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THE FORUM.

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VOL. XXV.

MARCH, 1898—AUGUST, 1898.

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The Forum

MARCH, 1898.

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES PRODUCE ITS SUGAR?

EFFORTS are being made in the United States to extend the growth of sugar-producing plants by ascertaining—through scientifically conducted research at State experiment stations, and by private enterprise, under the direction of the Federal and the State governments—where such plants will flourish best, to the end that we may as a nation become independent of other countries in this regard, add another crop to farm systems of rotation, give work to professionals, artisans, and laborers, and distribute among our own people the immense sum of money that is now sent abroad to pay for sweetening materials. This preliminary work, as regards sugar-beets and sorghum, has already been inaugurated in several of our States; it is now being done in a large portion of the country by the Department of Agriculture; and the experimentation will be continued until a belt is established across the continent determining where conditions are most favorable, where capital may be most safely invested, where skill may be most certainly remunerated, and where labor may receive its best reward.

While men of forethought and decision are carrying these investigations forward with the hearty coöperation of our farmers, and with decided promise of success presented by results already attained, the question is raised by a few contributors to magazines and other periodicals, whether it is a wise policy for the people of the United States to produce their own sugar.

In too many localities we are devoting our energies to one staple crop. It is high time to look around for other farm products suitable

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to our conditions of soil and climate. Too much cotton in the south, too much maize in the Mississippi valley, too many hogs in the corn belt, too many saddle- or road-horses on the ranch, suggest the necessity of diversification in production, in order that the farmer may receive better returns for his time and capital invested. During the fiscal years 1893–1897 the average annual amount paid by the United States for imported sugar was $101,575,293, a sum sufficiently large to justify inquiry into the possibilities of home production.

Some attempts have been made to encourage home production by Federal and State bounties and by protective duties; but none of these inducements has been systematic or continuous, owing to the changes in public policies that took place before extensive arrangements could be made for comprehensive work. The production of sugar from all sources in the United States during 1897 amounted to 335,656 long tons, as follows: 41,347 tons from sugar-beets; 289,009 tons from ribbon-cane; 5,000 tons from maple-trees; and 300 tons from sorghum-cane. The refined product from imported sugar during the year mentioned was 1,760,607 tons; making a total consumption of 2,096,263 tons.

This subject should be discussed from the standpoint of the farmer rather than from that of the political economist. The farmers of our country produce from the soil grains, cotton, tobacco, vegetables, fruits, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, various animal products, and the like; and if we can add to our farm systems any crop that yields an article of common use, is not exhaustive of plant-food, and whose by-product is valuable in making meat and dairy products, it will find favor with producers. There are very few crops, or manufactures of them, of which this can be said so emphatically as it can be said of sugar-beets. The grains are well-known soil-robbers. They carry from the soil nitrogen, potash, phosphoric acid, lime, magnesia, and the other elements of plant-food. Tobacco is peculiarly severe in this regard because none of its by-products are fit for animal food; and what is sold from the farm carries away so much mineral plant-food that most soils are soon exhausted if not replenished by commercial fertilizers, the purchase of which is out of the question in many parts of the United States. Meats take away comparatively little plant-food from the soil compared with their money value. The cotton-plant is not exhaustive if the stalks are plowed under and the seed is returned to the soil, either directly or through the instrumentality of domestic animals. The oil of the cotton-seed may be sold without taking any plant-food

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from the farm, as it comes from the atmosphere through the leaves of the plant. Butter is also harmless in this respect, and does not impoverish the land on which the cow grazes. Sugar is as harmless as oil and butter: it comes from the carbonic dioxide of the atmosphere. If the sugar-beet is hauled to the factory and the pulp taken back to the farm, no plant-food is lost to the soil.

