter, but this particula... obtained by the transformation of ... the one case, by putting out of ex... with a given weight of coal in air, a... mass of gunpowder. We have no e... from Matter of some kind, and we ... so exist. Without entering into di... of physical science, it may be suffic...

tion or impulse may be communicated through a material medium, it must possess elasticity and inertia. In virtue of the first, it resists some kind of deformation, and, in consequence of the latter property, its parts tend to continue moving when once in motion. We see this in the case of water. The water surface resists being heaped up or made unlevel, and it persists in motion when once moved. Hence, it can have waves produced on it, varying from ripples to billows in wave-length. In the same way the air resists compression and expansion, and it also possesses inertia. Accordingly, it can have a pulsatory or wave-motion produced on it, and this constitutes sound, when it affects our organs of hearing. The known fact that wave-motion can exist in the ether led philosophers, therefore, to conclude that ether possessed properties analogous to elasticity and density. But no one had been able to show, by direct experiment, that ether had those qualities, because it only affects, indirectly, one organ of sense, the eye, and that only by reason of the existence of waves in it of a certain wave-length.

Clerk Maxwell, however, was led by profound reasoning to the conclusions, that the qualities of the ether which correspond to that which we call the elastic pliability of matter, and its density or massiveness, are in reality the electric and magnetic qualities of space, in virtue of which it permits an electric displacement to be made through it, and also what is called a magnetic flux. Faraday had shown that the process commonly called charging a conductor with electricity, was in reality only the effect of producing in the surrounding insulator an electric strain or polarization, subsequently called an electric displacement. This displacement is produced by an agency called electric force; and, when the force is removed, the displacement disappears. The quality of the space, whether filled with matter or ether, which permits the electric displacements to take place under the action of the electric force, is called its electric pliability.

In the same manner, Maxwell identified the other well-known property of space, in virtue of which magnetic force can create in it a state called magnetic flux, as the analogue of the density or inertia of matter. This quality is called the magnetic permeability. Building upwards from well known facts, Maxwell showed that, since space filled only with ether has these two [illegible] of electric pliability and magnetic permeability, it

should be possible to produce as free eth
electric force, and that these electric wave
with the velocity of light.

This magnificent theory remained, bu
perimentally, until 1887, when Heinrich
world the results of his splendid research
electric waves. Hertz showed that, if
charged, respectively, with positive and ne
then allowed to discharge each other, wit
small electric spark between them, this a
proper conditions, an electric wave which w
space. Just as a stone dropped into water
it enters the surface, and generates a series
so the electric spark, under certain conditio
tually a splash in the ether, and sends out
A spark of this kind is called an oscillator
detect these waves, Hertz invented a receiv
ing of a nearly closed loop of wire, the end
metal balls almost touching one another.
position, the passage of an electric wave t
tector creates a minute spark between the
apparatus, Hertz showed that these electr
the properties of light, although unable to
moved with the same speed and could be r
like rays of visible light. Lodge, Fitzger
de la Reve, Bose and many other physici
sults, and proved an absolute identity in n
of light by which we see and these invisible

Subsequently to Hertz's lamented early
vented and improved the means of detect
notable importance was the observation o
Onesti, of Fermo, in 1885, and Professor
1891, that a mass of metallic filings or pow
conductor of the electric current in its or
become converted into a conductor when
upon it. This device, modified and impr
sensitive organ or artificial eye for seeing
Hertz waves. It is usually called a coherer

sends out sound waves, when
receiving instrument consists of a
small glass tube are fixed two silver
and the interspace is occupied with a
powdered nickel and silver. Marconi
improvements into the manufacture of
of his coherers is tested most carefully,
stations. The sensitive tube is joined
and a telegraphic relay, this last being an
action an ordinary telegraphic Morse
means of an exceedingly feeble electric
sired to receive signals, the sensitive tube
to the long vertical wire and the other to the
sent out from the distant station then fall
ceiving wire, run down it and affect the
come a conductor for the moment, and so
rent to pass through it, which, through the
made to print a signal upon a strip of
either a dot or a dash, according to the
ether waves are falling upon the wire.
coherer is brought back to its original
istered automatically by a little hammer.
or short, upon the key of the induction coil
cause marks, long or short, to be made upon
receiving instrument, and these are inter
signals in accordance with the recognized

Such, then, in outline, is the system
veloped for utilizing ether waves for
remains to indicate briefly its limitations

Marconi's experiments at the South
where a flagstaff 150 feet high was erected,
a similar one in France—a vertical
up the mast of the East Goodwin
munications are held—are being
room not ten feet square, which

At the rate of fifteen or eighteen words a minute, messages are flashed backwards and forwards between the operators, sitting on either side of the Channel. Neither fog, rain, mist nor driving storm interrupts the communication. Marconi says that the signals are even better and sharper during rain. Not only is there communication with France, but even more important with the Goodwin Lightship. The operator on board the ship can call up and ring an electric bell at South Foreland by simply touching his key. The Lighthouse is in telephonic communication with the Ramsgate Lifeboat House. An attendant now sleeps by the instrument at South Foreland. If the East Goodwin Lightship, twelve miles off, notices signals of distress from any ship caught in the destroying grip of those terrible sands, one touch on the key suffices to call up the attendant at South Foreland, and a short message notifies the whereabouts of the wreck. The South Foreland telegraphist then telephones down to Ramsgate and dispatches the Life Boat on its rescuing errand. Quite lately the Trinity House Brethren have made a most careful inspection of the system, and were very favorably impressed with its simplicity and certainty. It can only be a matter of time before every lightship and lighthouse will be kept in touch with the coast.

It has been contended that this method of telegraphy has no utility, because each receiver can be disturbed by vagrant ether waves made in the neighborhood. This objection, however, has very little force. Ordinary telegraphic communication with wires could also be upset if mischievous persons cut wires or sent private electric currents into them. Public opinion and a few simple legislative enactments will, however, be sufficient to meet this supposed difficulty.

The creation of a complete independence for each station, and the localization of the wave or determination of its field of action, have not yet been entirely achieved. Where two transmitting stations are at very different distances, it is always possible to differentiate their actions by the use of two receiving rods of different heights at the receiving station. Thus, if at South Foreland two rods were set up, one 150 feet high and one 70 feet high, each with its receiving instrument, the attendant at South Foreland could distinguish signals from France twenty-eight miles away or the Goodwins twelve miles away, as follows: If [illegible] acted, then he would know the signals were

coming from the Goodwins, and he would
rod and cut France out of circuit. If only
longer rod acted he would then know the sig
from France. Signor Marconi has made some
ing reflectors for limiting the direction of the
still a great field open for invention.

Lastly, one or two words must be said as
future of the invention. There is no question t
cation between ships at sea, between lightship
and the shore, and between ships and coast guar
a wide field of utility open to it at once. It wil
place short submarine cables in a few instanc
supplementary to them in case of breakdown.
communication to be cheaply established to i
where the traffic is not great enough to carry
submarine cable, and it will, without doubt, be
form in naval and military operations. It will
tirely telegraphy with wires, because the use c
wire secures a privacy not otherwise to be obt
point of view, the difference between wireles
telegraphy with wires is the same as the differen
card, or open letter, and a sealed one. The c
like the envelope of the letter. It prevents th
information beyond certain limits. The futu
slowly unroll the scope and limitations of this
Its practical uses are indubitable, but it has a w
a scientific standpoint, in that it opens up a vi
speculation as to the possible revelations in sto
ing the powers and potencies of this mysterious

Archæologists speak to us of a stone age, a
iron age in the history of the world; but the
will surely claim the title to be called the
edge grows from more to more" concerning
universal, hidden and yet most subtle,
are the revealing rays of light, and

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only to remove a serious
end to a near-by disturbing
effort to subdue her refractory
mination of her rebellious subjects
less struggle was also apparent. To
desired and attained. But aside from
pose fulfilled, something else was
It is represented by the subtle influence
dered in the minds of the people.
a keener interest in the problems of
problems are not essentially different fron
other nations. They, as well as we, must
becomes members of the family of nations
us, rests the obligation to maintain dom
Upon them, as upon us, falls the burden
revenues with which to carry on the many
In short, all forms of government which
ilized peoples are maintained for practi
only different methods for securing the
In most other countries, the individual
bilities of government not at all, or only
is our boast that with us every individual
ject, and that every citizen, being a part
ment of the Republic, has the attributes o

If it be true that every citizen is a sove
to be so largely in a Pickwickian sense, fo
little among seventy-five millions of peo
sovereign citizens, or the greater part of
gle thought and are moved by the sam
majesty of the Republic is revealed. Its
the united ambitions of its units,
fact that here is an organization
strength as, turned to good, may
but, given over to vicious and evil,
such havoc as the world has

ousness of the responsibility of participation in government, must be counted as of great good.

Not the least of the gains, therefore, which may be said to have come to us from the war with Spain, has been the quickening which its events gave to the public conscience. It is true, to a large extent, that this newly-aroused interest was devoted to things which come under the jurisdiction of the War and Navy Departments. The victories of Manila and Santiago revived patriotism, and the movements of fleets and armies were watched with keen appreciation. Every act, whether by Congress or by the President, that went to reinforce and support the national fame and honor, was approved. Where there was confusion and delay there was criticism. There has been much of fault-finding. Where the liberties and privileges of the citizen are as free as with us, there always will be. It is to be invited, too, not only that defects in our plans and practice may be pointed out and remedied, but because it is an evidence of genuine interest in public affairs. On the other hand, whatever there has been of praise has been nobly earned and generously accorded.

Deep as has been the interest taken in the military and naval operations of the Government, the affairs of the Treasury have by no means been neglected in the public mind. Interest in the Government's finances furnished one of the gratifying features of the war, and the position, prospects and problems of the Treasury are to-day the subject of a keener comprehension as the result of this awakened public sentiment. A continuance of this greater concern in these problems will bring better understanding, with the result that, supported by an intelligent public opinion, we may avoid the dangers which have in former years been a menace to national credit and the prosperity of our country.

The importance of a well-filled Treasury as an element in war, needs scarcely any demonstration. It is the *sine qua non*, especially of modern warfare. Perhaps the Treasury's claim to distinction in this regard has never been better put than in the language of the War Minister of Louis XI. of France, who, in response to a question of that monarch, declared that to prosecute a war successfully, "three things are necessary—money, more money, always money." The first of these three things, the [illegible] of the United States had in comparative abundance at [illegible] of hostilities with Spain; that is, it had, April

21, 1898, no less a sum, available
lions of dollars; and for the
money" and "always money," it had
producing capacity of the richest

Not the least of things which
ury situation at this critical period of war
the available cash balance above
cent., or $180,000,000, was in gold.
above the traditional $100,000,000
the redemption of United States notes,
Government's ability to preserve the
gress could, by the necessary legislation,
the reserves as rapidly as they were
tures of the war.

With the closing month of 1897, the
itself upon the fact that receipts
first monthly surplus under the Dingley
a surplus in February, 1898, notwithstanding
business of the country from the appalling
suffered through the destruction of the "
in Havana, on February 15th. It seemed
recovery had come from the abnormally
the previous spring in anticipation of high
was confidently believed by those most
that the national Treasury was about to pa
eral improvement which the country was
tide of business was bringing in its train
the Treasury, and we looked forward
every month's statement would show
expenditures. The Treasury being
ample funds for immediate use, and
improvement, the war came upon us
was a little momentary unrest, but
in the great money centers of the
there was an abiding faith that
cial institutions would be preserved

What of the prospect [illegible]
for any long period of [illegible]
sion of Congress, when the [illegible]
annual report on the [illegible]
end of the fiscal year, June [illegible]
with a deficit of [illegible]
been augmented to the extent [illegible]
Central Pacific settlement. [illegible]
extraordinary character have [illegible]
ered in the estimates submitted [illegible]
plus payment of [illegible]
Cuban army. It will be proper, [illegible]
either of these items. Putting [illegible]
only so short a time remaining [illegible]
the estimated deficit of $112,000,000 [illegible]
exceeded. Should we escape the [illegible]
that estimate may prove to be too high [illegible]
turn. The accuracy of this estimate [illegible]
dicative of the close attention which [illegible]
is able to devote to the finances, [illegible]
extravagant predictions made in Congress [illegible]
session. It will be recalled that [illegible]
from the practically official announcement [illegible]
of $150,000,000, and this sum was [illegible]
time when the deficit was estimated [illegible]
1899, the Secretary of the Treasury [illegible]
ering the fiscal year to end June 30, [illegible]
000,000 for that year. It seems [illegible]
course, the happening of unlooked [illegible]
ficiency for the next fiscal year will [illegible]
fact, under the influence of revenue [illegible]
those expected, there is a probab[illegible]
000,000 deficit may be too high, [illegible]
that there may be no deficit at [illegible]
there will be no further [illegible]
conditions and the [illegible]
the loan certificates [illegible]
[illegible]

But other occasions, too recent and too trying to be easily forgotten, have shown that these fortunate conditions in and out of the Treasury cannot always be assured to us. Under the system which now obtains, a close intimacy has been evolved between Government finances and general business affairs.

In Great Britain, France, and Germany, the connection between commercial activities and the national budget is slight. Here, every man carrying the responsibilities of large enterprises, whether in commerce or industry, has been taught by sad experience that his best estimates as to future conditions may be at any time nullified by perturbations in the Treasury, caused either by falling revenue, extraordinary expenditures, or currency movements which threaten the "gold reserve." He is thus exposed to double risks. He is always sailing his imperilled craft between the Scylla of commercial hazard and the Charybdis of national finances. Looked at in a large way, the perils and losses arising from the latter exceed those occasioned by the former, although not so readily recognized and traced. Thus it frequently happens that doubts assail and threatened disaster undermines the whole industrial and commercial fabric. The experience of the past is replete with unhappy evidences of this truth. The effect on the Treasury and the business of the country of the Venezuelan boundary controversy, to be referred to later, furnishes a striking example. The possibility of war with a great world Power subjected the Treasury's gold to attack, and put all trade and industry at a stand-still. This is an extreme case, perhaps, and yet only two years before, from causes far less potent, the Treasury tottered on the verge of ruin and the country faced appalling disaster. Above, brief mention has been made of the remarkable success attending our last issue of bonds—those of the war loan of 1898—when the Government opened its books to subscriptions for two hundred millions of dollars, and, being actually at war, received offers from the people aggregating the enormous sum of fourteen hundred millions. Only so late as January, 1894, when we were at peace with all nations, and there was no prospect, near or remote, of war, the Government of the United States went begging almost in vain for financial assistance. During and following the panic of 1893, grave doubts as to our finan- [illegible] had arisen. Apprehension existed, both in this [illegible] abroad, as to our ability to continue, under the exist-

ing currency system, the redemption
and there was a not unreasonable
when we could no longer maintain the
and silver. Withdrawals of gold from
fiscal year which ended June 30, 1893,
Throughout the following year the Tre
tinued to be depleted mainly by the pres
demption. By January 31, 1894, the go
$65,650,000, and the available cash in
$84,082,000.

The situation was desperate. A cons
of gold foreboded descent to a silver b
the Government asked the people to s
Indeed few there were who felt called u
certain loss by subscribing to the loan o
of the series under the administration
utilized to support and maintain the
loan was to close February 1, 1894. A
it seemed almost inevitable that the eff
My predecessor, in an official report, said
the call it was feared that the effort woul
to extraordinary exertions made during t
preceding the time when the bids were
tions for the whole amount were secure
exertions referred to deserve to be chroni
deeds which enrich this country's histor
offered to the public at an upset figure of
they were equivalent to a three per cent.
acceptable they were to the public is sho
cept for the action of the patriotic banks
took of them only $9,295,300. When it
York that the loan was likely to fail, Mr.
dent of the United States Trust Comp
the bankers of that city and aroused th
try's peril. As an actual witness
mony to the fact that there was
scribe, owing to the grave

It is important to keep these facts ... mind. They have directly to do with the ... ering. While it would now appear that, in ... paying them out for public uses (Government ... ing them again in coin on presentation, or ... ment for moneys due to itself, the Treasury is ... ticulars what a "great bank" would or might d... closely, however, it will be easily seen that even ... contrast are more marked than are the points ...

When the bank issues its note, it is against ... of some form of value which will remain in t... while the note is outstanding, and which can be ... the note's redemption. When the Government ... is in payment for goods or services already ... sumed. These goods and services, having been ... public service, do not and cannot remain as ... available for the redemption of the issued note. ... its notes for the accommodation of, or to meet ... business public. The Government issues its no... without regard to the needs of the business pul... crease in bank issues the bank increases *pari p...* Its power to redeem its obligations remains, th... the same. With an increased issue of Governme... in conformity with the principle underlying th... ing, no addition whatever is made to the Tre... With every increased issue, therefore, its pow... comes relatively less. There is a resemblance ... note and the Government note—both are prom... are used as agents of exchange between the b... and here the resemblance ends. But there is ... quality imparted by law to the Government ... tender for all private debts. Being a legal ten... the business community becomes of the ... of the very highest importance. As efficient ... reserves and in payment of debt, it must ... as gold, through prompt redemption in ... whole credit structure, public and private ...

With confidence undoubted in the ... Government to maintain such ...

operates in the field of industry and commerce with a sense of security. Disturb the confidence in any manner, raise doubt either as to the purpose or power of the Government in the direction in question, and the whole credit structure is shaken to the center. We have illustrations of this truth, not far removed as to time. Their record can be found in the financial history of 1893 and between the months of July and November, 1896. Another can be brought forward—more likely to be repeated in essential form and substance than are the other two. I refer to the effect of President Cleveland's Venezuelan message of December 17, 1895. The business interests of the country had for some months previous thereto given evidences of a partial recovery from the debilitating effects of the panic of 1893. Capital was again seeking investment. Industry was reviving. Labor was coming into larger and more remunerative employment. The message referred to brought the country face to face with the possibilities of a great war. A war, either great or small, was a responsibility that the national Treasury was not then at all prepared to meet. The gold in the Treasury was twenty-five millions below the one hundred millions which was supposed to stand as a reserve for the outstanding legal-tender notes. The total available cash in the Treasury, including the gold reserve, was only one hundred and seventy-five millions, and seventy-two millions of this consisted of the government's own notes; while it had outstanding liabilities payable on demand of more than four hundred millions.

There has never been any doubt since the close of the civil war as to the ability of the nation to raise all needful revenue, either for conditions of peace or war. The power to obtain revenue is the basis of national credit, for it is from revenue alone that interest and principal can finally be paid. The money of the world is open to the credit of the United States of America, and justly so, since, even if our present interest-bearing debt were a thousand millions greater than now, the increased interest charge could be met at a cost of less than forty cents *per capita* per annum. The debt of the United States, June 30, 1880, less cash in the Treasury, was $1,922,517,364. On June 30, 1890, it had been reduced to $891,960,104. To use the language of the Census report, this represented "a decrease of $1,030,557,260, or more than $100,000,000 per annum; a reduction of debt through vol- [illegible] unprecedented in the history of the world."

Nevertheless, the gravity of the [illegible]
brought on a recurrence of the evils [illegible]
1893. Why was this so? It was so because [illegible]
of the public Treasury in relation to its [illegible]
fear was felt, genuine and wide-spread, that [illegible]
payment would be suspended at the Treasury.
of gold payments by the Treasury is a much mo
ter and of deeper general concern than a suspe
ments by the banks. In the first place, with
legal-tender notes outstanding, a suspension [illegible]
government involves, as a consequence, a suspe
ment by the banks. Compelled by law to re
notes in payment of debts due them, they are
to force a similar payment upon their creditors.
the banks is equally true of all members of t
their relations one to another as debtor and cr
suspension of coin payment becomes general, gol
mium, being qualified not only to pay debts but
goods, upon better terms as to price, in the wo
are the defaulted notes of the government or th

Again, there is no power anywhere lodged
the Government to resume payments once sus
not even the penalty of interest to induce effor
action is likely to be more largely influenced
economic considerations.

In the absence of legal-tender paper mone
specie payments by the banks does not carry wi
consequences. Such a suspension cannot take
dure, unless sanctioned by law. Over the [illegible]
of the law, and its processes can be invoked [illegible]
creditor to compel payment in lawful money [illegible]
suspension, if general, seriously hurt the [illegible]
fact, under the admirable system which [illegible]
neighbor on the north, the notes of a [illegible]
worth more than those of a solvent one. [illegible]
fails, its notes go to a premium because [illegible]
they begin to draw interest, while [illegible]

ISRAEL AMONG THE N

BY MAX NORDAU.

I.

If the eyes be not purposely closed to f
nied that, at the close of the nineteenth cent
land of the civilized world a "problem of th
tion which presents itself in various phases.
most brutal form is Anti-Semitism. It is a
proper one —to say that this statement is
times." Such has the noble Emperor Fre
But the philosopher cannot rest content wi
trace the psychological roots of Anti-Semitis

The enemies of the Jew have one staten
ness: "The Jews are hated because of their
this statement will not bear criticism. It v
self-deception, among those who hate insti
then seek for plausible and rational grounds
the sentiment to their own conscience.

The effort to find apparently reasonable g
emotions, whose real origin remains obscure
a very common psychological phenomenon.
and illustrates it by the proverb: "If a dog
called mad." The Jews are not hated
qualities: evil qualities are sought for in
hated. Statistics, handled, not by Jew
demonstrate facts in all countries
countries where the Jew is under

and it would be reduced almost to the vanishing point if it were possible to exclude professional misdemeanor, such as fraudulent bankruptcy and deception, in which they are concerned—since they are predominantly tradesmen—to a larger extent than their percentage to the population would indicate, but to a less extent than their percentage to the trading classes. The worst and most despicable crimes, murder, manslaughter, violation of the sexual code, robbery and burglary are scarcely ever committed by Jews. They have a smaller death rate, a larger number of marriages and a smaller number of divorces than the average. They have a larger representation in High Schools and Normal Schools, where their entrance to such institutions is not restricted (in Russia and Roumania it is restricted, as is known), than corresponds to their relative numerical proportion in a nation, or even in a metropolis. Where is the justification of belief in the existence of evil qualities in a group of inhabitants, who obey more strictly the laws of the state, of hygiene, of morals, and who show a more pronounced desire for higher culture, than the average of the people among whom that group has been formed? Or do "evil qualities" refer to the love of ostentation, with which the wealthy Jew is frequently upbraided? Let it be assumed—though I do not admit—that the Jewish *parvenu* is more importunate and offensive than those of other races; that would be an indication of a lack of culture, of good taste and discretion, such as might possibly justify rejection by an exclusive club, but could never justify the deprivation of essential human and civic rights, vituperation and cruel persecution.

An argument frequently used by the opponents of the Jew is, that Anti-Semitism is as old as the Jewish nation; that, therefore, the Jews themselves must be responsible for a feeling which they have aroused at all times and in all lands. It is, indeed, true that hatred of the Jew has been his constant and tragic companion during the entire continuance of the Diaspora. But the fact proves nothing against the Jew, since every people, in every epoch, has produced a different reason, or rather pretext, for its Anti-Semitism. The old Roman accused the Jews of worshipping an idol with the head of an ass; they were said to be anarchists, enemies of the state and of the race. The Syrians and Hellenists [illegible] because they would not worship the gods of Olympus; [illegible], in the Alexandrian period, they spoke Greek

with dialectic deviations, ... ear. In early mediaeval times, Jews ... of God, upon whom rested a hereditary ... persecuted as infidels, as obdurate ... as poisoners of wells. It was said that ... infants, to use their blood for ritualistic ... the Host, and pierced the consecrated wa... it. Not only their religion, but their ... disgusting physical propensity (foetor ... them. To-day they are accused of ... the people, of feeding on the fat of ... traying the nations that give them hospit...

Since the accusations against the Je... they cannot be ascribed to definite evil ... but the hatred remains. Strange, that ... the Jew is also laid against other minori... secuted by majorities. Slaughter of c... ritual was an accusation brought by the ... Christians, and by the Chinese of to-day ... Europeans in general. All arguments ... Anti-Semitism are to be heard from th... Frenchmen in reference to German labor... tries, and even from those of certain "C... to the "foreign clerk." In this we find ... the truth of the matter.

It is one of the original characteristic... as inimical all that differs from him in es... is enough that some one differs from us; ... agreeable to us, for he disturbs our orga... us to new efforts of adaptation, which ... trying. If those who differ from us ... we feel under no compulsion to suppress ... screen it; and absence of restraint ... the generically human found...

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In order to suffer hatred and [illegible]
to attain to normal conditions of [illegible]
being a minority, or they must [illegible]
alternative includes the two [illegible]
Jews themselves are striving.

On the one hand, there are those [illegible]
constitute the popular majority in [illegible]
and religious reasons they wish to make [illegible]
fathers, that place. These are the [illegible]
again peopled by Jews; if they could hold [illegible]
and for themselves (and the present [illegible]
ates 600,000 inhabitants, this number [illegible]
while there are more than 6,000,000 Jews in [illegible]
instantly return to Palestine if that were [illegible]
would they suffer no more from Anti-Semit[illegible]
velop there and enjoy life, as do other nati[illegible]
who do not return to Palestine would have [illegible]
if they felt the sting of Anti-Semitism in [illegible]
journing; for they would have chosen [illegible]
could avoid painful situations by joining th[illegible]
their own race.

Other Jews prefer the second solution, [illegible]
sire to become a distinctive nation on their [illegible]
fer to remain a small minority among [illegible]
indistinguishable minority. They are the [illegible]
consider the salvation of the Jew [illegible]
ance among the nations. But few of [illegible]
thoroughly, nor have they the moral [illegible]
to its logical conclusion. He who wishes [illegible]
lated cannot stop half-way. He must [illegible]
hold between himself and the popular [illegible]
among these is religion. He must be [illegible]
Christian denominations. He [illegible]
thought of racial inter-marriage, and [illegible]
of the people by marriage outside of [illegible]
indeed, cherish the hope that, [illegible]
Jewish origin will have been [illegible]
will no longer suffer persecution [illegible]

Nothing is gained by half-way concessions; by celebrating the Sabbath on the Christian Sunday; by excluding the Hebrew language from the Synagogue. By this means an imperfect minority is attained, which fails to make the Jew indistinguishable, but succeeds in making him grotesque. Incomplete assimilation does not change the psychological origin of Anti-Semitism, the antipathy of every majority toward any minority, dwelling in its midst, differentiated and readily recognizable.

II.

The contributions of the Jew to science and art have been repeatedly enumerated, most recently by M. Leroy-Beaulieu ("*Israel parmi les Nations*". His contributions to the political life of civilized nations have scarcely been recognized. Here and there, possibly, reference is made to him in this connection, but it is always tinged by hatred of the Jew. The German Anti-Semitist, Paul Delagarde ("*Deutsche Schriften*") detected in the franchise of the Jewish voter, even, a dread danger to the organic evolution of German politics. Eduard von Hartmann, author of the "*Philosophie des Unbewussten*," a work whose brilliant rhetoric secured for it an undeserved renown, maintained ("*Des Judenthum in Gegenwart und Zukunft*") that all Jews, without exception, belong to the Liberal party, and he concluded from this, that Jews take part in politics, not in the interest of their native land, but exclusively in the interest of their race, which could, of course, look for more powerful support to irreligious and non-historic Liberalism, than to Christian, patriotic Conversatism, rooted in the past history of the nation.

I will not stop to consider the absurdity of the objection, that all Jews are Liberal. It would be equivalent to the reproach, "All Jews strive to secure school-education," or "All Jews avoid drunkenness." But the statement of Eduard von Hartmann is actually false. It is a matter of regret that the Jews do not deserve his reproach, which would in reality be the greatest compliment that could be paid them. The majority of wealthy Jews are not Liberal, but Conservative, and partly even reactionary; and Eduard von Hartmann knows full well that the two baptized Jews, Leo and Stahl, furnished the ultra-Conservative feudal [illegible] of Prussia all the historical, philosophical and political [illegible] and arguments upon which that party has lived for the

past half century, and upon which it lives
way, it was the baptised Jew, Disraeli, w
gramme of the Tories in England, and secur
tive party a new lease of life.

The truth is, that the Jews—with a si
I will presently consider—are nowhere acti
In no country where the Jews enjoy political
ish vote, in the sense in which the United St
an Irish vote. The Jews who exercise their
long entirely to the second category, of w
above, that is, to those who do not wish to b
tinctive group of the population. They the
everything that might call attention to thei
not organize; they create no Jewish election
to gain no control in campaigns. More than
election is actually in their own hands, they
Christian, and only occasionally do they se
way, to obtain the concession from the party
that a Jewish candidate be nominated in a
The East End of London is the only examp
where a Jewish majority has the courage t
House of Commons in a systematic fashion
pens, on the Continent, that Jews vote op
Anti-Semitists.

By this cowardice they propose to s
ly they have laid aside Judaism, and
non-Jewish they feel. For, beyond the
tism, a Jew cannot well carry his effort
anti-Jewish people. During the general
in 1898, many Jews voted for the
tionalists and Anti-Semitists, and the J
himself to be elected a delegate on a platfo
express provision, that a revision of the
opposed. In Berlin the Jews could
cincts, if they would organize; but they
a Jewish candidate. The Socialists, wh
tists, did indeed elect the Jew Singer,

environment, and can be held up as an ex
the Continental cowards, who grow pale at
Judaism might be noticed. Of course, tl
could be obtained by the Anglo-Jewish A
secuted Jews have been limited. They cou
ists by means of the influence of the Brit
smallest and weakest countries only, and th
able discretion, any solicitation for the aid
in cases where an intervention on the p
bring that country into conflict with a po
the Jews of Russia, Roumania, Galicia and
of solidarity on the part of the brave Ang
Parliament could do nothing; and even fo
Morocco it could do little. But the cultura
though practically without result, is in no

In Continental parliaments, during the
has never—I say, never—seen Jewish dele
for the Jews of their own country, much le
countries. And yet, there have nowhere
debates on Jewish matters, in which Jewish
have rightly and properly spoken a word
German Reichstag and in the Prussian L
Rickert, Haehnel, Traeger, Barth, occasio
Pachnicke, and even Dr. Lieber, have oppo
but the lips of the Jews and of the baptized
In the debates of the French Chamber on
names of the Jews, Baynal, Naquet, Klotz
in evidence. There is no lack of Jews in
ment. They were silent when the Chambe
re-echoed with monstrous charges connected
istic murder in Tisza-Eszlar. The sam
in Vienna, where never a word is heard fro
when Jews in Galicia and Bohemia are robl
dered, and when their colleagues Lueger,
others utter such statements as these:
ings, they are cattle," "Government
every Jew shot," "Jews are beyond
and honor."

to play the first violin, and frequently with success. Such a thing as an utterly obscure parliamentarian does not exist, possibly because considerable genius is requisite on their part to obtain a seat in Parliament despite their Judaism. At any rate, it is a fact that, whenever their scientific assimilatory cowardice does not impair their powers, Jews develop no inconsiderable skill. They are skillful and powerful orators in countries like Germany, where oratory is not a munificently scattered talent. They have a sense of duty and a gift of exactness. They are hard workers, even in a human environment wherein, as among certain Latin races, superficiality displaces thoroughness. They are dexterous lobbyists, and usually of a conciliatory, well-meaning nature, ready to serve as intermediators, where interests clash. They always attract attention; quite frequently they are recognized authorities; in some cases they occupy influential positions as leaders.

Let me call attention briefly to the career of a few well-known Jewish politicians. If I cite no American illustrations, it is because they are more familiar to my readers than they are to me. Yet I may be permitted to mention Mr. Straus, who occupies a prominent position among American diplomats, and whom the confidence of the President and Senate of the United States has entrusted with one of the most difficult diplomatic offices in the world, that of minister (and possibly, at an early date, of ambassador) to Constantinople, where he has already achieved several brilliant successes for his country.

Of Disraeli everything has been said that can be said. I wish merely to add that the lustre of his name is constantly growing. The voices which have stigmatized him as adventurer and charlatan have been silenced. Sober criticism recognizes that what has been called his "Oriental imagination" was actually an almost prophetic depth of penetration, and that he foresaw the development of the colonial policy of all the Powers twenty years in advance of his most sharp-sighted contemporaries. Baron Henry Worms received his peerage for services rendered his party and his country. Lord Herschell will be immortalized in the history of the Liberal party of England. Sir Drummond Wolff has the preference of election when England is called upon to solve [illegible] peculiarly difficult diplomatic problem. Sir Julian Vo-[illegible] ex-Premier of New Zealand, brought a deteriorated, im-[illegible] colony from the verge of bankruptcy to cultural and

in politics. Their psychologic
ling of realism and idealism, not
They possess an acute sense of realisation,
swift orientation in a problem, and suggest
But, at the same time, they are gifted with an
idealism, an instinctive longing for higher
progress, for moral advancement, an
active participation in the eternal evolvement
makes it impossible for them to sink away
ambition, election intrigues, clamor for office
tion of the people. Even the most thorough
who has broken away from all the traditions
shares an absolute disgust of all things Je
cherishes a sacred remnant of the enthusiasm
justice and brotherhood; of their admiration
savors of mentality; of their hatred of self-seel

To one sentiment must I here give voice,
a paradox to many, because it departs from tra
But it is an opinion based upon unprejudic
facts, both past and present. The Jew is com
an unusual faculty for trade. I think this is
tion. His natural talents tend to politics. Wh
act in public affairs, he readily advances to th
liamentarians, statesmen and diplomats; and
rives its largest advantages from such fruitf
gifts. Trade to him is merely a "*pis aller.*"
day still carry on trade, and in some countries
entirely in Jewish hands. But it is known th
to this vocation, in the first place, not from in
bitter necessity, simply because it was the
them by their cruel oppressors in the Midd
great countries it is the only one left open

So long as they lived as an indep
land, they were farmers, shepherds,
example of their nearest neighbors,
the slightest influence upon them.
envied not their sea-faring neigh
quired. No act of Jesus Christ
the wrath with which he
After their dispersion

original instincts and adopt a nature foreign to them. They were told to "barter or starve," and of course they preferred trade to starvation. Their faculty of adaptation stood them in good stead in this, and assured them success in a vocation unwillingly assumed. But they are not heart and soul immersed in trade. Two facts demonstrate this. First: The sons of Jewish merchants, who have grown wealthy, have but one ambition, to forsake the vocation of their fathers, and to choose a different career, for the most part, one much more difficult, requiring greater exertion and self-denial and making smaller material returns. Secondly: During the fifteen centuries wherein they have devoted themselves exclusively to trade, they have not produced a single new and fruitful commercial idea, and no one great item of material progress is coupled with a Jewish name.

The draft and the check were the discovery of the mediæval Lombards and Genoese. Double-entry book-keeping is a thought emanating from and developed by Italian Christians. Insurance associations originated in England. Neither Gresham nor the Lloyds were Jews. Englishmen and Frenchmen devised stock companies, and the first use and the first abuse of these enterprises was fostered by Christians. I believe that not a single Jewish name will be found in the first lists of the Dutch East India Company, of the Hudson's Bay Company, of the East India Company, or among the schemes of Law. The first steamship lines, the first railways were planned and built by Christians. The Christian, Cyrus Field, laid the first ocean cable. To-day we stand before a new gigantic industrial revolution, which sets large masses of capital in motion—the introduction of electricity as a source of power. The originators of this movement are the Christians, Siemens and Halske. Mr. Cecil Rhodes is no Jew, and, so far as I know, no Jew takes any important part in the Niger and Borneo Company. The great American railways have been built by the Christians Vanderbilt, Villard and others. The creators of the modern giant, the department-store, Boucicault, Jaluzot, Wanamaker, Hertzog, are not Jews. Neither is Mr. Rockefeller a Jew. I do not know how many Jews are included among the celebrated "Four Hundred" of New York—doubtless a disappearingly small number. Seek for Jews in legitimate and in piratical corporate [illegible], in the great Steamship lines, in the Trusts, in the [illegible] commercial ventures of London, Hamburg and

Marseilles, and in the Charter Company
mostly in the second and third ranks,
Pereire of the *Compagnie Générale Trans*
lien, of the Hamburg-American Steamship Com
knowledge, the only Jews at the head of
If by commerce we mean anything beyond
loaf in a store; if we mean by it the
duced by labor, and its employment in the
dustrial conceptions, in the opening out of
application of mechanism to the world's
it will be recognized that the Jews always follow
lead. With possibly the exception of the
mine district and the petroleum lands of
the first in the field. Even the Rothschilds
thought when they built the *Chemin de Fer du*
the Ferdinand-Northern railway in Austria.
Baron de Hirsch, the originator of Oriental
unfortunate Strousberg, who planned the
All this is imitation; there is no bold initiative
lack of originality certainly does not bespeak
in a people whose occupation, handed down
son, is trade. Had they the native commercial
with prejudice credits them, and did not trade
ize the inmost genius of the race, it would surely
fifteen hundred years, have produced some few
inators and creators, such as it has produced in
poetry, art, philosophy and science.

III.

It is impossible to treat a vast and intricate
as the Jewish problem, exhaustively in a
sired to elucidate only a few of the many
and I draw the following conclusions from
Even well-meaning Christian observers
point only, that the Jews serve the
in a commercial capacity solely.
tion of their nature. It is just
best spared and most easily
people of the Occident

JEFFERSONIAN

BY WILLIAM J.

THE admirers of Thomas Jeffers
at the growing interest felt in the p
During the early days of the Repu
represented two opposite schools of
believed in the doctrines set forth in
ence; that all men are created equa
their Creator with certain unalienabl
rights, governments are instituted a
ments derive their just powers from
He believed that the people could be
not that they would govern themse
would govern themselves better tha
govern them. His faith in popular
pressed in a letter to John Tyler: '
mass of the citizens is the safest de
and especially that the evils flowing
ple are less injurious than those fro
I am a friend of that composition of
the most of this ingredient."

The closing days of Jefferson's
contemplation of the progress alread
confidence in the future of the nat
found. Ten days before his death,
gret that illness prevented his partic
the fiftieth anniversary of the signin

favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others. For ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them."

Hamilton, on the other hand, doubted the capacity of the people for self government, and his distrust of the masses lured him to the fatal field where he died at the hand of Aaron Burr. In a statement giving his objections to duelling and his reason for accepting the challenge, he said: "The ability to be in the future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good in the crises of our public affairs which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudices in this particular."

Senator Lodge discusses this question in his life of Hamilton, and says: "Hamilton believed the Constitution to be unequal to the burden imposed upon it. And he considered the government too weak. At any moment, as it seemed to him, there might be a general upheaval, and that then the elements which had desolated France and swept over Europe, might here engage in a conflict for supremacy." Mr. Lodge adds: "He was utterly at fault in supposing that there was in the United States the same elements and the same forces as in France. Both race and history made their existence impossible. The representative democracy developing in America was more hostile to the anarchy of the French Revolution than the strongest and most energetic government which the wit of man could devise. Hamilton's mistake was neither unnatural nor uncommon; but, joined with his just belief of the duty which would devolve upon him in such a crisis as he anticipated, it made it imperative for him to accept the challenge of Burr."

When the Republican party was organized, it did not conjure with the name of Hamilton, but in its platform of 1856 appealed to those who were in favor of "restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson."

Lincoln paid a high tribute to Jefferson in 1859. I quote from a letter of that date: "All honor to Jefferson; to a man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence [illegible] people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to in- [illegible] a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth,

applicable to all men and all
today and in all coming days,
block to the harbingers of

During recent years organized
the lethargy of the people, and "the effort
equal footing with, if not above, labor in th
ment" (as predicted by Lincoln) is becomin
parent. The poison in the blood has ma
one form and then in another, until at last
ing to a realization of the fact that the
from the ideals of the founders, and, with
the appeal to all who are in favor of restori
ment to the principles of the fathers.

The ship of state may be intrusted to ot
weather; but, in the hours of storm, the peop
Monticello, the greatest of the world's const

Born an aristocrat, he became the first c
reared among the owners of landed estate
crusade against the laws of primogeniture a
time in which he lived, he championed the
people.

He had faith in the patriotism of his fe
was conscious of the frailties of human natu
government was intended to strengthen the
sist temptation, while it protected the peo
of the trust reposed in their representatives.

"Equal rights to all and special privile
rule which he applied to all legislation.
the rule l

Applied to appropriations, it would
needs of an efficient government, econom
it would protect the overburdened tax
tax eater.

Applied to taxation, it would
ment in proportion to the benefits
the federal government to rely
taxes, collected from liquor and
collected upon consumption

ropean mints at fifteen and a half to one, a premium; but until some strong nation such a ratio, we can maintain the parity
The rule above referred to would tended to nullify the legal tender laws of tively few can avail themselves of the tracts, and when a few protect themselves tions in one kind of money, they add to borne by those who are not in a position Gold contracts create a new demand for g the parity which the government attemp liever in the Jeffersonian doctrine of "e can defend the special contract, which no individuals above the law, but tends to of the law.

The rule would compel the government option in the redemption of coin obligati the protection of the public against the who would deplete the treasury, for the sue of bonds or in order to discredit debtor's option is necessary to the mai standard. If creditors had the right to ment, the demand would fall exclusively and thus increase its price. When the d demand falls upon the cheaper metal, sufficient, raises the price of that metal

The Jeffersonian rule would prohibit tional banks of issue, because a bank of potent and dangerous control over the joys a privilege denied to others. It was by banks that led Jefferson to declare dangerous than standing armies. coat of many colors, indicative of to the most casual ovserver. One the indorsement of the House retirement of the greenbacks;

bank, which is now permitted to issue notes up to ninety per cent. of the face of the bonds deposited, is to be authorized to issue up to par, while the tax of one per cent. upon the circulation is to be reduced to a small fraction of one per cent. The people at large, who enjoy no special advantages, find their taxes increasing; while the banks, which are enjoying special privileges, find their taxes decreasing. If a laborer, a farmer, a merchant or a professional man, saves enough money to buy a government bond, he loses the use of the money invested in the bond and must content himself with the interest paid upon the bond; but a national bank will, under the proposed law, be able to invest its capital in bonds and then, by depositing the bonds, secure bank notes to the par value of the bonds, thus securing a return of its investment while it continues to draw interest upon the bonds. The ordinary individual can eat his cake or keep it; the national bank can both eat its cake and keep it.