The writer grew beets by the acre for stock feed from 1891 to 1896 at the Iowa Agricultural College, and found the enterprise profitable for that purpose alone. All domestic animals are benefited by daily rations of roots in winter when they have no access to pasture: the young animal, the breeding animal, and the fattening animal alike find them grateful. After the sugar is extracted, the pulp contains all the plant-food furnished by the soil, and is substantially as valuable as a fodder for domestic animals as the beet is before the sugar is extracted. The fodders of our rations are nearly all too carbonaceous, and require mixtures of nitrogenous by-products to make them suitable for animal growth or milk production. Here, then, we have a plant that, aside from the sugar it contains, makes a valuable food for our domestic animals, and is capable of successful cultivation in many of our States. It fits into our farm systems conveniently because its planting season is earlier and its harvest time later than that of corn, and not only serves a double purpose as an animal nutrient, but holds out the liveliest hopes that its adoption will keep at home one hundred million dollars through the value of its sugar content alone.

Mr. Edwin F. Atkins, in THE FORUM for November,[1] asks, "If within a few years this country should supply its own demands for sugar, what would become of the $50,000,000 revenue? How could it be made up?" I think this feature need not alarm us. We have already had experience along this line. Many articles are now produced in the United States that not long ago were imported, and on which duties were collected that are now levied and collected on other imports. Besides, if the sum of $100,000,000, now sent abroad for sugar, were divided among our farmers, laborers, and capitalists, the country could more easily find $50,000,000 for revenue to be expended at home, even if it were all raised from internal sources.

In the course of his article, Mr. Atkins calls attention to the efforts of countries in Continental Europe to stimulate the production of sugar from beets by giving export bounties, and says: "With the experience of European countries in artificially fostering an industry to a point

[1] "Our proposed New Sugar Industry."—THE FORUM, November, 1897 (p. 313).

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beyond the natural law of supply and demand, is it wise for us to enter upon a similar policy?" We are not entering upon a similar policy. We are pursuing a time-honored American policy in fostering an industry that promises to give the people of the United States $100,000,000 for the saccharine matter of a root crop that can be profitably grown on most farms having domestic animals; and the duties levied by the Dingley Tariff Bill assure investors during the building of their factories against the competition of foreign sugars stimulated by export bounties. The United States never goes the length of giving export bounties; although internal-revenue duties are sometimes rebated when goods subject to them are reëxported. The political differences of our people I do not care to discuss, but merely venture to say that it seems a patriotic policy to favor the making and growing of such things in the United States as our people use in every-day life.

The production of sugar in the countries from which we import this article has been unnaturally stimulated in many instances by export bounties, or by free entry into the United States when duties were levied upon sugars from other countries; but the countries of Continental Europe from which we import are now contemplating the abolition of their export bounties, because we add to our tariff rates the export bounties they grant.

In the northern States sugar-beets will be grown in connection with the dairy. The cow will manufacture the pulp into high-selling products in demand throughout the world. It has been demonstrated by the Department of Agriculture, by shipping direct to London, that our butter is the finest in the world. Our production will greatly increase, because we can make dairy products more cheaply than other countries—especially tropical or sub-tropical ones—that do not successfully grow pasture grasses. For this reason there will be profitable markets for much more butter and cheese than we now make. We have been selling cheap grains and mill-feeds to European countries that supply the British markets with dairy products. The multiplication of creameries in our country will naturally encourage sugar-beet-growing, because this plant is valuable as a nutrient for the dairy cow independently of its sugar; and when it is generally known that the sugar content has four or five times the value of the beet as a nutrient, and that the nutritious elements of the plant are not seriously affected by its extraction, the dairyman will not hesitate to realize from both these sources of profit.

Swine are healthier in the dairy sections of our country than in the

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beef-making sections. This has been fairly demonstrated by a census taken in the state of Iowa where these industries are found. It is well known that the high-selling bacon of commerce is made in connection with dairying, where the nitrogenous by-products form a considerable per cent of the ration, and that the lard hog is the product of the corn belts of the country. This gives us the relation of these products to each other. The sugar-beet is a necessity to the dairy cow, which must have a succulent ration, as her milk is 87 per cent water. The hog also thrives best and makes the highest selling product in connection with the dairy. The one hundred pounds of water that the dairy cow requires daily is best supplied in roots. The same nutrients found in other plants, given with one hundred pounds of water, do not show as good results as are obtained by feeding a root that contains a large per cent of water.