According to Jefferson's philosophy, the government must not only avoid injustice in its dealings with the people, but it must prevent injustice as between man and man. The citizen has an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and it is the duty of the government to make this right secure, in fact this is declared to be the very object of government.

Jeffersonian principles, applied to present industrial conditions, would annihilate the trusts. A monopoly which controls the product of a necessary of life has society at its mercy. To authorize, or permit, the establishment of such a monopoly is equivalent to surrendering the taxing power to private individuals, to be used for personal gain.

That those who are industrially weak should be protected from injury at the hands of those who are industrially strong, is as imperatively necessary as that the physically weak should be protected from the physically strong. Since all corporate privileges are bestowed by law they can be withdrawn by law; the power of the government is, therefore, sufficient to compel the corporation to remember its creator, not only in the days of its youth, but throughout its entire existence.

[illegible] of contract is impossible except between those who [illegible] practically the same level. Where one party is weak [illegible], and the other strong and aggressive, freedom of [illegible] into freedom to coerce. The demand

for arbitration of disputes between
the disparity between the large
ployee, and this demand is consistent with
trine that governments are instituted
his inherent and inalienable rights.

Jefferson was a firm believer in trial by jury
ten in 1789, he defends the jury system,
protection against the possible bias of the
I called upon to decide, whether the people
in the legislative or judiciary department, I wou
leave them out of the legislative. The execution
important than the making of them.
the people in all three departments, where
ernment by injunction, which is a poorly dis
deny a jury trial to those accused of crime, is
principles taught by Jefferson.

In view of the recent demand for a large in
manent army, it may not be out of place to refe
sition on this subject. In his first inaugural
among the things advocated by him, "a well
our best reliance in peace and for the first
regulars may relieve them," and "the supremacy
the military authority." In his first message t
cember, 1801, he emphasized his partiality for
in preference to a large regular army, and in r
tion's defence said: "Nor is it conceived
standing army should be kept up in time
pose." He recognized the menace of a
ment, and believed that a republic should
its citizen soldiery.

I shall not attempt to apply the
the questions now under discussion.
said to show how fundamental those
acter.

But, in considering the policy
States in dealing with the Filipinos
so new to our people that we
past for wisdom and admonition

the mother country, let him ... laration of Independence. In ... Ill., August 12, 1858, he said:

"They (the Fathers of the Republic) ... children and their children's children, ... should inhabit the earth in other ages. ... they knew the tendency of prosperity ... established these great self-evident truths ... future, some man, some faction, some int... trine that none but rich men, none but ... Saxon white men, were entitled to life, lib... piness, their posterity might look up agai... pendence, and take courage to renew th... began, so that truth and justice and ... Christian virtues, might not be extinguis... man would hereafter dare to limit and ... upon which the temple of liberty was bein...

I cannot refrain from adding Linc...

"Now, my countrymen, if you have b... ing with the great landmarks of the De... you have listened to suggestions which ... grandeur and mutilate the fair symmet... have been inclined to believe that all men ... inalienable rights enumerated by our ch... you to come back. Return to the founta... by the blood of the Revolution. Think no... of the political fate of any man whoms... truths that are in the Declaration of Inde... thing with me you choose, if you will but ...

Jefferson was a student both of his ... he knew the strength of race attachmen... he was profoundly impressed with the ... even in the United States. If we coul... right, can we ignore the certain compl... from an attempt to make subjects of th... authority of a relatively small number ...

The renaissance of Jeffersonian pri...

THE IMBROGLIO IN SAMOA.

BY HENRY C. IDE, FORMERLY CHIEF JUSTICE OF SAMOA.

THREE times has Mataafa been anointed King of Samoa, only to have the cup of happiness dashed from his lips after his coronation. In one way or another, nearly all the political disturbances which have occurred in the island kingdom for the past fifteen years, have had Mataafa as their central figure. As South Sea islanders go, he is worthy of having been the principal factor in these stirring events. His admirer and defender, Robert Louis Stevenson, thus describes him:

"He is a tall and powerful person, sixty years of age, white haired and with white moustache; his eyes bright and quiet, his jaw perceptibly underhung, which gives him something of the impression of a benevolent mastiff, his manners dignified and a thought insinuating, with an air of a Catholic prelate. Long since he made a vow of chastity, 'to live as our Lord lived on this earth,' and Polynesians report with bated breath that he has kept it. He was the idol of the whole nation, except a fragment of opponents. Speaking for myself, I have visited and dwelt in almost every seat of the Polynesian race, and have met but one man who gave me a stronger impression of character and parts."

Nearly every American who has passed any time in Samoa since Mataafa became a factor in its politics, has entertained a great admiration for his personal qualities, and however much his action is to be deprecated in the controversies that have arisen, the personal sympathies of those who have known him have nearly all been in his favor. There would have been a strong feeling of satisfaction, if his right to the kingship could have been established by the recent decision of the Chief Justice.

In 1886, Malietoa Laupepa was king of Samoa. The Germans, bent upon securing the exclusive control of the islands, made demands upon Malietoa which were not, and could not be,

fulfilled, and caused the High Chief, Tamases
King. Malietoa fled to the bush, but was foll
that, if he did not give himself up within a fe
rows must befall his country. Therefore he
the recesses of the mountain, bequeathed
native land to his kinsman, Mataafa, and pu
farewell to his country, and to the different pro

"To all Samoa: On account of my great love to
great affection to all Samoa, this is the reason t
body to the German Government. That Governm
wish to me. The reason of this is because I do
blood of Samoa shall be spilled for me again, but
is my offence which has caused their anger to me
Tuamasaga, farewell! Manono and family, fare
Ialai, Tutuila, Aana and Atua, farewell! If we d
another in this world, pray that we may be again

He went from his weeping people to the
which lay in the harbor, and was borne aw
South Africa, to the German Cameroons, to G
through the Red Sea, still on to Jaluit, one of t
the German Marshall Islands, lying under the
was destined to pass the years of his lonely exile

Around Mataafa rallied all the native elem
posed to the Germans and to their puppet King
Americans and English, resident in Samoa, joi
of Mataafa. Civil war raged. Arms, ammu
sympathy were provided for Mataafa by the E
cans, while Tamasese received similar support f
In December, 1888, at Fagalii, three or four mi
battle was fought between the Mataafa-natives
sailors, who had been landed to protect Germa
fortify the waning cause of Tamasese. The
bravely, but in the dark and among cocoanut
in killed and wounded. The heads of several G
taken by the natives, and this fact ultimately
first kingship. But the cause of Tamasese wa
surrection, and he himself retired into oblivion

Thus was Mataafa King of Samoa from 1
He succeeded to the honors and title of Mali
the military disaster at Fagalii and the belat
fectual, remonstrance of England and the Unit

ly punished, and that he
upon his solemn pledge
the government, and in all

When Mataafa arrived in
gathered to his fathers, and the
provided for the long-sought
cording to the laws and customs,
didacy of Mataafa was inevitable,
whole Catholic party to support him,
following of those who admired him
Germans in 1886-7, and for his chi
had stood beside him when he had twice
who pitied him on account of his lon
Samoan custom, therefore, he was again
ed as such in November last. Meanwhi
appeared—Tamasese, the son of the
King, and Malietoa Tanus, the son of th
a boy of 16 or 17 years of age, still under
don Missionary School. Tamasese withd
of Malietoa Tanus, with the understandin
position of influence in the Governmen
chosen King by his supporters, and claim
elected. Thereupon, the decision fell to
terms of the Treaty. In the meantime,
mote districts began to gather in force
situation became threatening in the ex
ent that the followers of Mataafa,
Apia, were far more numerous and bett
of his adversary. On the 31st day of D
tice announced his decision that Mataaf
kingship, and that, therefore, Malietoa

Before another day had elapsed,
by force of arms. Malietoa Tanus
house and, later, upon a British
and his followers were scattered,
and the whole government in
was King again, this time

Chief Justice, living a mile back from town, the whole neighborhood being occupied by natives who regarded his decision as an injustice, and who had overthrown it by violence and bloodshed. He retired to the British warship, "Porpoise"; and the British and American Consuls, apparently terrified by the exciting course of events, thereupon met with the German Consul and recognized a Provisional Government, consisting of Mataafa and a Council of thirteen of his chiefs, with Dr. Raffel, the German President of the Municipality of Apia, as chief executive officer. Herein a great mistake was made. There is no provision in the Treaty for a Provisional Government. The Consuls had no authority to recognize it or to take any action with reference to it, and they played directly into the hands of Mataafa and the Germans by so doing.

The Germans were not slow to seize their advantage. The Provisional Government declared the office of Chief Justice vacant. The Treaty provides that, in the case of a vacancy, the President of the Municipal Council shall perform the duties of Chief Justice, and Dr. Raffel was instantly installed as acting Chief Justice. This was a manifest violation of the Treaty. The Chief Justice could only be removed by the concurrence of at least two of the powers, whereas, none of them had concurred. By this time, the English and American Consuls had apparently rallied sufficiently from their dazed condition to protest against this revolutionary proceeding on the part of the Germans, and proceeded, with a body of marines from the "Porpoise", to reinstate the Chief Justice, a course of conduct which was ultimately approved by the three powers, the German Government having repudiated the summary act of its officials in attempting to set aside the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the Chief Justice became involved in a series of proceedings against German subjects and officials for contempt of court, in which difficult questions of jurisdiction and international law were involved, and which resulted in intensifying, if possible, the already extremely bitter feelings prevailing. But the Provisional Government, with Mataafa as King, still held sway.

Early in March, the American warship, "Philadelphia", appeared upon the scene. Rear Admiral Kautz, in command, assembled a conference of the Consuls and naval officers of the [illegible], and thereafter issued a manifesto, declaring the

Provisional Government in
manding its members to
violence if they failed to do so,
anointed King. The German C
sented to these proceedings,
ing that the Provisional Govern
action of all the Consuls, and urging
steadfast. Thus fortified, the Provisi
its guns, literally. It refused to
accordingly, aided by the English ship,
proceeded to carry his threat into
of the town and its environs, and the
brought back the deported Malietoa
ized their faction of natives, so that
Meanwhile, the experiment which the G
of landing sailors to fight in the midst of
against the nimble natives, was repeated
with the same results. American and En
were slain and compelled to retreat, and
headed. Since that time, the fighting h
the only result being that a gentle, pictur
are engaged, under the auspices of these
minating one another.

In this connection, perhaps, a word sh
Samoan custom of taking heads. It is jus
and is forbidden by Samoan law; yet,
of cruelty, but solely to secure a trophy
well versed in Scripture, and justify this
Word. They will say: "Is it not so that
liath, he cut off his head and carried it
have been recently denounced as "savag
certain sense. They are tattooed, wear
enough for the climate, their land
communistic and patriarchal, like
same time, they have a nobility of
and dignity of manner. They
porters of churches. They

appointed by a Republican
rangements made for that purpose
tion. Its fundamental purpose,
cerned, was to secure the
center of the South Pacific, as the
of the North Pacific, in the
increasing between our country and
the protection of our rights and
of Pago Pago. Every other
had been seized and appropriated
Samoa was the only foothold left
eagerly sought, both by Great Britain
source of constant international irritatio
the verge of war with Germany by her
the islands. Congress appropriated
for the defence of our interest in Samoa
a law binding upon the great nations,
all. It substituted the rule of law for
standard by which every act of either
compact can be measured. It preserve
Pago harbor, it secures to all our citizens
those who may wish hereafter to carry
thither, absolute equality in trade, the
freedom from aggression of other nation
cient government to the Municipality of
foreigners reside, it has established a loc
its own buildings, pays its own bills,
building than had been done in Samoa
prevented the destructive sale of
it has completely and finally settled
foreigners, and has perfected an
of titles; it has provided a court in
can be settled, an impartial tribunal
versies which, heretofore, could

The Spanish-American war

was declared with any naval power. With the tremendous development that is going on upon the shores of the Pacific, making it the theatre of some of the vastest political and commercial events of this age, and with the United States taking its position as a world power, and being from its location more interested than any other great power in occurrences throughout every portion of the Pacific, we cannot afford to make the slightest relaxation of the rights in Samoa that have been secured to us by the Berlin Treaty. "The white man's burden" in Samoa rests as heavily upon German shoulders as upon those of England and America. The Germans have there a larger interest than any other nationality. They have a solemn compact with us, as to the manner in which those interests and their people shall be safeguarded and preserved. Samoa has been made a most important point in the policy of the German colonial party. The German Government would not, for a moment, consider any abatement of its rights in Samoa, and we are bound to recognize them to the fullest extent, under the Treaty.

Some of the difficulties of administration are plainly avoidable. The construction of a cable, as has already been indicated, would be a great help. Likewise our own Government might fulfill its obligations under the Treaty, which it has been exceedingly remiss in doing. What would be thought of the policy of a Government in the Philippines, if it should send out a Chief Justice, and a Chief Executive Officer of Manila, and a Consul or equivalent officer, and withdraw its army and warships for a series of years, and tell those officials to conduct the Government, preserve the peace and enforce the laws? Yet, that is just what our Government has done as to Samoa. From 1892 to 1899, no American warship visited Samoa, a period of practically seven years, in which officials were left to struggle on as best they could, without the slightest aid from the Government at Washington. The Germans, during nearly all that period, maintained two warships in Samoa. The British Government has every year sent one or more warships to the islands. This costs money. It is not strange that the Germans, having had to bear most of the heat and burden, should have come to think that they are entitled to a greater voice [illegible] management of affairs than their partners who had con- [illegible] next to nothing.

[illegible] there has been greatly impaired by our failure to

do our part in support of the Treaty. Let our Go
its duty under the Treaty, furnish its fair share of
necessary for the proper policing of the islands, and
support to the Treaty officials, and the troubles
largely vanish. Our newly awakened interest in th
enable us to see that our rights in Samoa are
in precisely the same way as in the Philippin
namely, by establishing and *actually supporting* a

It has been suggested that the islands should
Savaii taken by Great Britain, Upolu by the Germa
by the United States. Upolu is at the center of
is by far the richest and most valuable of all the
scheme is an old one. In 1866, President Cleve
George H. Bates as a special commissioner to proc
connection with like commissioners appointed
Germany, to make investigation and report as to
be done. In his report, Mr. Bates refers to "the s
in Berlin for a partition of Samoa, the United
Tutuila, England Savaii, and Germany Upolu," b
recommendation in favor of such a course. This
not seem entitled to more consideration now than
people of Samoa come and go constantly between t
marked an extent that the early discoverers name
"Navigators' Islands." The same chief often ho
lands and people situated in two or more of the isl
wars, they are divided into factions according to t
tions, without reference to the island upon which
the time being. The natives from the German
division, would continue to take part, as they
the political affairs of the other islands and
be impracticable to determine whether
upon the American island, for instance,
tives for whose acts Germany was responsib
near together that constant collisions
between natives and aliens subject to
It would be unjust to the natives,
ple, to apportion them out into

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to rebellion, because the [illegible]
out of reach of the tax collector, [illegible]
A reasonable customs duty, imposed [illegible]
as are largely used by the natives, [illegible]
smuggling, but high enough to compel [illegible]
selling price of their commodities, [illegible]
collector of taxes without friction, and [illegible]
enue needed for the support of the G[illegible]
prosecution of internal improvements. [illegible]
of the great causes of friction and rebelli[illegible]

The jurisdiction of the Supreme C[illegible]
cases should be more clearly defined. [illegible]
may deal with members of the different [illegible]
when that contempt consists, not in [illegible]
in acts done at other times and places, [illegible]
lower the court, and to interfere with its [illegible]
question under the present reading of [illegible]
sul has exclusive jurisdiction of all crim[illegible]
by people of his own nation. We have[illegible]
demoralizing spectacle of seeing the Chi[illegible]
proceedings for contempt, and writs of[illegible]
jects for alleged contempts of his court [illegible]
each of which consists of acts done bey[illegible]
court, while the German Consul General [illegible]
der his immediate consular protection, [illegible]
ceedings as an invasion of his jurisdiction [illegible]
be said upon both sides, and the Treaty [illegible]
as to prevent such unseemly controversi[illegible]

There have been, in times past, [illegible]
sies between the native government an[illegible]
Municipality of Apia, who is, by the term[illegible]
and custodian of all the funds of the [illegible]
right to control the disbursement of [illegible]
Treaty, as it exists, the native govern[illegible]
to control the disposition of its own [illegible]
decision of the Supreme Court; but [illegible]
ernment at times would be inclined [illegible]

considered responsible for the public expenditures, he is manifestly entitled to have his recommendations upon that subject carefully considered by the native Government, and to be a potent factor in the disbursements of those revenues. But that he should have the sole determination as to what should be done with the public funds, would be a degradation and humiliation to the native element that is unnecessary and inexpedient; and, inasmuch as the President is always a German, it would be placing the whole control of all the finances of the country absolutely in the hands of the Germans, a condition of things to which the other two powers never ought to, and probably never will, consent. A suitable provision would require the native Government and the President either to agree upon necessary and reasonable expenditures, before public funds could be disbursed, or, when they disagreed, to refer the matter to the Chief Justice for final decision. This would afford protection to the treasury, to the native Government, and to the President.

The Treaty ought to make definite provision for assistance in enforcing the decrees, mandates and judgments of the Supreme Court. It is practically silent upon this subject, and, from the time the court was established down to March, 1899, there has not been one instance in which aid has been furnished, directly or indirectly, to the Supreme Court by the powers, or any of them. Imagine a Supreme Court of one Judge to be established by the United States in the Philippines, and that court being left for eight or nine years to maintain itself among an alien people of divers nationalities, most of them utterly unfamiliar with the proceedings of such a court. What could we expect the result to be? Yet, the Supreme Court of Samoa has been left in just that situation, and it is a marvel, under the circumstances, that it has been able to become the central institution of the country, and to command general respect and obedience.

A commission has now been appointed, consisting of one commissioner from each of the three powers, to agree upon measures that shall be taken, both for redressing wrongs that have been done in the recent disturbances, and for introducing such ameliorations as may be necessary for the future government of the [illegible]. The full text of the instructions has not been made pub[illegible] contention upon that point, it has been agreed that [illegible] must be unanimous in order to make any measure

which they may [illegible]
have been appointed [illegible]
They will doubtless [illegible]
deliver with a lofty [illegible]
meanwhile [illegible]
may be necessary to [illegible]
they will be [illegible]
deeply to be regretted [illegible]
the foreign Consuls [illegible]
of action that will [illegible]
in the nature of things, why [illegible]
amendments to the Treaty [illegible]
ceased, will be unanimously [illegible]

The greatest difficulty will [illegible]
tion. They have no knowledge [illegible]
example, and cannot acquire [illegible]
their probable stay in Samoa. [illegible]
have so many times thought [illegible]
govern upon upon a course of [illegible]
the natives will acquiesce. [illegible]
but, as a matter of fact, they will [illegible]
a mode which commends itself to [illegible]
may retire to their homes while [illegible]
away; but if a King is installed at [illegible]
against the protest of the great [illegible]
have little more authority than [illegible]
clerk. The natives will refuse to [illegible]
mands of the King, they will [illegible]
attempt to force upon them a [illegible]
will commit depredations upon [illegible]
will decline to obey the [illegible]
will refuse to build roads, or to [illegible]
into the localities possessed by [illegible]
King of a few natives [illegible]
much only through [illegible]
rest of Samoa will [illegible]
proper government [illegible]

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, M. P.

COMMERCE, and especially international commerce, plays to-day a larger part in the life and movements of the world [illegible] ever did before. Not only the opening up to trade and [illegible] tion of new areas, not only that increased production of [illegible] and of commodities obtained by the cultivation of the [illegible] quent on the enormous resources which physical [illegible] at our command, but, even more than these, the [illegible] velopment of communications by sea and land, their [illegible] ness and their greater cheapness—all these causes have [illegible] volume of trade to an extent far in excess of the [illegible] world's population. Thus commerce occupies men's [illegible] than it ever did before. Classes which in Europe treated [illegible] difference, or even with scorn, two centuries ago, are [illegible] keenly interested as the classes directly engaged in [illegible] The prosperity of a country, its wealth, its luxury, [illegible] all deemed to depend more upon its trade than [illegible] cause. Competition is far keener than ever, not [illegible] dividuals but between nations as a whole, and [illegible] of the export and import trade of each country [illegible] an attention as close as that which the [illegible] pressure of the steam and the number of [illegible] on a record-breaking ocean voyage.

Accordingly, commerce is now a more [illegible] tional politics than in any earlier period. [illegible] ages were undertaken for the sake [illegible] teenth and seventeenth centuries [illegible] on account of religious [illegible]

archs, are now frequently to be feared from the clash of commercial interests, and this source of peril, which was indeed not unknown before, seems to be quite as serious as dynastic pride or racial animosity. The two most recent grounds of quarrel which have arisen among the European Powers have been the partition of Africa and the effort to secure footholds in China. In both of these cases it is not so much territory that has been in question as markets, for territory is now looked upon as chiefly valuable in respect of the trade which it can be made the means of developing. And though the United States has less need than any European country to look to or depend upon foreign markets, since it is itself the greatest market in the world, not only in respect of its vast population, but still more in respect of the purchasing capacity of the individual members of that population, there have been many signs that a desire for the expansion of its export trade in manufactured goods, as well as in food stuffs and other agricultural products, is steadily increasing, and has had an influence upon that policy of territorial extension beyond the seas to which the nation is now apparently committed.

In this state of facts, every possible mode of promoting the commercial success of each nation in the fierce competition which we witness begins to be studied and discussed. One such mode is the cultivation of the aptitude and skill of the individual man, who is the ultimate factor in this competition. Hence that cry for technical instruction which fills our ears in Europe and which is almost as loud in America. Commercial education is a branch of technical instruction in general, and may be described as that branch of it which is concerned not so much with the methods of production as with the methods of distribution, that is to say, with the processes of sale and purchase. It is concerned with them on their practical side. Economic science investigates the general laws which govern the exchange of commodities. The art of commerce deals with the practical forms which the process of exchange takes, shows the reasons for those forms, explains how they ought to be conducted, and cultivates the various talents [illegible] are needed to conduct them with efficiency and success.

[illegible] there is any such Art of Commerce is a comparatively re[illegible] Thirty or forty years ago, it was not supposed, either [illegible] in America, that any special training was needed [illegible] The phrase "a commercial education" was in-

deed familiar. But it meant merely a non-classical education, that is to say, an education which included no Greek and very little Latin; and in practice it was understood, in England at least, to mean something "cheap and nasty," an illiberal education, an education below the level of the conventional gentleman. That it is now beginning to be used in a quite different sense, as denoting a special preparation for business, analagous to the special preparation given to physicians or lawyers or civil engineers, is due not to reflection on the part of Englishmen, but almost entirely to the example of foreign countries and, in particular, of Germany, France and Belgium. In those three countries such special preparation has been given for many years—the great Institute at Leipzig was founded in 1852. Yet the example of Germany would not have told upon the English, who had long deemed themselves the first commercial people of Europe, but for the amazing development of German manufacturing industries and German export trade which began to attract notice soon after the war of 1870, and has latterly threatened the old supremacy of England. Thirty years ago the English thought the Teutons of the Continent mere theorists, and would not have taken any lessons in practical matters from them. To-day the achievements of Germany in applied science and the expansion of her export trade have set all the rest of Europe to study her methods, and to try to profit by them. Even now people in England are not prepared to go nearly as far as the Germans go in their faith in [illegible] education, nor in the willingness to keep young [illegible] preparing themselves for business when they might [illegible] gaged in it. We in England are really only [illegible] the whole subject, and though it is constantly [illegible] tive conclusions have yet been generally accepted, [illegible] been done to establish systematic commercial [illegible] large scale. I gather that this is, speaking [illegible] America also, though in some American cities [illegible] provision has been made than yet exists in [illegible] cordingly, in the remarks which follow, I [illegible] considerations rather than with details, [illegible] principles which may hold good both for [illegible]

There are, no doubt, important [illegible] and England. What is called [illegible] say, education higher [illegible]

into a competent business man. Now this is what no education will or can do in any trade or profession whatever. Many young fellows of good ability, who have had the best instruction money can buy, do not succeed, whether it be in business, or in law, or in medicine, or in soldiering, because a host of other things besides ability and education are elements in success. Industry, sobriety, steadiness of application, pleasant manners, social tact and knowledge of human nature, the power of inspiring confidence, be it confidence in your honesty, or confidence in your tenacity of purpose, all these things count for much in winning success in any and every walk of life. A physician, or a lawyer, or a soldier may fail for want of some of these gifts, but that is not deemed a reason for omitting to give him all the knowledge needed for his profession. So with business. No amount of teaching, or for the matter of that, no amount of cleverness, will ensure success in business. All that special preparation can possibly do is to make those who have the natural gifts that lead to success somewhat better, and to make those in whom these natural gifts are deficient somewhat less bad. And as the majority of young men are neither so capable as to be sure of success, however ill trained, nor so incapable as to be sure of failure, however well trained, the difference which training may make seems sufficient to determine us to give it.

The other misunderstanding arises from supposing [illegible] claimed by the advocates of special commercial prepar[illegible] young man so prepared will, on his first admission to an [illegible] warehouse, be as useful to his employer as if he had [illegible] two years sooner, having spent those two years in the [illegible] of at school or college. But this is not what is claimed [illegible] A and B, two boys of equal diligence and talent, fini[illegible] eral secondary education at the age of fifteen. A [illegible] into an office. B goes through a course of special [illegible] struction, and enters the same office when both [illegible] B will for some months know less of the ordina[illegible] the office than A knows, and so far will be [illegible] years later, when both boys are nineteen, [illegible] having acquired the requisite familiarity with [illegible] to bring his special knowledge and trained [illegible]

tion is, that though its results cannot bear full fruit till after some time, they make so great a difference to a man's capacity for ultimate success that the time spent on receiving special instruction, during a period of some months or years before he enters business, is better spent than it would be in the office or the warehouse during the same period. Assuming for the moment—since this is a matter to which I will return presently—that there are aptitudes which can be trained and facts which can be imparted specially useful for a business life, this argument would seem to be sound, and it is confirmed by the parallel cases of some other employments and professions.

We are now able to approach what is really the chief practical difficulty of the subject, viz.: the extreme variety of the kinds of work which are summed up and covered by the general term of Business or Commerce. Business is not an occupation like medicine or law, with a definite scope, and requiring a well-understood body of special knowledge. It covers all sorts of avocations. There is wholesale trading and retail trading in the home market. There is export trade and all that pertains to shipping goods abroad. There is banking and finance. There is stock broking and the dealing in all sorts of securities. There is the work of accountants and actuaries. There is railroad management and the whole field of transportation. There is insurance business in its various forms. And this list might be indefinitely extended by enumerating minor varieties of business, not to speak of the diversities of goods dealt in, a knowledge of one class of which will be of little use to a man when he comes to handle another class. How is it possible to frame any scheme of commercial education which shall cover these diverse kinds of work, yet how is it possible for a youth to know beforehand—that is to say, in his school years—what kind of work it is that circumstances will lead him to enter? Few young men have the pleasant knowledge that positions in an office or warehouse are waiting for them. They must take the first, or the most promising, opening they can get.

This seems a formidable objection, but there is a twofold an- [illegible] to it. In the first place, one must distinguish between the [illegible] that are needed for business, and the knowledge which [illegible]sirable in business. Now the aptitudes wanted, the [illegible] which make for commercial success, are pretty

what those qualities are; meantime it is sufficient to say that whatever can be done to train and develop them may be done equally well whatever the particular department in which they are to be afterwards employed. Secondly, though it is true that some kinds of knowledge are needed for one sort of business, other kinds for other sorts, still there are branches of study a proficiency in which will be valuable whatever be the special form of trade wherein a man may be occupied. A knowledge of foreign languages, for instance, though more helpful to a youth entering an export house than to one who is to serve a railway company, can be turned to some account in a good many different kinds of commercial life. The power of rapid calculation, and especially of calculating without the aid of paper, is always profitable. A knowledge of the elements of finance, or of the terms of book-keeping, or of the ordinary operations of trade and the documents used therein, invoices, bills of exchange, and so forth, is a kind of knowledge all business men ought to have. Accordingly, it seems a fair conclusion that there are certain elements common to commercial education which can be taught with advantage to all young men preparing for business, and which may therefore be made the regular and normal foundation of a commercial course. More special topics, a mastery of which will be valuable only in some special line, such as banking or stock-broking, or railway work, may be taught in a large city, where the number of [illegible] ing for instruction in such topics is large enough to [illegible] while to supply the teaching. In London, for instance, [illegible] York or Chicago, there is hardly any particular branch [illegible] in which a public institution might not be expected [illegible] struction, because there would be a demand [illegible] class room. But in cities of the size of Nott[illegible] in England, of Buffalo or Pittsburgh in [illegible] would hardly be the case. In them it [illegible] the subjects of confessedly general utility.

This brings us to the question of wh[illegible] really is, what it ought to include [illegible] vert to the distinction already [illegible] Knowledge. The function of a [illegible] tion is to deal with both of these. [illegible] training the mental faculties [illegible] to impart the kinds of [illegible]

since the problems a business man has to deal with are now more intricate and delicate than in older and simpler days, the business man needs always more and more to accustom himself to think about those problems, approaching them from every side and not merely adopting the view which he finds among his friends or in the newspapers. He has to beware of trusting to fixed ideas and positive rules. He must watch the commercial and political sky as the captain of a sailing ship watches the carry of the clouds and the movement of the barometer, and the freshening of the wind, and the direction of the swell. And his observation must be a reflective observation, leading him on to a forecast. All this is obvious when one comes to think of it; and I dwell upon it only because the old idea that business was an easier sort of occupation than the learned profession, needing a less active intellect, still half survives in many quarters, and disposes men to underestimate the worth for commercial life of a stimulative intellectual training.

As to the means by which education can form such mental capacities as I have described, this is a matter much more of the skill of the teacher than of the particular subjects taught. A first rate teacher will handle any subject in a way to excite and interest the pupil's mind, and will estimate his success much less by the quantity of information wherewith he has furnished the pupil's memory than by the habits of acute, independent, consecutive and concentrated thinking which he has enabled the pupils to form.

We may now come to consider the branches of [illegible] which a commercial education ought to include. [illegible] first of all necessary to distinguish between the [illegible] for whom provision is to be made. Three such [illegible] tinguished. There are those who finish their [illegible] far as it is given in school, at fourteen years [illegible] parents' means enable them to continue their [illegible] sixteen; and those, the sons of the compar[illegible] ford to stay at school and go on completing [illegible] education till eighteen. Evidently a differ[illegible] ulum must be instituted for each of these [illegible] the second being wider and higher than [illegible] by the first, and that for the third [illegible] than that suited for the second.

For boys leaving school at [illegible] to enter an office or a [illegible]

no very extended course is possible. They have not time for it, their minds are not sufficiently mature to be fit to tackle abstract topics, and their knowledge of life is too small to make the teaching of things which presuppose some knowledge of life profitable. Accordingly, the most that can be done for them seems to be to provide instruction in one or more of the following branches:

(1.) A practical mastery of commercial arithmetic, and especially a training in the habit of quick and accurate mental calculation, without the aid of the slate or paper.

(2.) The elements of commercial geography, based on the elements of physical geography.

(3.) A modern language, French, German or Spanish, whichever may in the particular locality be most desired.

(4.) Shorthand and book-keeping. There is some controversy as to the value of these subjects. Some high authorities doubt whether book-keeping can be profitably taught before the boy has entered an office and seen what books are for. The point is one for practical men to settle.

(5.) English composition, not with the view of forming what is called style, but in order to accustom the boy to state what he knows in the clearest and fewest words, and especially to show him how to arrange his ideas. Composition is seldom well taught, at least in English schools; and the teaching of what is called English grammar has in reality less to do with it than is commonly supposed. If more pains were spent on making a boy think of the precise meaning of what he has to say and the order in which it ought to be said, and less trouble taken about mere grammatical terminology, better results might perhaps be attained.

For young people who leave a secondary school at sixteen, it is both possible and desirable to provide a wider range of instruction directed to commerce. The programme should include the following subjects, though not all these would be taken by all learners.

(1.) Modern languages.

(2.) English composition, including practice in the art of analyzing and summarizing the contents of documents or reports.

(3.) Shorthand and book-keeping (but consider remark made

[illegible]

[illegible] Commercial geography and the movements of the ex- [illegible] commodities in the world at large.

(5.) A general view of the industry and trade of the country.

(6.) The elements of business practice, i. e., a knowledge of the chief operations which belong to commerce in general, including the nature of the documents most commonly used, and a comprehension, which though elementary need not be superficial, of the nature of incorporated companies and partnerships, and the use and functions of banks.

(7.) The elements of political economy, especially those branches of it which relate to exchange and finance.

Finally, we come to those who pursue their general education up till the age of eighteen at least, some of whom will wish then to enter on a special preparation for commerce, while others will first take a university course and then, if they have time left before they enter commercial life, will desire to learn something calculated to be specially serviceable to them in it. The number of such persons will be comparatively small, for few indeed are those whose pecuniary means permit them to postpone the beginning of their active business life to so late a point. But the class, if small, is important, because it will chiefly consist of the sons of men who are already at the head of established manufacturing or trading firms or corporations. Such young people will step at once into positions of responsibility, in which it is desirable that they should have as wide and intelligent a view of business as education can give them. Besides modern languages and the subjects [illegible] (5.), (6.) and (7.) in the last foregoing list, the teaching of which, and especially of (7.), would for them be carried to a higher point, they should be encouraged to study recent economic [illegible] the elements of commercial law, and might be taught [illegible] with statistics, and the art of intelligently watching [illegible] understanding the conditions which govern the [illegible]

The highest commercial schools of Germany, [illegible] gium teach all these things as well as some [illegible] English eye appear, if not superfluous, yet so far [illegible] tial that it is not likely that an English or Am[illegible] set a high value on them. They also attempt [illegible] of products and goods generally, a subject [illegible] rather to a special course suited for a par[illegible] general curriculum. Nor do I mention [illegible] other branches of natural science, [illegible]

upon business as a fit matter for science, as a subject which may engage the higher faculties of thought instead of being regarded solely from the side of pecuniary profit. Nothing would do more to secure sound legislation in all questions of currency and of taxation (and especially in tariff questions) than the possession by a considerable number of leading business men of a mastery of the scientific theory of these subjects. This is true of all countries, but most true of a country which, like the United States, is in the long run governed by public opinion.

The main conclusions to which this rapid and necessarily imperfect survey of a large subject are intended to bear may be summarized as follows:

(1.) The provision of special instruction in commercial matters is desirable, not because special knowledge or training is of great consequence as compared with natural intelligence or with the gifts of character which lead to success, but because the stress of competition is now so keen that no nation can afford to neglect any expedient which may help to give its citizens the best chance.

(2.) The term "commercial instruction" includes some branches of study and training which will be useful to all men engaged in business, and other branches useful only to those who are engaged in particular kinds of work. Provisions for the teaching of the former ought to be made in all considerable cities; provision for the teaching of the latter only in larger centres [illegible] where a supply of young men desiring instruction in special subjects may be expected.

(3.) The age at which special commercial [illegible] begin must depend on the pecuniary means and [illegible] youths for whom it is provided. Three classes may [illegible] ed according to age, and three types of courses [illegible] therefore to be provided for these three classes [illegible]

(4.) The later the age at which youths [illegible] education the fuller and the higher in char[illegible] ial commercial course provided for them.

(5.) The most complete course, and [illegible] mature minds of older persons, ought [illegible] with the university (if any) of the [illegible] ed, while of course retaining a [illegible]

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

BY S. N. D. NORTH, A MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION.

THE bill creating the United States non-partizan Industrial Commission was many years pending in Congress, was once vetoed by President Cleveland, and was signed by President McKinley, June 18, 1898. It took on divers forms at different stages of its incubation, and as finally passed authorized a commission of nineteen members, nine of whom were appointed by the President from civil life, the other ten being members of Congress—five Senators appointed by the Vice-President, and five Representatives appointed by the Speaker. In making their appointments, the latter chose largely from the membership of the [illegible] committees of the two houses. The President went into [illegible] business life, and three of his nine appointees are [illegible] representatives of organized labor.

There is no precedent in the United States for [illegible] congruously made up. The injection of the Cong[illegible] ment into the Commission is due to the reluctance [illegible] delegate its own functions. By claiming a majority [illegible] trial Commission, Congress compromised with [illegible] prejudices. Experience has already proved th[illegible] must rely almost wholly upon the presidential [illegible] routine work. The claims upon a Congress[illegible] sorbing, that absenteeism has chiefly [illegible] tion with the Commission thus far. B[illegible] Congress has already proved itself [illegible] and this service will increase in [illegible] approaches the formulation of [illegible] has its precedent in [illegible] and it will keep [illegible]

It is doubtful if the United States Industrial Commission can produce a report at all comparable to this in character and importance. But it has an opportunity at once splendid and unique. It has a field of investigation that is almost unexplored by any such governmental authority. It is true that Congressional Committees have constantly entered upon it, as in the case of the Abram S. Hewitt Committee and the so-called Blair Senate Committee, both of which printed great volumes of testimony, but neither ever made any report. These Congressional investigations have been haphazard and incomplete, for the reason that the time of Congress is engrossed in other matters, and politics has been inseparable from the work, in the nature of things. From whatever cause, it remains the fact that there has never yet been any systematic attempt to officially investigate and report upon the changed relations of capital and labor in the United States, and the adaptability of our national and State laws to the new industrial conditions which have arisen in consequence.

Moreover, the time appears to be peculiarly opportune. We are not simply on the turn of the century, but at a point of new departure in American industry. Emerging from a long period of depression, victorious in a brief but glorious foreign war, we are apparently entering upon a commercial and [illegible] sion without parallel in our annals. We are forcing [illegible] factured goods into the world's markets with a [illegible] that surprises ourselves, and startles our foreign [illegible] have long been in the habit of manufacturing on a [illegible] than commonly prevails elsewhere, as M. Emile [illegible] pointed out in detail; but we are entering now [illegible] combination and consolidation, involving a [illegible] nomic conditions of production, the far-reaching [illegible] can neither be seen nor imagined. We have [illegible] perfection, in the organization and solidarity [illegible] country, which is fast substituting collective [illegible] individual contract in our great [illegible] machinery is becoming more perfect and [illegible] day, and electricity is creating a new [illegible] less portentous than that which [illegible] steam. Causes and effects are [illegible]

to interpret, in the light of all the wisdom it can gather from those who are participating in it.

The study takes on two phases, distinct and yet so closely associated and interwoven, that at many points they are inseparable. One is the legal, the other the sociological phase. The act commands the Commission to inquire into and report upon the status of industry before the law in the several States of the Union. Here is a phase of industrialism to which Congress has never paid any attention, and which is unique in the United States. In Great Britain, where Parliament legislates in both large and small affairs for the whole kingdom, the same factory laws apply equally in all parts of the country, and one manufacturer can get no advantage over another by changing the location of his mill. The same is true of France and Germany. But in this country, there has been growing up very rapidly during the last twenty-five years, in our great manufacturing States, a heterogeneous body of labor laws, so called, which aim at supervision, by the Government, of the relations of employer and employee Under the operation of these laws the conditions governing manufacturing enterprise have been profoundly modified. Competition in industry has grown so close, that the economic effects of this legislation are now recognized as an important factor in production.

The diversity of the labor legislation of the several States is almost startling. There are no two States of the forty-five, in which the conditions governing industry, so far as they are regulated by the State itself, can be described as at all similar. Examining all these laws, in all these States, noting their points of variation and contradiction, they impress us as a legal farrago, lacking the most rudimentary elements of a uniform system, such as should prevail in a country which boasts equality of rights to all its citizens. To illustrate by obvious instances, the laws fixing the hours of labor for women and children in manufacturing establishments, vary from fifty-six in New Jersey, fifty-eight in Massachusetts, sixty in other New England States, in New York and Pennsylvania, to 72 in southern and southwestern States. The age limit at which children can be employed in these establishments varies from fourteen to thirteen, twelve and eleven, [illegible] certain States where there is no legal limit whatever. [illegible] employers' liability laws are as wide in their provisions

as the continent itself. Factory inspection is enforced with varying stringency in half a dozen States, and entirely omitted in the rest. Such instances of discriminating legislation are beginning to tell in the reinvestments of capital and the relocation of industries. They reveal an unequal development which demands an intelligent effort in the direction of unification.

In one sense it is a situation beyond the power of regulation. Congress cannot interfere, for these are matters that appertain strictly to the States. The most the Industrial Commission can do is to supply an analysis of these conflicting statutory provisions and a report of the actual operation of the various labor laws, upon which it can base recommendations showing which of them can be adopted with advantage by such States as do not now possess them. The first step in the direction of intelligent unification will thus have been taken. The rest must be left to time and public opinion. The current will at least have been set in the right direction, and we may hope for the ultimate upbuilding of the semblance of a national code of labor laws, under which the working classes can be assured that they are receiving, so far as the State can determine it, the same treatment and consideration, whether they live and work in an Eastern State or a Western State, and the employer can feel sure that the laws which regulate his business are sufficiently alike to give no legal advantage to any competitor anywhere in the Union. The work of the Industrial Commission, so far as I have above outlined it, may be compared to that of the Statutory Revision Commission [illegible] United States, a body consisting of commissioners from [illegible] eral States of the Union, which aims to bring about [illegible] formity in the general statutes of these States, [illegible] accomplished some tangible results since it was [illegible] The Commission has taken an important step [illegible] general co-operation in the work of the two bodies [illegible] its advisory counsel Mr. F. J. Stimson, of Boston [illegible] retary of the Statutory Revision Commission [illegible] known besides as a student of labor legislation [illegible] text books on the subject.