The sugar-beet, then, has a place waiting for it in our systems of farm management. Its volatile acid is not injurious to butter flavor, as is that of turnips, potatoes, and cabbage. It has been tried at our experiment stations and pronounced beneficial in every way. Under proper temperature conditions it keeps long in winter, and is therefore suited to latitudes as far north as sufficient heat is found to ripen it. The making of the 41,347 tons of beet-sugar in 1897 in California, Utah, Nebraska, New Mexico, and New York, under widely different climates, and from soils of greatly varying composition, in regions of rainfall, as well as under irrigated conditions, proves that the plant has an extensive range. The experimentation made by the Department of Agriculture during the past year indicates that we have many States where the per cent of sugar in the beet is quite high. Twelve per cent of sugar is considered profitable; and reports from many States show a much higher average. Fuel, limestone, and suitable water are found conveniently near at hand in most of our States. In most instances, beets will be grown in the United States in rotation with the grasses, legumes, and grains. These store the soil with humus after it is reduced by cultivation, replace the nitrogen, fill the soil with roots that enable it to retain moisture, and give time to make mineral plant-food available. Under such conditions, our farmers can grow beets once in every four to six years, perpetually, without reducing soil fertility, if nothing is sold off the farm but sugar and butter. The fibre of the cotton-plant of the south, and meats from the grazing sections of the north would not reduce the soils of either region perceptibly.

The sorghum-cane promises well for sections of our country where

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beets do not thrive. The Department of Agriculture and Directors of Experiment Stations have been developing the sugar content of this plant for some years, until it now averages 14 per cent of sugar in the juice, which is 90 per cent of the stalk. The cotton-growing States require a carbonaceous plant to feed with their cotton-seed cake. Several of these States produced sufficient nitrogenous matter from cotton-seed in 1897 to have finished all the 390,000 fat cattle exported to foreign countries in that year. The sorghum-cane, which is admirably adapted to this purpose without extracting the sugar, is also about as well adapted after the sugar is extracted. This plant is now extensively grown in our southwestern and some of our eastern States, where the rainfall is not sufficient to grow maize. It would seem to be a plain duty to experiment with this high-heredity sorghum-seed, simultaneously with beets, to ascertain where each will be most profitable; and during the coming season this will be done. The factories now in successful operation in the United States have had machinery in the field and factory imported from foreign countries. American ingenuity, however, has been at work, and has replaced every feature with machinery of our own manufacture that does the work more expeditiously and economically.

In the dry localities of the west, where the rainfall is not always sufficient to insure a maize crop, the sugar-beet and sorghum-cane make profitable crops and are giving greatly increased value to the land. Hail storms that utterly destroy all other crops have the effect of cutting off only the leaves of the sugar beet, which promptly grow out again.

Figures were given in the November FORUM to show that we export much more merchandise to the cane-sugar producing countries than we import from them, and that they would be involved in utter ruin should we produce our own sugar. The showing was not full and complete. On the next page is a table (No. 1) showing the value of merchandise other than sugar imported into the United States from cane-producing countries during the fiscal year 1896, as compared with the total value of our domestic exports to those countries.

From the statistics presented in this table, it is apparent that our imports of sugar from cane-producing countries could be wholly discontinued and still leave a trade balance in favor of these countries of more than $60,000,000. After excluding sugar, our imports from these countries are twice as large as the exports we send in return.

The United States is certainly favoring these countries excessively

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in the way of trade. If the addition of another crop to our farm systems withdraws from them the money we now pay for sugar, the balance of trade will still be heavily in their favor. Moreover, it is not to be expected that our farmers will take this into very serious consideration, regarding their right to raise what is most profitable to them as naturally inherent; and if they should be pressed at any time for fraternal reasons, they would probably remember what Paul the Apostle said regarding the duty of providing for one's own household.