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tween nearby States and localities, and their causes, we best understand the hopelessness of any movement which aims at establishing exact equality of condition in this country.

In the matter of the hours of labor, the possibility of uniform legislation appears equally remote. This is the question which, more than any other, is just now close to the heart of organized labor in the United States. The sociological argument upon which the trades-unionist bases his demand for an eight-hour day is tremendously reinforced by the demonstrated fact that improved machinery is capable of producing in all staple lines of goods faster than the consumption of the world can dispose of the product. Equally true is it that the argument for a shorter working day is stronger in a hot and debilitating climate than in the North; as a matter of fact, it is only in the Northern States that the movement has made any headway.

Again, the presence of great masses of colored labor in the South presents another phase of the problem which is certain to grow more troublesome and more insistent as time passes. It is a body of labor which accepts lower wages than white labor, and is constantly pushing itself into new fields of competition with white labor. The negro problem, in its political phase, is the perplexity of this generation: its industrial phase is to become the perplexity of the next.

And so we say that each great section of our great [illegible] must be left to work out its own problems in its own way, and in keeping with the peculiar environment of each. The [illegible] is too big for a strait-jacket. But all parts of it can [illegible] the experience of other parts, and the Industrial Com[illegible] be of service by increasing the general knowledge of [illegible] trial methods which prevail under such diverse con[illegible]

Growing directly out of this phase of the wo[illegible] the relations at present existing between capital [illegible] sociological side of the question, as contrasted [illegible] Here the Commission already finds itself env[illegible] conflicting theories, of ill-digested facts, a[illegible] terests. The Commission is not likely to [illegible] possess the philosopher's stone, and has [illegible] soluble world problem, which has been [illegible] students. Nevertheless, it [illegible] hope to render a useful service.

In the first place, it recognizes in itself a sort of safety valve for the country. People who suffer wrongs, whether real or imaginary, always feel better when they are allowed an opportunity to ventilate them before some recognized governmental authority where they are insured a respectful hearing and a certain degree of consideration. It was a large part of the purpose of Congress, in creating this Commission, to establish a quasi-tribunal, or national forum, if you please, before which anybody and everybody who thinks he has a wrong to expose or a panacea for existing social or economic evils, can appear and state his case. Congress has little time and less taste for such things. It is the chronic complaint of social reformers and professional agitators, that they can get no hearing at the hands of the Government. Nothing helps toward the evaporation of discontent so much as an opportunity to give utterance to it. Recognizing this trait in human nature, the Commission is prepared to listen to everybody who may choose to present himself at its headquarters in Washington, for the purpose of exposing evils or suggesting remedies. Later on, it will probably send sub-commissions to the chief cities to give a wider opportunity to be heard. In the meanwhile, its mail is already loaded with communications from all parts of the country, in which the writers propound their views with freedom and fullness. An expert will digest this material, and separate the wheat from the chaff. On its own initiative, the Commission will summon comparatively few witnesses, confining its invitations to persons who can shed some valuable light, through study and experience, upon the conditions of our industrial life. One hundred such picked witnesses can furnish more material for its reports than a thousand men drawn at random from the ranks. Organized labor will be represented before the Commission by the chiefs of its great representative bodies,—the flower of the working class,—the leaders who have been studying conditions and moulding the opinions of their unions for the better part of their lives. On the other hand, in selecting "captains of industry" to explain the employers' side, men will be chosen who, by the immensity of their enterprises, the length of their experience, or the peculiar success which has attended their relations with their [illegible], may be assumed to know something which ought to be [illegible] known. Out of such a crucible should come a consensus [illegible] similar to that of the British Royal Commission,

which was remarkable as an exact statement of the points at issue between the two forces of industrialism, of the arguments by which each side reinforced its contentions, and of the points at which agreement had been reached, or seemed to be gradually coming within reach.

A similar statement based upon ascertained facts, is much to be desired in the United States. It will certainly show that immense progress has already been made in certain sections of this country, and in certain of its great industries, toward the peaceable adjudication of the chronic dispute about wages and the conditions of employment. It will show that the situation, however hopelessly pessimistic it may outwardly appear, is full of signs that labor and capital, instead of drifting farther and farther apart, are gradually learning not only the necessity, but the methods, of keeping together. The country as a whole is only dimly cognizant of the progress that has been made, in many industries, in the matter of collective bargaining, in the adjustment of wages on the basis of sliding scales, determined after the fullest interchange of definite information as to costs, profits, and general industrial conditions. The upshot of the whole matter is, in its last analysis, that the great underlying cause of strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and the great bulk of recurring labor disputes, is ignorance,—ignorance on the part of both employer and employed, as to the exact status which must always determine whether wages are properly adjusted. If the Commission can make this fact appear, if it can bring it effectively to the [illegible] of those who chiefly suffer in consequence of it, it will [illegible] formed a service to the country worth a million [illegible] dollars and cents. This, in a word, is the chief [illegible] Commission. It is in its capacity as a great [illegible] that its best results are to be anticipated.

I have indicated above some of the chief [illegible] the Industrial Commission has been called [illegible] deal. In truth, the whole gamut of modern [illegible] the single sentence of the law which [illegible] When it was first brought face to face with [illegible] quiry upon which the Commission [illegible] members were tempted to think that [illegible]

haustively. It is preparing to approach the subject in a manner quite different from the haphazard treatment it has thus far received at the hands of Congressional and Legislative Committees. It has appointed Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University, as its expert agent to study the question of industrial combination and consolidation from the economic point of view, and to collate and analyze the facts in their bearing upon prices, upon the wage earning class, upon production, and upon the community as a whole. Professor Jenks enters upon the work with the advantage of many years of special study of the question, in connection with his economic teaching. Under his guidance, the Commission will seek to present a definite summary of the causes, methods and results of this industrial phenomenon. Certainly there is no information of which the country is quite so much in need. Almost before we have been able to realize what was going on, the manufacturing industry of the United States has been transformed from the competitive to the monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic basis. We are to-day face to face with conditions without precedent in history, which set at naught all the time-honored maxims of political economy. It is impossible to exaggerate the effect upon the future life of our people, and upon our social and political institutions. Neither is it possible to reverse or to suspend the experiment. In defiance of the frantic efforts of Legislatures to check their progress or to embarrass their operations, these Goliath combinations have already seized upon the great staple industries of the country; they represent [illegible] capitalization,—including the water injected,—nearly [illegible] the whole amount of capital reported to the [illegible] Census as employed to carry on all the big and [illegible] existing in 1890. What has been done cannot be [illegible] such time at least as it shall undo itself in what [illegible] the inevitable reaction. But it is plain that a [illegible] mental attitude toward them must be [illegible] abortive laws encumbering the statute books [illegible] failed to stop the consolidation of industrial [illegible] come when some method for their effective [illegible]

THE REVERSES OF BRI[illegible]

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

In the most chivalrous of all the poems [illegible]
has been at pains to describe how that en[illegible]
Woman's Rights, the incomparable Brito[illegible]
knight Paridell at open joust, and utterly [illegible]
him in friendly combat. This is the *locus* [illegible]
inists, or would be, if women, with their s[illegible]
contempt for the immaterial, had not so poor
ture. I believe, however, that they admit t[illegible]
creature, Man, to have been unusually well [illegible]
in the person of the author of "The Faery Q[illegible]
melodious verse in recounting the "late fal[illegible]
of the war-like knight at the hands of the [illegible]
This celebrated contest, concluded at the Ca[illegible]
recounted to us by the Squire of Dames, doe[illegible]
the claims of Women, even when pushed to [illegible]
Here we have her separated from any suspic[illegible]
here we have open competition, equality of r[illegible]
ment with men on all points. Here is eve[illegible]
"Economical independence," for Britomart [illegible]
her own bill for board and lodging at the [illegible]
more splendid example in literature of th[illegible]
Woman in a free field with Man.

But one little historic circumstanc[illegible]
looked by those who hurried round [illegible]
ant Britomart upon her prowess. [illegible]
the bruises of Paridell were [illegible]
when Sir Satyrane was the [illegible]

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uplifted the masculine elements of speech and have silenced the feminine.

It is obvious that these influences cannot affect literature only,—they affect our entire mental life. Is it surprising, then, that this is not a favorable moment for the expression of the claims of Feminism? As a fact, indeed, those claims have, for the time, been curtailed and withdrawn much more completely than one would have esteemed possible. What I will allow myself to call the exaggeration of the feminine thesis, which reached its point of greatest defiance about 1890, has not, in Europe or America, been advanced since then, but has, in every country, been rather reduced or softened away. It should be obvious,—and yet it has required a practical instance to bring the fact before us,—that although, when there is nothing happening in the realms of peace, Woman will assert her independence, yet, when fighting begins, she is apt to withdraw of her own accord into those primitive conditions of help and home-encouragement which she previously condemned with so much acerbity. In other words, when all is quiet, Woman is very apt to strut about proclaiming her isolation, but when "pain and anguish" wring the brow of her brothers, she becomes once more "a ministering angel" as of old.

One of the leading feminists of the last campaign asserted that "to reduce woman to the bondage of family life is to treat her as an inferior animal." I will not offer any comment on the [illegible] or the levity of such a conception of the position of woman, but I must point out that it can only be held in a state of [illegible] there is an absolute basis of political security. If we [illegible] at a condition in which we shall be able to admit [illegible] woman to the guidance of the family is to treat her [illegible] animal, it can only be when all chance of [illegible] passed away. Disturbance of the kind which [illegible] revolution brings with it, instantly creates [illegible] energy into which women cannot enter; and [illegible] makes them more secure in that special [illegible] only when they have no more suitable [illegible] Mr. Herbert Spencer who observes that [illegible] unit is the family, and only in advanced [illegible] Something of the same kind is [illegible]

During the period we are passing through, the feminist authorities are silent. It is much to be wished that they would explain to us, in what light they regard the reverses,—political, academic, physiological, sociological,—which they have been enduring all along the line. They fought for many things, but it would perhaps be possible to maintain that all can be summed up in the single word, "consideration." They fought for dignity, for the honor of identical treatment on all points, for "mental independence," for "economic independence." But the result of a wave of disturbances—not a very large one in the measurement of history—has been to accentuate their physical deficiencies in such a marked degree that they themselves have been the first to retreat from the unequal contest. Is it too much to hope that the result may be to prove to them the fallacy of the theory of "identical treatment," and to persuade them that the consideration which they justly demand is to be sought for, not in the same field of action as that of men, but in one where men are incapable of distinguishing themselves? Those who desire to follow the recent history of the movement may do so in the lucid and intelligent work which Miss Schirmacher has recently published* on the subject.

Meanwhile, the most serious home-thrusts which Britomart has received in the tournament, have been given, not by the Paridells and Satyranes, but by her own squires. The present season has been marked by a succession of attacks made by distinguished women on the exaggerations of the feminine thesis. These demand respectful attention from both sides, and are not liable to suspicion as the outcome of sexual prejudice.

I cannot think that I am by nature or by training ungallant. A fashionable birthday-book, in copies of which I cannot inscribe my autograph too frequently or too gladly, assures me that I am "full of reverence for a true woman," and, as we invariably become what we are described as being, I feel that nothing now would persuade me to be unhandsome to the sex. And yet I know not by what diabolical remnant of a barbarous atavism I have to confess that the exaggerated thesis of feminism exasperates me beyond words. What is so lusciously termed, in adoring publishers' advertisements, "a masterpiece of sexual female fiction" makes me [illegible] unwell, not with indignation at its immorality (its

morals, poor thing, are of the least possible importance), but at its preposterous vulgar futility. Yet the *clichés* of the old gallantry oppress us still, and a man cuts as poor a figure in opposing the extreme feminism as he does in refusing his seat in a crowded omnibus to a hard-featured woman in bloomers. Accordingly the feminists have it almost their own way, except when duty calls a man to the Spartan protest of the ballot-box. Britomart has an easy conquest over Paridell, simply because an hereditary prejudice makes it a physical impossibility for the knight to give a really business twist to the truncheon of his spear. But when Britomart meets Belphoebe, then indeed the elfin warrior can afford to lie back among the ferns of the forest, and enjoy himslf to the utmost.

An indomitable warrior in the front rank of anti-feminists was the late Mrs. Lynn Linton. It was magnificent to see her sitting, erect, at the tea-table, an apocalyptic light flashing from her spectacles, and to hear her incisive tongue smiting the whole regiment of froward women, hip and thigh. She was no palterer; she put into words everything on the subject which a man might think but would never dare to say. Indeed, her weakness was, that she said (and wrote) so much that no man in his senses would ever wish to say. She was a very clever and a very honest woman, but in her old age she seemed to have forgotten the [illegible] "that girls will be girls." She was a compromising ally, [illegible] she went too far, and mistook for crimes, specially [illegible] this very wicked age, liveliness and frivolities [illegible] itself. It was currently believed that, if Mrs. Lynn [illegible] only survive to a sufficiently great age, she might [illegible] prove of every single thing which any woman [illegible] think, or say, or wear, or do. It is a mistake to [illegible] become a Jeremiah or even a Savonarola. [illegible] versality of your diatribes, the influence which [illegible] tendency to censure would ensure you. The [illegible] the extreme feminists snapped their fingers [illegible]

But the enemies of their own sex [illegible] against them in every country are not so [illegible] cause their utterances are more [illegible] neither bias nor ill-will. Miss A[illegible]

to be true. There will probably be a reaction, and we shall see the daughters of Britomart elegant at the harp once more, or bent over the mysteries of crewel-work. I do not believe that any absurdity of fashion "destroys the harmonious balance of faculties;" it can only provisionally disturb it. Nor can I deny that the dreadful picture painted in colors of the thundercloud by Miss Arabella Kenealy strikes me as a little more lurid than experience warrants.

Consequently, it is not the criticism of Miss Kenealy, or even the German attacks on the Woman's Rights party, as exemplified in the novels of Rudolf Gorm, which appear to me to be deserving of very close attention, because, after all, those are destructive. What we want is constructive criticism; we want some one to come forward with a definite theory of how things can be mended. Not enough notice has been given to the contributions of French thinkers to this important subject, although the lucidity and logic of the Latin intellect gives a particular value to French opinion on a subject so commonly abandoned to mere sentiment or prejudice. France took up the feminist theories very late. There was practically no attention paid to them until Mlle. Hubertine Auclerc founded the Women's Rights Society in 1876. In twenty years the movement has made great strides in Paris, where it has been exasperated by much impertinence from journalists and other idle persons, of a kind to which its adherents in Anglo-Saxon countries are not subjected. Quite lately, however, its views, in their exaggerated form, have met with a [illegible] so grave and so well-founded that it deserves to be known [illegible] out the world. Madame Lemépriére's volume, "[illegible] *la Femme*,"* has made quite a sensation in Paris; [illegible] know, it has not yet been noticed in England or A[illegible]

Madame Anna Lempérière is a lady of [illegible] markable intellectual gifts. She is a practi[illegible] schools of philosophy, and she has been look[illegible] of the extreme feminist party. Of late, ho[illegible] érière has been led to make a very close [illegible] on which that party base their views, [illegible] sistibly drawn to reject them. Her new [illegible] tribution to sociology, is at once a [illegible] the advanced Women's Rights [illegible]

* Félix Alcan, Paris.

the writer's opinion, should take the place of those errors. Mme. Lempérière has the advantage of being constructive as well as destructive. Her good sense is eminent throughout her pages. She exaggerates nothing; she resists every attempt to be sensational or even humorous; her aim is solely to discover along what line of action women can expend their forces, so as to do most good for others and to attain most happiness for themselves.

On one point, and that a highly important one, Mme. Lempérière does not at present expatiate. The dangerous isolation of the unmarried, which indeed is what mainly leads to those economical conditions of which an excessive feminism is the fatal result, does not particularly occupy her on this occasion. But the French Women's Rights people have been making the Family the central object of their attack—"to reduce woman to family duties is to treat her as one of the lower animals." The clamor for identical treatment with men on all points precludes the application of the laws of family life. We have been told that the field of women's action must be made precisely the same as man's, and that no opportunism on the matter can possibly be permitted. Mme. Lempérière has no difficulty in proving, what indeed one would suppose to be obvious, that this insistence on identical treatment can do nothing else than accentuate the physical deficiencies of woman. It is true that the physiologists have, up to the present time, been unable to find any difference in the constitution of the male and female brain; and so far as intellect is concerned, there is no radical reason why one sex should be inferior in any thing to the other. But there are "the thews, the stature, bulk and big assemblance of a man," of which Shakespeare speaks, and to these Britomart can never hope to attain. It is idle to talk of "identity of treatment" in the rough, manual provinces of life.

Mme. Lempérière is all for equality, not identity. She says that there are different uses for the masculine and the feminine brain, and that the great error is to squabble about precedency among things precisely parallel. She rejects the idea that woman [illegible] or ought to compete with man, and she annoys the extreme [illegible] very much by saying that their theories, and their whole [illegible] toward this class of questions, is due to sheer ignorance. [illegible] must assert her dignity; she must refuse to be turned [illegible] drudge; she must carry the banner of individuality

in the vanguard of civilization!" say the Feminists. Mme. Lempérière listens to them, and replies: "Poor things! How very badly educated you are! Your want of mentality is quite alarming!" She dares to sweep away all this vain-glory as a pathetic exhibition of "cerebral vanity," and she urges the stormy sisterhood to apply themselves to obtaining a clear idea of what woman's real place should be in a normal modern society.

She has, herself, no doubt on this point, and her theories are worked out with a convincing mixture of logic and good sense. Her view is briefly this. All consideration of woman's duty must start with the family, which, so far from involving any degradation or want of dignity, offers her the finest possible sphere of activity. But, in the family, it is not necessary or desirable that she should hold a dependent or a secondary place. Her place there is not dependent, but interdependent. That is to say, in the normal family neither man nor woman can succeed without the other ; absolute interdependence of each upon the other, on all points, in all conditions, in all circumstances, being the only safe path towards practical perfection. This interdependence, which at first sight seems an insupportable abnegation of the personal rights of the human being, is really, by the law of nature, the most direct mode of securing the full force of individual liberty. This is a union, founded upon an equal exchange of services, which has only to be exactly balanced to be absolutely ideal.

The reader is now prepared for the reception of Mme. Lempérière's central theory, that woman is essentially a dispensing and organizing entity. The physical muscularity of man, his activity, his freedom from all accidents which hamper [illegible] prompt action, point him out as the acquirer and [illegible] sources. The mistake of the extreme feminists [illegible] they also must, before all else, strive to produce [illegible] their organization will never permit them to do [illegible] will be adequate for direct rivalry with man. [illegible] were to succeed in breaking down all the [illegible] distinguish the sexes, if the formulas of [illegible] solutely destroyed that man and woman [illegible]

TAXATION OF PUBLIC FRANCHISES.

BY STATE-SENATOR JOHN FORD, AUTHOR OF THE FRANCHISE-TAX BILL.

As the first requisite to an intelligent comprehension of the public franchise tax law and the questions which it raises, one must have a clear conception of the distinction between a corporate franchise, which is simply the right to exist and do business as a corporation, enjoyed by all corporations alike, and the so-called public franchise, such as the right acquired to construct and operate a railroad in the public streets, which is a species of valuable property received from the community. This public franchise is held and enjoyed by every railroad and other transportation corporation using the public highways, in addition to its corporate franchise. The Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court (15 App. Div., 585) clearly recognizes this "marked distinction between the franchise to construct and operate a railroad in a street, which franchise is absolute property, independent of the existence of the corporation and other corporate franchises, such as those of trading companies, which are merely to be a corporation and to do business." In the same volume [illegible] other case in which a railroad company was pl[illegible] "that though the plaintiff had not laid a rail [illegible] the street, its franchise was as absolutely [illegible] abutting on the street." This is merely a [illegible] trine clearly laid down by the New York [illegible] N. Y., 1), which held that although the [illegible] corporation holding a public franchise [illegible] extinct through the dissolution of the [illegible] chise remained unimpaired as an [illegible] benefit of creditors, precisely [illegible]

longing to the corporation at the time of its dissolution. The new law affects this class of property alone, and has nothing to do with mere corporate franchises, whose value, when they have any value, is strictly analogous to that of the good will of an ordinary trading or manufacturing firm.

Since the decision of the Court of Appeals in *The People ex rel. Union Trust Company vs. Coleman* (126 N. Y., 448), rendered in 1891, franchises, both public and corporate, in the State of New York, have been absolutely exempt from local assessment, although they had previously borne some considerable share of the burden of taxation as personal property. The Tax Commission of New York City estimates that that municipality alone has lost, since the Union Trust Company decision, upwards of one hundred million dollars in taxes; for, although it concerned corporate franchises merely, yet the Court of Appeals in subsequent decisions extended the doctrine, and held that the public franchise of a street railroad corporation was likewise exempt from local taxation. Mr. Justice Cullen in an opinion unanimously concurred in (*People ex rel. Brooklyn R. R. Co. vs. Neff*, 19 App. Division, 590), rendered in 1897, remarks:

> "This being the law, there should no longer be any attempt to avoid it or to tax property that is exempt. If the law is just, every one should favor it; if it be unjust, the only remedy is by application to the Legislature to alter it, for it is unquestionably within the power of the Legislature to subject this character of property to the same public burdens which other property within the State has to bear (*Henderson Bridge Co. vs. Kentucky*, 166 U. S., 150), a burden which for over forty years corporations have borne without cavil or complaint, and without suggestion that it was not imposed on them by law."

It was to alleviate the manifest injustice of the tax law to which the learned Justice called attention, that the bill to tax public franchises was introduced into the New York Legislature at its last session. How most effectively and simply to accomplish the purpose in mind, without disarranging the existing tax system or setting up new machinery, was a problem of no little complexity. It seemed clearly unjust to class corporate franchises, which can be had by the mere filing of certain papers in certain designated public offices upon the payment of an inconsiderable incorporation fee, by as many small groups of citizens as care to apply for them, and which have practically no value except that which is created [illegible] by the enterprise, skill and experience of the incorporators, [illegible] the sort of franchises designated "public," whose value

is created exclusively by the community, and granted in most cases without compensation of any kind in perpetuity to the corporations enjoying them. A local tax upon corporate franchises generally will be justified only when a uniform tax is levied upon that other very important species of property known as good will, so that the concern carrying on, say, a dry goods business, as a partnership, will be subjected to the same burdens imposed on the competing concern doing its business as a corporation; for the corporate franchise of the latter has no element of value, of any consequence, not found in the good will of the former.

Nor did it seem fair that such franchises as those of steam railroad corporations, which purchase, improve and maintain, at their own expense every foot of land they use or occupy, and pay their full quota of local taxes upon it, in common with other property owners of every locality through which their roads pass, should be classified, for purposes of taxation, with the public franchises enjoyed by street railway corporations, for example, which come into possession of public property purchased, improved and maintained at enormous public expense, and exempted from taxation besides. The effort at improvement in the tax law was, therefore, directed exclusively to bringing the public franchise within the schedule of property taxable for State and local purposes.

Public franchises are easements in the street, of such a character as have been classified as real property since the dawn of the common law. Moreover, the New York courts, from the [illegible] to the lowest, have repeatedly characterized them as [illegible] that category. In the *People, etc., vs. O'Brien* (111 N. [illegible]), cited above, the Court of Appeals, in defining the [illegible] property which a railroad company owned in the [illegible] New York City, had decided in 1888 that "the [illegible] Railroad Company took an estate in [illegible] through its grant from the city, under the [illegible] stitution and the act of the Legislature." "[illegible] by authority in this State," the same [illegible] a right constitutes property within the [illegible]

as to bring the intangible public franchise, whose value in most cases represents from fifty to eighty per cent. of the total value of the assets of the corporation enjoying it, as well as the tangible structures, substructures and superstructures, within reach of the tax gatherer.

All the ingenuity of the opponents of the measure in both houses of the Legislature, and doubtless of the eminent counsel who appeared in opposition to it as well, was exhausted in a vain endeavor to devise some amendment that would cure its alleged "incompleteness" and "crudity." The fact is that it was so plain, simple and complete in itself that no rational amendment to it was possible. It makes no new law. It does not change the structure of the previously existing tax law in the slightest degree, but simply adds to the schedule of taxable real estate vast properties hitherto exempt. Whatever crudity or incompleteness there is about it is due, not to its own form, but rather to the general tax law under which it brings public franchises to be taxed precisely as other property of the same class is taxed. Nor is there a single valid reason why any new method of assessing or taxing these properties should be provided, which does not apply with equal force to all other real estate.

It is said that great opportunities for exercising favoritism, extorting campaign contributions, and discriminating between the different corporations affected, are afforded by the act, through the wide discretion enjoyed by local officials in assessing these franchises. All of that is literally true. But it is as literally true of the many times more valuable real estate already [illegible] out the State by the very same local officials. [illegible] that assessments are made now in an arbitrary [illegible] manner. The taxing power is, and always has been [illegible] greater or less extent for political purposes, to [illegible] punish enemies of the respective local admin[illegible] tort campaign contributions, and even, in [illegible] the private gain of the public officials themsel[illegible] are inevitable under our tax law, as it [illegible] zen in the State, whether he be the milli[illegible] scraper on lower Broadway, a humble [illegible]

before the legislative committees to plead for relief for the ordinary citizen from the cruel injustices done him through our absurd system. It was only when it was proposed to bring the untaxed property of the great corporations within the operation of the same law that the Capitol building began to swarm with eminent counsel, and the committee rooms to ring with their eloquent denunciations of the wicked attempt to tax the property of their clients as the property of other citizens is taxed. If the method of local assessment is bad for one class of real estate, it is equally bad for all other classes. If a special effort is to be made to ease the burden upon any class, the farm, the homestead, and the business block, ought in all justice to receive the first attention of the Legislature.

There will be less difficulty and uncertainty in assessing public franchises than in fixing the taxable value of almost any other kind of real estate, certainly so in the case of some kinds of real estate mentioned in the tax law. For example, there are "land under water," and "all trees and underwood growing upon land, and mines, minerals, quarries and fossils in and under the same." Then there is "the value of the right to collect wharfage, cranage, or dockage" on wharves and piers, an intangible kind of real property, and as truly a franchise as any brought into the law by the new act. It has been the business of the local assessor for years to assess all these things, with no rule or method of procedure prescribed in the law for his guidance. Yet he has managed to assess them all in some fashion, and to get some contribution to the public treasuries out of them, even though with him it may have been largely a matter of guess work. Were the public franchises to be assessed and taxed in the same way, they would at least bear some share of the public burden and their possessors would have no reasonable cause for complaint. But in the case of franchises of all kinds, there is a simple and unerring method of valuation, sanctioned by long usage in many states, and approved by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is to take the market or actual value of all the indebtedness, exclusive of debts for current expenses, and the market or actual value of all the stock of every kind issued, and the total will be the value of all the assets of the corporation. Deduct the actual or market value of all the tangible property in its possession, and there remains the value of the intangible property, or the franchise. This rule is recognized by

the laws of Connecticut, which, in taxing railroads, levy the same tax upon the market value of their debts as upon the market value of their stock. It is employed in assessing franchises in New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and several other states. Its application in the valuation of public franchises under the new law in New York State will be even simpler than above indicated; for, since the franchise is to be taxed as real estate, it will not be necessary to separate the respective values of the tangible and intangible realty at all; but the actual value of the personal property only need be deducted from the total valuation of assets, as found under the rule, in order to discover the valuation of the taxable real property.

It would have been a simple matter to incorporate this method of assessment into the statute, but to have done so would have been unjust to the possessors of public franchises, because it would compel assessors everywhere to assess this property at full actual value, whereas it is well known that other property is, as a rule, assessed much lower and at widely different rates throughout the State. It seemed much wiser to follow the example of other States in which franchises are assessed and taxed locally, and leave the method of assessment to the discretion of the assessor as in the case of all other real estate. While corporate property should be made to bear its fair share of taxation, it should in no wise be discriminated against.

This precise method of valuing franchises, when first applied by the State Board of Equalization of Illinois to railroads, gave rise to three contesting actions, which were carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and there disposed of in a single decision in 1876 (*Taylor vs. Secor, Etc.*, 92 U. S., 575). Mr. Justice Miller, who wrote the opinion in the case, said:

"The statute of Illinois and the rule adopted by the Board of Equalization, under the power conferred by the clause we have just recited, may not be the wisest mode of doing complete justice in this difficult matter; but we confess we have, on the whole, seen no scheme which is better adapted to effect the purpose, so far as railroad corporations are concerned, of taxing at once all of their property, and of making the tax just and equal in all its relations to other taxable property of the State."

Again, after discussing in detail the rule as applied, the learned Justice continues:

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every year in addition. The possessors of public franchises have, for the most part, paid absolutely nothing for their properties, and never a tenth part of what they were worth. By what process of reasoning they bring themselves to believe that, because of the miserable little return they make to the city for their inestimably valuable easements in the streets, they are therefore entitled to exemption from taxation on them, is past finding out. Slight additional charges, such as car license fees, and the like, imposed on them, can hardly be classed as taxes at all, but in any event are so inconsiderable that they surely cannot be urged seriously as an equitable prohibition against State and local taxation.

What revenue will be realized from the act it is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy. That it will be very large is certain—far larger than even the corporations themselves realize. In general, it may be stated that the entire value of the stock of transportation corporations is the measure of the value of their respective franchises. The actual investment of capital is usually represented by the bonded indebtedness. When one considers the large number of companies, the value of whose shares will foot up from twenty-five to a hundred million dollars, one can form some idea of how much will be added to the assessed valuation of property throughout the State. On the other hand, the first effect of the law will be to depreciate the value of the stock by reason of the prospective payment of a part of the profits of the company into the public treasury [illegible]

The results of the operation of the law will be a [illegible] the people, and a lesson they will not soon forget [illegible] utilizing these sources of revenue for the public [illegible] of permitting them to be used exclusively for private [illegible] cities of New York were in possession of their [illegible] municipal revenue, as fully as is Glasgow, [illegible] city, would also be paying the entire cost of [illegible] governments without levying a cent of tax [illegible] the property of their inhabitants. And an[illegible] signs of the times aright can not doubt that [illegible] ties will be content with nothing short [illegible] similar condition of freedom from their [illegible] dens of taxation.

THE OUTLOOK FOR CARLISM.

BY THE HON. JAMES ROCHE, M. P.

SINCE the year 1834, Spain has been at regular intervals the scene of strife and hard fought battles between the two branches of the reigning family of Bourbons, both directly descended from Charles the Fourth, the monarch who abdicated and fled at the approach of Napoleon. He was succeeded by his elder son, Ferdinand VII., whose misrule created much dissatisfaction; for not only did he restore the Inquisition in its most objectionable form, but he also drove a coach and four through every law which did not suit his purpose. Having no male heir, he abolished the Salic Law in favor of his daughter Isabella, and to the detriment of his brother Carlos, in whose behalf a bold effort was made in 1834, by the Carlists of the Basque Provinces. England interfered and sent a British force of 10,000 men, under the command of Sir E. de Lacy Evans, who beat the insurgents at Ayetta, and San Sebastian. Don Carlos retired to France, and died at Trieste in 1855, having abdicated in 1848 in favor of the father of the present pretender, who is known as Carlos VII. A rising took place in 1849, another in 1860, and the last Carlist War began in 1871 and ended in 1874, when Carlos was beaten, hip and thigh, by the regular troops. Since then he has lived in retirement, and has taken no active steps to recover the throne of his ancestors, save by publishing a few pronunciamentos from time to time. In his last address to his partisans he foretold what has since happened. He declared that he would not move, so long as his country was fighting a foreign foe, but that, as soon as she had lost her colonies and [illegible] ratified, he would claim his rights and endeavor to as[illegible] reins of government, and to extricate Spain from the

dreadful position to which she has been redu
administrations that have held sway for year
hand.

It is interesting to consider for a moment th
condition of Spain, upon which must depend
rising in favor of Don Carlos de Bourbon. T
seem to be necessary for success in such a movem
plete adherence of the Basque Provinces; (2.) th
bonia; (3.) military organizations, and ample m

There are likewise three likely elements o
activity of the present Government; (2.) the
Basque Provinces, which could be effected by
many of their *fueros* or ancient rights; and (
of the advanced Republican-Socialist party,
chiefly felt in Catalonia and in Andalusia.

The Basque Provinces have hitherto been
the Carlist movement, for by Ferdinand VI
stripped of their ancient rights, these *fueros* w
spected by all his predecessors, and had exist
teenth century in the provinces of Navarra, I
Guipuzcoa. Based on the old laws of the Vi
up in the period between the irruption of th
Spanish Peninsula, and the consolidation of
archy under the House of Hapsburg. The le
these *fueros* are:

First, in Navarra, the Cortes, chosen for th
sisting of the three estates of the Clergy, Nob
are to meet yearly; and without their consen
passed, or anything of importance undertaken.

The Government consists of a viceroy, wh
Cortes and Great Council, the great Council o
similar to the old French Parliament) and th
fore which all accounts of revenue and expendi
There is no custom house or toll but at the fr
the trifling grant of 176,000 reals—$8,800—

claims are to be carefully examined. Should these intentions be carried out, the repatriados may be satisfied to bear the ills they know, but if the procrastinating policy of "Mañana" be again resorted to, and the Pretender with his vast wealth can enlist the services of these seasoned and embittered veterans, he will dispose of a force the value of which cannot be overrated. A large proportion of the "repatriados" hail from Catalonia and the Basque Provinces. They have to make their way to their homesteads, at their own expense, from the port at which they land, but often fail to reach their destination, so great are the privations they have suffered during their stay in the colonies and on the homeward journey.

The Ultramontane Catholicity of the Basque Provinces (*Mas Catolicos que el Papa, mas realistas que el rey**), would naturally sway the population in any political movement. Leo XIII. dealt the Carlist cause a heavy blow when he directed the Spanish clergy to obey their present rulers, but at the Vatican, opportunism is not unknown. Circumstances and men alter cases. The Pontiff is in his ninetieth year, and the next occupant of the papal throne may, like Pius IX., be in full sympathy with Don Carlos. The Basque clerics are Carlist to a man, and if assured of even the tacit consent of Rome they would, as in the seventies, take the field, and shoulder an *escopeta*, if need were. The exploits of the famous and bloodthirsty priest, Santa Cruz, would doubtless be imitated by many gentlemen of his sacred calling, in whose opinion the words "*Dios, Patria y Rey*" are almost synonymous terms.

There is a very strong analogy between the positions of the Basque and Irish clergies. Both are recruited from the people; both are the guides and confidants of the people; both wield upon their flocks the immense influence of the confessional. The Celtic tongue spoken in Ireland and in the Basque Provinces is a language unknown to the alien authorities. Priests and people work and fight in a common cause, the expulsion of the "*forastero*" (foreigner), the attainment of Home Government and fixity of tenure, and the removal of taxation. Their counsels are good and disinterested; under their sway, the morality of their flocks compares most favorably with that of other peoples, and they jealously protect the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of those committed to their care. A political cause in either country would,

ipso facto, cease to exist, amid present circumstances, without the support of the clergy.

The Eastern Province of Catalonia presents very different conditions. Catalonia is to Spain what Ulster is to Ireland; the Belfast of Catalonia is Barcelona, the most prosperous city in Spain, a port trading with the world, peopled by all nationalities, and the headquarters of the Socialist Republican party.

Twenty years ago, the Catalons fought bravely on the Carlist side, under the command of Don Alfonso de Bourbon, the brother of Don Carlos. They had no *fueros* to recover, but they had long suffered from the heavy taxes which were levied upon their prosperous country, to defray the lavish expenses of Madrid, the centre of extravagance and corruption. The economic condition of Catalonia is no more the same, and though still smarting under undue exactions, the Catalon is prosperous, educated and more than liberal in his aspirations. A federated Republic would satisfy his wants better than a change of dynasty, for he has long since concluded that if Madrid drains his resources under the Alphonsists, the Basque Provinces might prove equally costly under Don Carlos.

Competent judges are agreed that the present dynasty cannot last, but they also think that, before Don Carlos is crowned King of Spain, he will have to meet and defeat a strong and wealthy Republican party, the number of whose adherents is daily increasing in Catalonia and throughout the South of Spain. The dynamite outrages perpetrated in the Barcelona theatre, at Cartagena and elsewhere, have doubtless hampered the progress of the "*Republicanos federalistas*," but they have had less effect upon their ardor than was produced upon that of the Carlist clergy by the famous bull of Leo XIII., enforcing obedience to the present form of government.

In all Spanish revolutions, the military pronunciamento has played an important part, and to-day, more than ever, we must consider the chances which a General Weyler or some other political soldier might have in the contest for power. There seems no reason why such a candidate should not throw in his lot with the Republican party, remembering that a Marshal's baton has been changed before now into the sceptre of a tyrant. General Weyler [illegible], very militant, and has already expressed his intention [illegible] the newly formed Conservative Cabinet inch by inch.

He is, of course, the one military commander who has not surrendered some portion of Spain's possessions within the last few months, and his misdoings in Cuba have never caused him to be censured by the Spanish nation. While most of his fellow generals are about to be tried by court martial, General Weyler remains a warm favorite, and the populace greet him as though he were an "Espada" of the same calibre as Guerrita or Espartero. A Spanish general whose popularity equals that of an eminent toreador is always an important factor in politics.

"In some recent articles on "French Pretenders," the claims of Don Carlos of Spain to the throne of France have been set forth. In theory they seem irrefutable, and, granted that he should one day rule over the destinies of Spain, there is no reason why France should not also become part of his dominions.

Don Carlos, heir to the throne of Spain by the Salic Law, is also the most direct descendant of Louis XIV. Under the will of Charles II. of Spain, Philip, Duke of Anjou, the second son of "Le Grand Dauphin," inherited the throne of Spain. It is quite true that by the treaty of Utrecht, Philip resigned his claim to the French throne for himself and his successors, but the partisans of Don Carlos claim, first, that he was not entitled to resign those claims on behalf of his successors; second, that most of the provisions of the Peace of Utrecht were violated by the contracting parties, and that Louis Philippe, King of France, ignored the treaty *in toto* by marrying his son, the Duc de Montpensier, to the heiress of Queen Isabella of Spain in default of her leaving issue.

A still stronger argument is adduced by Don Carlos and his party. Ignoring all treaties and compacts, they contend that the right of the legitimate king is a "divine right" which cannot be made subject to treaties or compacts, that Don Carlos alone possesses that divine right, and that to him belong the thrones of France and Spain. The difficulty of inducing the French people to accept a foreign ruler is overcome by the statement that the Spanish Bourbons were really French princes, ruling and residing abroad, and that they have never been foreign to France in the

Don Carlos and of his party. Some effort must soon be made to redeem oft-given pledges. In a distracted country, rent asunder by internecine feuds, bled to death by corrupt administrations and severe defeat, deprived of its colonies and bereft of competent leaders, an able man with energy and honest purpose should be hailed with joy. Is such a man forthcoming in the person of Don Carlos? His past would answer "No;" the future may say "Yes."

Now, as in 1873, everything is ripe for a successful rising. Discord in the ranks of the Conservatives, dissatisfaction among the Liberals, universal discontent at the long delay in the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, and the growing conviction instilled into the minds of the people that America bought over the leaders of the Spanish army and thus secured their bloodless victories, a thorough organization of Carlist clubs and centres of propaganda, all tend to prove that a Pretender with a handful of men would soon gather around him a very considerable army.

The action of the clergy in proclaiming allegiance to the established form of Government would not have very much importance in the present crisis, for the Carlist question has invaded the domain of practical politics, and is openly discussed by responsible politicians. Public meetings are addressed by the partisans of Don Carlos not only in the Basque Provinces, but in other large towns, and the abstention of the clergy is not even noticed. The people remember the quick change of front, from Carlism to Alphonsism, effected by the clergy in 1876, and expect to see a similar *volte-face* executed in favor of a successful competitor for the throne of Spain.

As I have already indicated, the future action of [illegible] a most important element in the event of a [illegible] ing. Not only will it influence it directly, but it [illegible] consolidate Don Carlos or to shake his power, and [illegible] factor in determining the conduct of certain [illegible] toward him. The increase of Latin influence [illegible] strengthen the hand of Rome, and in the event [illegible] coming King of Spain, the alliance by marri[illegible] son, with a reigning Latin family, such as [illegible] Italy, might make a sensible difference [illegible] of the Vatican. The successor to Leo [illegible]

chances are far greater than those of the other members of the Sacred College. I refer to Cardinal Vanutelli, a comparatively young man, with vast political and family influence, with a brilliant record both as a theologian and a diplomatist, and endowed with energy of action and great eloquence. Both he and his brother, Monsignor Vanutelli, are known to hold strong views in favor of the Carlist movement in Spain, and of a Legitimist restoration in France. The strengthening of the Latin influence in Europe is to them an article of faith, and it is difficult to foretell to what extent Pope Vanutelli would put into effect the opinions now held by Cardinal Vanutelli.

The efforts actually made by the Vatican to take part in the Peace Conference clearly show that, even under Leo XIII., the nonagenarian Pontiff, Rome has not waived her claim to be heard on matters affecting international politics; and it seems difficult to believe that her voice would remain silent on a question to her as pregnant with interest as the return of the Bourbons to the thrones of Spain and France.

Admitting that Don Carlos can afford to ignore Rome in his endeavor to conquer a throne, he will have to cement his victory with her goodwill. Many difficulties would be overcome if, by the abdication of his father, Don Jaime became King of Spain and married his cousin, the Infanta Maria de las Mercedes, sister of the present little King. The two branches would thus be united, and the supporters of the Salic Law, as well as its opponents, would hail with joy a termination of the feud.

Don Carlos, however, is not likely to hand over his rights to his son. He considers that the present condition of Spain requires to be treated by a strong and experienced ruler, and being still in the prime of life, he feels he can serve his country for many years to come. Neither he nor his young consort would consent to retire in favor of Don Jaime, a boy scarce out of his teens, whose knowledge of men and things has yet to be acquired, and whose military training is still in the preliminary stages.

His father, on the other hand, has proved himself a good tactician in the field, and with very raw material at his disposal he [illegible] than once inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. He is [illegible] with having a complete plan of campaign for future op[illegible] and able officers to assist him in carrying it out. One of [illegible] General Antonio Brea, has just published an account of the

1873-76 campaign, entitled "The Campaign of the North." General Brea makes no mystery of what the next campaign is likely to be; guerilla warfare will, of course, be resorted to, as of old, but the introduction of the Maxim gun will prove an immense advantage to whichever side will hold the mountain passes. Don Carlos is credited with having powerful mountain and field artillery. If this be true, he should have little difficulty in making his way into the plains of New Castille from two different points: the Pyrenees or Basque Provinces in the North, and Catalonia in the East. Two armies marching jointly from these points should either effect a junction, say at Alcala or Molina, push on toward Madrid, and make a combined attack, or operate separately, the Catalonian contingent making a front attack from Alcala, while the Pyrenean army would move from Toledo. The capital would be hemmed in by simultaneous front and rear attacks, and, given good generalship and a well organized commissariat on the Carlist side, the occupation of Madrid would soon be an accomplished fact.

In the last campaign dilatory tactics prevented the success of a similar scheme, but bitter experience must have taught Don Carlos that in warfare swift action can alone bring victory, and he is not likely to repeat at fifty the mistakes which he made at thirty, when the joys of Capua and the pleasures of life delayed him on the road to Madrid, and led him into exile.

One naturally inquires what would be the attitude of [illegible] Governments in Europe toward Don Carlos, should he [illegible] winning the throne of Spain. Europe has little [illegible] matter; so far as Germany is concerned, the Hoh[illegible] tion is at an end with regard to Spain. France has too [illegible] tions of her own to settle; England will not repeat the [illegible] made in 1834 by sending another De Lacy [illegible] affairs of the Peninsula; while Italy, Austria, [illegible] probably recognize the new king.

The world at large is agreed that Spain [illegible] government than the one which has ruled [illegible] conspicuous ineptitude, for the past twenty [illegible] is fast growing that a radical change is [illegible]

"Retrench and reform and repent" [illegible] successor to Alphonso XIII.

ill from over-exertion, which compelled his absence during the principal fighting at San Juan Hill, yet, on hearing of the engagement, with more martial spirit than physical strength, joined his command later in the day. During his temporary absence, the Cavalry Division was under the command of Colonel (afterwards General) Sumner, whose commands were given in the most cool and deliberate way, under the most trying circumstances, as the troops swept up the ascent at San Juan Hill. The bravery of Roosevelt was conspicuous as he led his command into action, while the troops under Generals Hawkins and Kent were skillfully manœuvered by their brave commanders.

The army lost in these engagements some of its best officers and bravest men. The total number present for duty June 30 was 858 officers and 17,358 enlisted men. From July 1 to 12, there were 22 officers and 222 enlisted men killed, and 93 officers and 1,288 enlisted men wounded.

The troops, with the assistance of the Cubans, continued to besiege the garrison, extending their line to the right until it reached the bay of Santiago, covering the Cobre road.

While the news of the results of the engagements was gratifying, the situation of the troops caused much anxiety, and the severe loss that had occurred rendered the situation serious. In fact, it is impossible to describe the condition of anxiety that existed in Washington at that time, and especially on the receipt of the following telegram:

"Playa del Este, July [illegible]
(Received Washington, [illegible]

"The Secretary of War, Washington:

"We have the town well invested on the north and [illegible] very thin line. Upon approaching it we find it of such [illegible] the defenses so strong, it will be impossible to carry [illegible] my present force, and I am seriously considering [illegible] five miles and taking up a new position on the high [illegible] San Juan River and Siboney, with our left at [illegible] our supplies, to a large extent, by means of the [illegible] use, having engines and cars at Siboney. Our [illegible] aggregate a thousand, but list has not yet been [illegible] ness outside of exhaustion from intense heat [illegible] of the day before yesterday and the almost [illegible] up on the trenches. Wagon road to the rear [illegible] culty on account of rains, but I will be able [illegible] General Wheeler is seriously ill, and [illegible]

troops was magnificent. I am urging Admiral Sampson to attempt to force the entrance of the harbor, and will have a consultation with him this morning. He is coming to the front to see me. I have been unable to be out during the heat of the day for four days, but am retaining the command. General Garcia reported he holds the railroad from Santiago to San Luis, and has burned a bridge and removed some rails; also that General Pando has arrived at Palma, and that the French Consul, with about four hundred French citizens, came into his lines yesterday from Santiago. Have directed him to treat them with every courtesy possible.

SHAFTER, Major-General."

The following reply was sent, not only for the purpose of expressing appreciation of the heroic conduct of the troops, but to give all possible encouragement, with the assurance of speedy reinforcement:

"Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, D. C., July 3, 1898.

"General Shafter, Playa del Este, Cuba:

"Accept my hearty congratulations on the record made of magnificent fortitude, gallantry, and sacrifice displayed in the desperate fighting of the troops before Santiago. I realize the hardships, difficulties, and sufferings, and am proud that amid those terrible scenes the troops illustrated such fearless and patriotic devotion to the welfare of our common country and flag. Whatever the results to follow their unsurpassed deeds of valor, the past is already a gratifying chapter of history. I expect to be with you within one week with strong reinforcements.

MILES,
Major-General, Commanding."

The following reply was received:

"Headquarters Fifth Army Corps,
Near Santiago, Playa, July 4, 1898.

"Major-General Nelson A. Miles,
Commanding the Army of the United States, Washington:

"I thank you in the name of the gallant men I have the honor to command for the splendid tribute of praise which you have accorded them. They bore themselves as American soldiers always have. Your telegram will be published at the head of the regiments in the morning. I feel that I am master of the situation and can hold the enemy for any length of time. I am delighted to know that you are coming that you may see for yourself the obstacles which this army had to overcome. My only regret is the great number of gallant souls who have given their lives for our country's cause.

SHAFTER."

On July 3rd Cervera's fleet sailed out of the harbor of Santiago. It was not a challenge to battle, for Cervera knew the odds [illegible] him were overwhelming. On the contrary, it was a dash [illegible]. For his plunge the Spaniard chose a most favorable mo[illegible] could have seen the flagship of the mighty fleet which

environed him (and its fleet) steam majestically toward the east, as Admiral Sampson had gone to meet General Shafter, as indicated in the above telegram, leaving Admiral Schley temporarily in command. The disposition of the vessels of our fleet had been well planned, and within three hours and forty minutes from the time of the appearance of the first vessel the whole Spanish fleet, consisting of four cruisers and two torpedo-boat destroyers, had either been sunk or were burning on the beach. Admiral Cervera and 76 other officers and 1,600 men were taken prisoners; 350 men were killed or drowned, and 160 wounded.

This gratifying victory settled what had been up to that moment the problem of the Spanish war in the West Indies, namely, the question as to the command of the sea. The inclosing of Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbor was the only occasion for sending troops to that place at that season of the year. The general plan of campaign then was to first capture or destroy the fleet and then to capture the Island of Porto Rico.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet presented a new problem, especially in view of the fact that serious losses had been suffered by the army and of the possibility that further sacrifice might be required to reduce the garrison at Santiago, it being known that the army was liable to be decimated by disease at that season.

The situation at that time is indicated by the following telegrams:

"Playa del Este, via Haiti,
July 4, [illegible]

"Adjutant-General, U. S. A., Washington:

"Headquarters Fifth Army Corps, in camp near [illegible] There appears to be no reasonable doubt that [illegible] ed in entering Santiago last night with his force, [illegible] men. This puts a different aspect upon affairs, and [illegible] ably maintain ourselves, it would be at the cost [illegible] fighting and loss. General Lawton reports that [illegible] was to block entrance of Pando, informed him [illegible] that Pando had passed in on Cobre road. [illegible] General Garcia to obey my instructions, and [illegible] themselves in any position where they [illegible] intend to reduce Santiago, we will have [illegible] troops, and that we will require [illegible] sent a message to Admiral Sampson, [illegible] harbor so as to give us his assistance [illegible] he does not know Admiral [illegible] of the Spanish squadron, but [illegible] go into harbor of Santiago [illegible]

In the second note it was stated that an officer had volunteered "to take one of the transports now at Santiago, protecting it with material there, and with which several of the transports are partly loaded, and force it into the harbor of Santiago for the purpose of dropping dynamite cartridges and dragging for submerged mines or torpedoes. Any number of volunteers will be found ready for this service if required."

On learning that no one of the four propositions was definitely determined upon, and lest my views might be misunderstood, I sent, on the afternoon of the same day, the following letter:

"Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, July 5, 1898.

"The Honorable, The Secretary of War:

"Sir: I do not wish to be misunderstood in regard to my two notes sent you this morning. You informed me that you had three propositions to make in regard to Santiago. I replied that I would be glad if any one of them could be executed; and certainly no one could be more gratified than myself to hear that our Navy had entered the harbor of Santiago to silence the batteries that are now turned upon our brave officers and men. It so happened that on returning to my office one of my staff officers volunteered his services, without the least knowledge of what you had said to me, for the very enterprise which was suggested in one of your propositions, and I sent notice of this to you for your personal information.

"I also informed you that in case it should not be thought [illegible] to adopt the suggestions as indicated in your memorandum, I had [illegible] other to suggest, having in mind at the time the language of [illegible] Shafter's dispatch of last night, referring to the number of [illegible] quired, viz.: "We will require twice the number we now [illegible] we have got to try and reduce the town now that the [illegible] which was stated to be the chief object of the expedition [illegible] be no delay in getting large bodies of troops here;" [illegible] the fact that much time would be necessary to get [illegible] to that place, it occurred to me that should it not be [illegible] to continue operations against the garrison at [illegible] good time to move on to Porto Rico, the capture of [illegible] to me of great importance at this time.

"These notes were addressed to you with the [illegible] were of any service and met your approval, [illegible] of them as you thought advisable, but not [illegible] this communication be forwarded to the Pr[illegible] sess his mind of what must be a misappre[illegible]

Very respectfu[illegible]
Nelson [illegible]
Major [illegible]

At a council of war held at the W[illegible] the subject was seriously consid[illegible]

the garrison at Santiago must be destroyed or captured; and it was also decided that I should proceed immediately to Santiago and take such measures as would accomplish that object.

It was my purpose to land the troops that were then *en route* to Santiago on the west side of the harbor, within two and a half miles of Morro Castle, and I left with the assurance that I would have all necessary assistance from Admiral Sampson's fleet.

I left Washington on the 7th of July and reached Columbia, South Carolina, on the 8th, and thence proceeded by special train to Charleston, at which place I arrived on the evening of the same day and immediately boarded the swift steamer "Yale," the Atlantic liner, better known as the "Paris," which was already loaded with troops, ready to heave anchor, off the harbor and city of Charleston. She was accompanied and convoyed by the U. S. S. "Columbia," also carrying troops. At midnight these two fleet steamers headed for the south with all possible speed and arrived off the harbor of Santiago on the morning of July 11th, while the fleet there gathered was still bombarding the works near Santiago harbor. I immediately communicated with Admiral Sampson, apprising him of my purpose, and he promptly came on board the "Yale." I at once acquainted him with my plan of operation, in which he cordially acquiesced and signified his readiness to support me heartily in carrying it out. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made for that purpose, I landed on July 12th, and proceeded to General Shafter's headquarters. A note was then sent to the General commanding the Spanish forces, informing him of my arrival and that I desired to have an immediate conference with him between the lines, to which he readily assented, fixing the time at twelve o'clock on the ensuing day.

Already, before leaving Washington, I had been made aware of the appearance of yellow fever among our troops in Cuba and the serious situation which that fact presented. On arriving there I found that the contagion had increased rapidly, and the importance of immediate and decisive action was abundantly apparent.

The meeting with General Toral between the lines on the 13th, under a flag of truce, was no less interesting than important. Several communications had passed between him and General Shafter in regard to the surrender of the garrison, and General Shafter [illegible] wired the Secretary of War to the effect that the entrance of [illegible] into the harbor was necessary before he could expect a

surrender. In the conversation with General Toral reference was made to his correspondence with General Shafter, the latter urging him to surrender his forces, and he (Toral) claiming that under the Spanish law he could not surrender so long as he had ammunition and food, of both of which it is well known he had a supply. Indeed, the very last ship to enter the harbor of Santiago before it was blockaded by our fleet brought a herd of cattle, which very materially increased the supplies already on hand. At the close of our conversation, I informed the Spanish Commander that when I left Washington, six days before, the decision of the Government had already been reached, that this portion of the Spanish army must either be destroyed or captured, and that the necessary force would be provided and used for that purpose; that I had brought strong reinforcements; and that if they were not sufficient more would follow in order to make sure of accomplishing the object stated. I also reminded him that he had already abundantly vindicated the honor of the Spanish arms in the defense which he had made. I pointed out that further resistance would be of no avail and would only result in unnecessary waste of life. Finally, I informed him that I would give him until the next morning at daylight to decide, and that it would be useless to expect any further delay. He earnestly represented that he could not in so short a time communicate with his Government; and recognizing the possibility of the truth of that statement, I extended the time until twelve o'clock, noon. The conference was then discontinued.

On my way back to camp I received the following telegram from the Secretary of War:

"Washington, D. C., [illegible]

"Major-General Miles:

"You may accept surrender by granting parole to [illegible] the officers retaining their side arms. The officers [illegible] to return to Spain, the United States assisting. [illegible] assault, unless in your judgment an assault [illegible] Sampson and pursue such course as to the [illegible] upon. Matter should be settled promptly.

R. A. [illegible]

Thus, as will be seen, the matter [illegible] discretion. Immediately thereafter I [illegible] miral Sampson, requesting him to [illegible] to cover the landing of troops [illegible]

The surrender included not only the garrison of Santiago, consisting of some 11,000 men, but the entire command of General Toral stationed at different points in the eastern part of Cuba, numbering in all 24,000 men.

The Cubans are entitled to at least a good share of the credit for these results, as they, and the United States marines landed near Guantanamo, were the only troops who had been contending against the troops not actually in the garrison at Santiago. Their action during the siege is indicated by the following letter:

"Near Santiago, Cuba, July 16, 1898.

"Dear General Garcia: I beg to congratulate you, as well as ourselves, on what seems now to have been a fortunate solution of the Santiago problem, resulting in the success of our combined forces in the taking of the city, the departure of the Spanish and the restoration of peace in Santiago.

"Permit me to say to you that your forces have performed most notable service and their work has been invaluable to us; not only in scouting and procuring information, but in the vital matter of the construction of trenches and defences for the investment of the city. Your people have accomplished an immense amount of this work with almost no appliances whatever and have cheerfully surrendered the use of them to our troops when the continuation of the investment rendered it necessary to move our regiments forward to the right.

"I make this statement, General, personally and not officially, because I am but a subordinate commander, but do so for the reason that I have been more closely in touch with your forces and have had better occasion to observe their work and the value of their co-operation than perhaps any other.

"I desire to thank you also for the service of General [illegible] troops, which were placed at my disposition, and I desire to [illegible] General Sanchez to your favorable consideration. He [illegible] and willingly complied with every demand I made on him, [illegible] formed valuable service in extending our right flank [illegible] cemetery and cover the Cobre road.

"I shall take another occasion to thank you for the [illegible] sonal courtesies that you and the officers of your [illegible] me, and which, I hope to have an opportunity to [illegible] hereafter.

"I beg to remain your obedient servant,

William L[illegible]
Brigadier[illegible]

Indeed, their part in obtaining the [illegible] lightly dismissed. In my official report [illegible] measure to do them justice. Since that [illegible] have seen the translation of a work publi[illegible] ond in command of the naval forces [illegible] de Cuba, who was present within [illegible]

the Santiago campaign, in which I find admissions greatly to the credit of our Cuban allies. But without these admissions from the enemy, the fact that these insurgents had for three years been steadily gaining ground against troops who had met ours at El Caney with such heroism, is sufficient vindication of their courage and fighting capacity.

I sent the following dispatch, and, later, issued the order which follows:

"Headquarters Cavalry Division, United States Army,
Before Santiago, Cuba, July 14, 1898—12.55 p. m.

"The Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

"General Toral formally surrendered the troops of his army corps and division of Santiago on the terms and understanding that his troops would be returned to Spain. General Shafter will appoint commissioners to draw up the conditions of arrangement for carrying out the terms of surrender. This is very gratifying, and General Shafter and the officers and men of this command are entitled to great credit for their tenacity, fortitude, and in overcoming almost insuperable obstacles which they have encountered. A portion of the army has been infected with yellow fever, and efforts will be made to separate those who are infected and those free from it, and to keep those who are still on board ship separated from those on shore. Arrangements will be immediately made for carrying out the further instructions of the President and yourself.

MILES,
Major-General, Commanding the Army."

"Headquarters of the Army,
Siboney, Cuba, July 16, 1898.

"General Field Orders, No. 1

"The gratifying success of the American arms at Santiago de Cuba and some features of a professional character both important and instructive are hereby announced to the Army.

"The declaration of war found our country with a small army scattered over a vast territory. The troops composing this army were speedily mobilized at Tampa, Fla. Before it was possible to properly equip a volunteer force, strong appeals for aid came from the Navy, which had inclosed in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba an important part of the Spanish fleet. At that time the only efficient fighting force available was the United States Army, and in order to organize a command of sufficient strength the cavalry had to be sent dismounted to Santiago de Cuba with the infantry and artillery.

"The expedition thus formed was placed under command of Major-General Shafter. Notwithstanding the limited time to equip and organize an expedition of this character, there was never displayed a nobler spirit of patriotism and fortitude on the part of officers and men going forth to maintain the honor of their country. After encountering the vicissitudes of an ocean voyage, they were obliged to disembark [illegible] shore and immediately engage in an aggressive campaign. [illegible] storms, intense and prostrating heat, within a fever- [illegible] with little comfort or rest, either by day or night, they

pursued their purpose of finding and conquering the enemy. Many of them, trained in the severe experience of the great war, and in frequent campaigns on the western plains, officers and men alike exhibited a great skill, fortitude, and tenacity, with results which have added a new chapter of glory to their country's history. Even when their own generals in several cases were temporarily disabled, the troops fought on with the same heroic spirit until success was finally achieved. In many instances the officers placed themselves in front of their commands, and under their direct and skillful leadership the trained troops of a brave army were driven from the thickets and jungles of an almost inaccessible country. In the open field the troops stormed intrenched infantry, and carried and captured fortified works with an unsurpassed daring and disregard of death. By gaining commanding ground they made the harbor of Santiago untenable for the Spanish fleet, and practically drove it out to a speedy destruction by the American Navy.

"While enduring the hardships and privations of such a campaign, the troops generously shared their scanty food with the 5,000 Cuban patriots in arms and the suffering people who had fled from the besieged city. With the twenty-four regiments and four batteries, the flower of the United States Army, were also three volunteer regiments. These, though unskilled in warfare, yet, inspired with the same spirit, contributed to the victory, suffered hardships, and made sacrifices with the rest. Where all did so well it is impossible, by special mention, to do justice to those who bore conspicuous part. But of certain unusual features mention cannot be omitted, namely, the cavalry dismounted fighting and storming works as infantry, and a regiment of colored troops, who having shared equally in the heroism as well as the sacrifices, is now voluntarily engaged in nursing yellow-fever patients and burying the dead. The gallantry, patriotism, and sacrifices of the American Army, as illustrated in this brief campaign, will be fully appreciated by a grateful country, and the heroic deeds of those who have fought and fallen in the cause of freedom will ever be cherished in sacred memory and be an inspiration to the living.

"By command of Major-General Miles:

J. C. [illegible]

Brigadier-General, United States [illegible]"

The surrender having been definitely [illegible] thought then was to put the troops into as [illegible] sible and remove them from the danger of [illegible] yellow fever; and also to as speedily as [illegible] dition for the capture of Porto Rico, [illegible] of accomplishing for several weeks.

(To be Con[illegible]

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This report, submitted on the morning of the thirteenth, did not suit Sandherr and du Paty. The documents were immediately sent to M. Bertillon, who was not an expert. The same evening he declared that the *bordereau* was the work of Captain Dreyfus.

In the afternoon of the thirteenth, Captain Dreyfus was in-invited to appear at the War Department, under pretext of a general inspection. On the fourteenth, the very next day, du Paty de Clam was appointed by the Minister of War as an officer of magisterial authority, empowered to hold a private examination. At the same time, the order was given to the superintendent of Cherche-Midi Prison to have a cell in readiness.

On the fifteenth of October, when Captain Dreyfus arrived at the War Department, du Paty dictated a letter to him, in which were enumerated the documents mentioned in the *bordereau*. Dreyfus wrote in his normal and most tranquil handwriting. However, du Paty, with wildly rolling eyes, accused Dreyfus of trembling. Then suddenly du Paty declared to him that his confusion was the proof of his crime, and had him arrested and taken to Cherche-Midi.

Du Paty de Clam then proceeded to make a minute search in the house of Mme. Dreyfus, to whom he had announced the arrest of her husband, enjoining secrecy under dire threats. This search was fruitless. Du Paty concluded that "everything that might have proved in any way compromising had been hidden or destroyed in time."

For two weeks Captain Dreyfus did not know of [illegible] accused. Du Paty came to see him in prison and [illegible] When Dreyfus protested his innocence, du Paty [illegible] Bruneau said he was innocent, but he died on the [illegible]

Du Paty's methods were those of a Spanish [illegible] day, before going in to see Captain Dreyfus, he [illegible] ant Forzinetti, the superintendent of the prison, [illegible] not enter the cell with a lamp powerful [illegible]

Minister of War. The latter had his doubts and hesitated to act in so grave a matter on such questionable evidence. Du Paty had recommended the most absolute secrecy. To force the Minister's hand, Commandant Henry published the arrest of the Jewish officer in the *Libre Parole*. Thus an Anti-Semitic campaign was set on foot. From the mere fact that the accused officer was a Jew, Drumont at once proclaimed him guilty. General Mercier surrendered to the threat of Drumont and Rochefort.

II.

Dreyfus was condemned not only on the strength of the *bordereau*, but still more on that of secret documents illegally admitted, which had no reference to him, and which had been communicated to the judges outside of the regular channels of accusation and defence. Then the unfortunate man was degraded and deported to Devil's Island.

Colonel Sandherr, the chief of the bureau of information, having been stricken with general paralysis, was replaced by Colonel, then Commandant, Picquart. In the course of the summer of 1896 Colonel Picquart seized a telegram from Schwarzkoppen, the German military attaché, to an infantry officer, a former pontifical Zouave, whose name is Commandant Walsin-Esterhazy. This telegram proved the treason of this miscreant, who had been in the pay of the German military attaché since 1892. Commandant Henry immediately informed Esterhazy.

Having compared Esterhazy's handwriting with that of the *bordereau*, Picquart discovered that Esterhazy was the author of the document on account of which Dreyfus had been condemned. The chiefs of the general staff, after having at first received Colonel Picquart's revelations with favor, soon selfishly shrank back from the work of reparation and justice to which that officer invited them. The former colleagues of Colonel Sandherr immediately endeavored, in all possible ways, to dissipate any doubts concerning Dreyfus that might arise in the public mind. On the fourteenth of September the *Eclair* published an article which gave in detail the private examination which had been conducted by du Paty, and the (incorrect) text of the *bordereau*. It also re[illegible] the existence, and the admission as evidence, of a secret [illegible] in which the name of Dreyfus was infamously substi[illegible] the initial "D. . ."

Owing to the culpable weakness of
general staff was able to induce him to
who had discovered Esterhazy's crime.
terfeit letter from the Italian militar
military attaché was sent to the Minis
zardi recommended Colonel von Schw
of their relations to the Jew Dreyfus.
tion of a counterfeiter in the pay of C
ter believed it to be genuine.

Colonel Picquart had no sooner left
vice of the War Department seized his
ters someone called "the demi-god" i
Commandant Lallemand, who was kn
the society of the Countess de Commin
ferred to a chief of the "syndicate,"
who co-operated with Colonel Picquar
vision of the Dreyfus case. He imme
fabricated, which he signed with the
which ran thus: "Your sudden depart
confusion, the work is compromised; sp
act." (December 15, 1896). This lett
post office, was shown to the Minister
quart's intrigues; it was not sent to the
dressed, who would have immediately d

But du Paty and Henry were not to
fear of revision. In the month of Octo
that Scheurer-Kestner, a Republican S
acquired proof of Captain Dreyfus' in
going to speak and act in behalf of th
mediately the uneasy du Paty and H
Their first care was to warn Command
real traitor. The latter, beside himself
the German military attaché, and impl
"It will be enough," he said, "if you go
that her husband is guilty." The
"Are you mad, Commandant?"

set on foot an investigation which proved fruitless, doubtless because he did not care to know the truth.

On November 15, 1897, Matthieu Dreyfus denounced Esterhazy as the author of the *bordereau* in a letter to General Villet. During the whole time of the Esterhazy trial, which followed Matthieu Dreyfus' accusation, Henry and du Paty de Clam did not cease advising and guiding the traitor in his defence. General de Pellieux, in conducting the trial, directed all his efforts against Colonel Picquart, who was guilty of having discovered the real traitor and of having denounced him to his chiefs.

At the same time the whole reactionary, clerical and Anti-Semitic, as well as an important part of the Socialist press, particularly Rochefort's *Intransigeant*, carried on a violent campaign against the courageous men who had undertaken the movement in favor of revision, and especially the scholars and men of letters, Duclaux, Grimaux, Paul Meyer, Anatole France and the "intellectuals." The *Figaro* published abominable letters which Esterhazy had addressed to Mlle. de Boulancy, in which he expresses his ardent desire to see Paris burnt and a hundred thousand Frenchmen massacred.

Minister Meline, dominated by the clerical party, likewise fought against revision in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate, as well as in the papers that were at his disposal.

By the advice of General de Pellieux, Esterhazy demanded a tral before a council of war. He was certain of being acquitted.

And the council of war, presided over by General de Luxer, did in fact acquit this knave.

III.

When matters had reached this point, Zola [illegible]
President of the Republic an eloquent letter, in [illegible]
the general staff of complicity with Esterhazy. [illegible]
prosecuted him before the Court of Assizes of [illegible]

This trial enabled the friends of truth [illegible]
some light on the mysterious sides of this [illegible]
Picquart related how he had discovered [illegible]
monstrous illegality of condemning D[illegible]
secret papers was likewise shown by [illegible]
former Minister of War, who did [illegible]

Notwithstanding Labori's eloquent pleading, Zola was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. But the Court of Cassation annulled this judgment on technical grounds. Some time after, Zola was again brought before the Court of Assizes of Versailles on account of his letter to Felix Faure. But, being certain that the witnesses would not be able to speak freely on the subject of the Dreyfus case, he allowed himself to be condemned by default, and exiled himself temporarily by going to England.

Persecutions were next organized by the Government, against all the defenders of justice. Colonel Picquart was driven from the army; the great scholar, Grimaux, a professor in the *Ecole Polytechnique*, was dismissed; and I was deprived of my grade as captain in the territorial army for an article in the *Siècle*.

The revisionist journals, however, did not allow themselves to be intimidated, but continued the campaign with energy.

The general election had taken place in May. The new Chamber was as violently opposed to revision as the old one. The radical Ministry, presided over by M. Brisson, continued M. Meline's policy. Cavaignac, the Minister of War, then resolved to close the Dreyfus incident by a great speech, which he made in the Chamber of Deputies on July 7, 1898. He there not only declared Dreyfus to be guilty, as General Billot and M. Meline had done, but undertook to prove it. He based his argument, on the one hand, on the pretended confession by Dreyfus to Captain Lebrun-Renault, and, on the other hand, on a large number of documents, from which he selected three for the inspection of the Chamber. Of these three papers, two do not apply to Dreyfus. They relate to the civilian spy "D. . ." The third had been forged by Colonel Henry. By an almost unanimous vote the Chamber ordered this speech to be placarded.

In the meantime M. Bertulus, after a minute and complete investigation, had become convinced that the forgeries signed "Blanche" and "Speranza" had been committed for the purpose of injuring Colonel Picquart by Commandant Esterhazy, Madame Pays and M. du Paty de Clam, their accomplice. He consequently caused the arrest of Esterhazy and Madame Pays. M. Cavaignac immediately replied by arresting Colonel Picquart, whom he could not forgive for having answered his speech by sending a very re-[illegible] letter to the President of the Council and offering to [illegible] before any competent tribunal that the paper read by M.

Cavaignac from the platform was a forgery. Colonel Picquart was prosecuted for having communicated to his friend, M. Leblois, secret documents concerning the Dreyfus affair—which was untrue; and—which was true—for having asked his advice on comparatively unimportant matters concerning his service.

Colonel Picquart was, therefore, taken to the Prison de la Santé, as were also Esterhazy and Madame Pays. But he was destined to stay there longer than they. The power of the Government made itself felt, as Esterhazy said, for he and his mistress were set at liberty. The Court of Appeals did not ratify the order issued by M. Bertulus for bringing Esterhazy, Madame Pays and M. du Paty de Clam before the Court of Assizes. Colonel Picquart complained against this decree before the Court of Cassation. The judges of this supreme tribunal very sharply criticised the decree of the Court of Appeals, but they had no power to set it aside. After a long private examination held by Judge Fabre, Colonel Picquart was remanded to the Correctional Court.

IV.

The revisionists seemed now to be in a rather bad plight, when a clap of thunder came out of a clear sky, and with it a flash of light fell upon the mysteries of the Dreyfus case. On August 30th, Colonel Henry confessed that he had forged the paper which Colonel Picquart had declared to be a fabrication. On the thirty-first, he committed suicide.

And so the witness who most gravely incriminated Dreyfus in the trial of 1894, the bitterest adversary of Colonel Picquart in the Zola trial, had committed a forgery in 1896 to prove Dreyfus guilty! But is that all he had done? And if he [illegible] to it by necessity, must it not have been because [illegible] dence against Dreyfus did not exist, and because [illegible] quart had been right? Public excitement [illegible] when it became known that General de Bois[illegible] resignation and that it had been accepted. [illegible] vision was inevitable.

Notwithstanding Henry's confession, [illegible] remained convinced that Dreyfus was guilty [illegible] sign from the Ministry rather than [illegible] his colleagues. General Zurlinden, [illegible]

[illegible]

However, the new Ministry, p
very hostile to the work of justice.
the Republic, supported their effo
came certain that the Criminal Se
was going to pronounce in favor o
shameful bill to withdraw the cas
it before the three sections of the
passed despite the brave resistance o

Meanwhile, Felix Faure died su
cruel enemy. Loubet, the new Pre

On the day of Felix Faure's fu
raise a riot. They were promptly a

The *Figaro* then rendered an i
justice. By means which will be k
taining the proceedings of the Cri
Cassation and published them. Th
mysterious affair. The *Figaro* thu
general staff in the attempt to save
file was laid bare: it contained no p
fus. Esterhazy confessed his relati
tending that he was engaged in co

The immense majority of the F
converted to the cause of justice, b
the friends of truth.

When these lines appear in pri
will have been ordered by the Cour

THE PEACE CONFERENCE: ITS POSSIBLE PRACTICAL RESULTS.

BY A DIPLOMATIST AT THE HAGUE.

EIGHT months have elapsed since the appearance of the circular of Count Muravieff, inviting governments to the discussion of measures for the securing of peace. The impression produced was so strong, every one was so struck by it, that for a long time no definite opinion was heard. Now the position has changed.

At first general attention was attracted by the humanitarian side of the circular. The unsatisfactory state of existing international relations had been recognized for centuries. Great thinkers and philosophers had tried to alleviate the evil; rulers and even conquerors had sympathized with them theoretically, but now for the first time the voice of a powerful monarch summoned them to the realization of the first step in the great enterprise. The friends of peace thrilled with joy. "Then the idea is not a dream," they said, "it can be realized."

As usual, the enthusiasm went too far. No Utopian plan of immediate abolition of war was entertained by the Russian proposals. To diminish the present armaments, or even only to arrest their further increase; to remove as far as possible the useless cruelty of war; to facilitate the peaceful solution of any rising disputes—these were the ends desired.

Circumstances promptly showed how prudent was this moderation. There is no need to discuss here whether universal peace and the abolition of war are possible or not, but even if they were, humanity at present is not ready for them.

The humanitarian side of the circular soon lost the importance that was at first attached to it; and more than that, it became in [illegible] a weapon in the hands of the opponents of the under-

now do. There are two reasons for this. Formerly the questions were few, and were settled by a limited number of trained diplomatists and statesmen. Now the course of the life of nations has completely changed; international intercourse becomes more and more frequent and complicated; disputes arise more often, and, in their settlement, the whole nation, so to say—as represented by Parliament, meetings, press and even enterprising private men—takes part. The quietude of Cabinet negotiations is replaced by the clamor of public discussions. Is that for good or evil? It is difficult to say. The defenders of the new order of things affirm that the people are the best protectors of their own interests. It may be so, but such discussion by the masses contributes without any doubt to the arousing of passions, impedes the peaceful settlement of disputes, and causes a disturbance of friendly relations through what may have been at first only a paltry misunderstanding. Generally, it does not lead to war; but it usually unsettles for a long time the regular current of economical, commercial and political intercourse. Under unfavorable circumstances, the excitement can even turn a question of mere material interests into one of national honor, which will end in a recourse to arms.

This side of public discussion is unavoidable, and the wisdom of statesmen must consist not in deploring the past, or in sterile attempts to return to it, but in grasping the new situation and satisfying its exigencies. The new state of international relations requires a new instrument to regulate it. Such an instrument must be a regularly constituted international tribunal.

But, it might be replied, arbitrating tribunals already exist. From 1815, there have been more than 130 cases submitted to them. Let them work as before; the Conference has nothing to do here.

The answer is easy, because all students of the question know the deficiencies of the present arbitrating tribunals.

They are always freshly appointed for each individual case. When a misunderstanding arises, recourse to arbitration always presents the greatest difficulties, even after the efforts of diplomacy to arrive at a settlement have been in vain. To many this method of arranging international disputes seems extraordinary and even humiliating. When at last arbitration is decided upon, the appointment of the tribunal and the working out in each case of rules of procedure occupy a long period of time, sometimes

years, during which period the relations between the disputants become so strained, that even when a satisfactory agreement is arrived at, a return to the normal state of affairs comes slowly. In short, the present tribunals are a heavy, bulky mechanism very difficult to set to work.

The arbitrators appointed for one single case are diverted from their usual occupations, and unavoidably consider the case submitted to them as something temporary and casual, and devote to it only a part of their time. This leads to tardiness of procedure and protractions which prejudice even the principle of arbitration.

The sense of justice is inherent in man, but impartiality is given to few; the development of it requires training and education of character. A private person deciding a case between a fellow countryman and a foreigner, is in most cases unable to discard national sympathies and inclines to the side of his compatriot. A professional judge in any civilized country is above such inclinations, and without hesitation decides against his countryman if he be in the wrong. In the present arbitrating tribunals, impartiality is expected only of the presiding umpire; the members of the court, appointed by each side, are usually advocates for their country. It would be difficult for them to be otherwise than partial. When an international dispute commences to agitate a country, the future possible arbitrators do not usually suspect what task awaits them; they take part in the agitation, and when appointed are already imbued with [illegible] opinions, to rid themselves of which is always very [illegible]. One can say even more than that: not only is [illegible] expected of the arbitrators, but there is little doubt [illegible] opinion of a nation would severely condemn [illegible] whose decision would be contrary to the [illegible]

Very naturally, the above mentioned [illegible] some others of minor importance, lessen the [illegible] tion and limit its application.

The task of the Conference is to [illegible] even if it accomplish nothing else, it will [illegible] For that purpose it has to do away with [illegible] ter of the international tribunals. [illegible] Powers should arrive at an [illegible] permanent international [illegible]

This tribunal should be invested with the authority which ought to belong to an institution called upon to decide the disputes of nations. The members should be given a position identical with that of the greatest state dignitaries, and be chosen from among men of the highest morals, character and learning, well known to their own country and to other nations.

When once a permanent tribunal of such high authority exists, recourse to it will rapidly become a part of international morals; it will be quite natural to submit disputes to it which diplomacy is unable to settle. The false shame felt in referring to a tribunal will make way for a truer conception of things, and many cases in which prejudices are mistaken for national honor will be decided by the court. Only particularly important cases will form the exception.

There will be no more protractions resulting from a new appointment of a tribunal in each new case; rules of procedure will be established once for all, precedents and traditions will guide the court, no delays will take place in the hearing of the cases.

As to impartiality, the court will be under more favorable conditions than is now the case. In any dispute the greater part of the members will not be influenced by national interests; all of them being conscious of the sanctity of their task, and, trained by constant exercise of judicial functions, they will not allow themselves to submit to the influence of political passions.

It has been already mentioned that the permanent international tribunal would be referred to only by the mutual consent of the disputants. It is probably impossible at present for the Powers to arrive at a general agreement, binding them to have recourse to arbitration if only in certain classes of disputes. Such agreements between two countries have been made, but the opponents of obligatory arbitrating tribunals see in them the limitation of the sovereign rights of States. This argument can hardly be considered sound: the limitation in this case is not greater than in that of any international treaty, voluntarily concluded. But once such an opinion is found to exist, it must be taken into consideration.

But there is a second objection, which has a more secure foundation. To minor States obligatory arbitration will render [illegible], small judicial expenses only being risked, the raising of a [illegible] claims which will conduce only to irritation, and will

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The court, especially in the beginning, will take cognizance principally of cases of secondary importance, but with the increase of its authority its sphere of action will broaden, and on exceptionally grave occasions the number of its members, by the mutual consent of the parties concerned, could be increased by the addition of competent persons; and even a Sovereign or President of a Republic could be invited to assume the position of honorary umpire. Thus the permanent court, in accordance with circumstances, could, from a consulting body, rise to the importance of these solemn assemblies to which the decision of great international questions is confided.

The permanent court could, in the course of time, also undertake and guide the codification of international law. This problem is too vast and complicated to form part of the work of the Conference; it can only be dealt with by a permanent institution.

All that has been said about the jurisdiction of the proposed court shows that it does not interfere or come into collision with the present working of diplomatic relations; reference to the tribunal will take place only when diplomacy is unable to settle a dispute. To the province of diplomacy will also belong, as formerly, the mediation of a neutral State, or States, to which in some cases, before or after war, disputants have recourse. This mediation occupies quite a separate sphere, and in consequence of the importance of the interests involved, and the prudence required, is not subjected to any regulations.

To arrive at an agreement binding the Powers to have recourse to mediation before the commencement of hostilities would probably be impossible, the principal objection being, that the time necessary for mediation would be utilized by the unprepared side for completing its armaments.

All that has been said above shows that the institution of a permanent tribunal is not a Utopia. In the past it did not exist because there was no need for it. But formerly there were also no international bureaus at Berne, dealing with the telegraph, postal arrangements, railways and literary property, because from the international point of view these spheres of life did not exist at all, or were in an embryo state. They appeared when the circumstances required them. The question of an international court is now in the same position. It is necessary, not for the definite [illegible] of war, but for the removing of irritating disputes,

which are so dangerous in view of the increasing frequency of international intercourse, and which, under unfavorable circumstances, could even lead to useless wars. When the tribunal attains its full growth, decision by arms will remain only for questions of real national honor, integrity of territory, or problems of such importance as the fate of decaying States or the change of the political status of whole continents. As an example of the latter could be quoted the last wars of Prussia with Austria and France, when the edifice of the Holy Roman Empire was replaced by the new German Empire. Such questions can scarcely be settled by a tribunal so long as the present conditions of life in the world are not radically changed.

The importance that was attached to the idea of international tribunals in the Russian proposals shows that its realization ought to form the principal task of the Hague Conference, and that this problem should be its first consideration.

At the Conference the Russian proposals will meet with many secret and open enemies. All of them will affirm that the ideas of the Czar are sublime, but that they are an Utopia of which humanity does not merit the realization. These tactics will [illegible] impossible if the work of the Conference is begun by [illegible] the creation of an international arbitrating tribunal, and by [illegible] this problem, not on the humanitarian ground of [illegible] but on the practical one of aiming to satisfy the [illegible] necessity of improving international relations. In [illegible] opponents will be expected to bring forward [illegible] and there are none.

The solution of this principal question will [illegible] manizing of war. The results of the Geneva [illegible] ferences are known, as well as the objections [illegible] application of their stipulations; but the time [illegible] further step in the direction of their aims.

When satisfactory results on the two [illegible] posals are reached, the atmosphere at the [illegible] and the ideas regarding what is Utopian, [illegible] measure, will undergo a complete change, [illegible] concerning the reduction of armaments, [illegible] of their progress, if only for a certain [illegible] so impossible of success as it seems now.

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