TABLE NO. 1.

Countries from which Imported.	Total Imports from.	Sugar Imports from.	Other Imports from.	Total Exports to.
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
Cuba	40,017,730	24,102,835	15,914,895	7,312,348
Dutch East Indies	14,854,026	11,388,487	3,465,539	1,576,316
Hawaii	11,757,704	11,336,796	420,908	3,928,187
British West Indies	10,800,618	4,700,527	6,100,091	8,566,965
Brazil	71,060,046	3,776,486	67,283,560	14,222,934
British Guiana	3,418,578	3,414,368	4,210	1,719,705
Egypt	8,043,797	2,657,425	5,386,372	215,540
Santo Domingo	2,895,069	2,459,302	435,767	1,019,242
Philippine Islands	4,982,857	2,270,902	2,711,955	162,341
Puerto Rico	2,296,653	1,707,308	589,345	2,080,400
China	22,023,004	920,301	21,102,703	6,921,136
British Africa	1,732,147	461,054	1,271,093	11,288,909
Hong Kong	1,419,124	353,610	1,065,514	4,681,380
Dutch Guiana	957,247	289,243	668,004	360,282
Danish West Indies	310,339	261,728	48,611	535,974
Total	196,568,939	70,100,372	126,468,567	64,591,659

Table No. 2 (p. 8) shows the value of sugar imported into the United States during the fiscal year 1896 from the several countries of supply as compared with the value of all merchandise imported from each of these countries.

By the figures given it will be seen that our total imports of sugar from the various countries of supply amounted to only about 11 per cent of our total imports of all kinds of merchandise from the same countries.

Here is the list of countries from which we import sugar. The first four send us about two-thirds of the whole. Cuba's sugar trade is at present very largely suspended; Germany is stopping our trade; the Dutch East Indies will hardly expect us to take care of them; and Hawaii has, and will probably continue to have, free entry. The table shows how very little business we do with many of the countries that send us sugar. They consist largely of British and Spanish possessions that grew sugar-cane profitably when human slavery was the condition

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that favored the industry. Take the list, and ask American farmers what particular countries they feel in all good conscience bound to sustain by refraining from growing sugar-beets; and the answer will be a complete negation, prompt and emphatic.

TABLE No. 2.

Countries from which Imported.	Total Imports.	Imports of Sugar.	
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Per cent of Total Imports.*
Cuba	40,017,730	24,102,835	60.23
Germany	94,240,833	12,528,755	13.29
Dutch East Indies	14,854,026	11,388,487	76.67
Hawaii	11,757,704	11,336,796	96.42
British West Indies	10,800,618	4,700,527	43.52
Brazil	71,060,046	3,776,486	5.31
British Guiana	3,418,578	3,414,368	99.88
Egypt	8,043,797	2,657,425	33.04
Santo Domingo	2,895,069	2,459,302	84.95
Philippine Islands	4,982,857	2,270,902	45.57
Belgium	13,776,014	1,771,980	12.86
Puerto Rico	2,296,653	1,707,308	74.34
United Kingdom	169,963,434	1,402,694	.83
Netherlands	13,295,767	1,182,605	8.89
Austria-Hungary	7,644,154	958,402	12.54
China	22,023,004	920,301	4.18
France	66,266,967	859,359	1.30
British Africa	1,732,147	461,054	26.62
Hong Kong	1,419,124	353,610	24.92
Dutch Guiana	957,247	289,243	30.22
Danish West Indies	310,339	261,728	84.34
Canada	40,887,565	92,692	.22
Other countries	177,081,001	322,914	.18
Total	779,724,674	89,219,773	11.44
Total imports of molasses		737,265	.10
Total imports of sugar and molasses		89,957,038	11.54

Table No. 3 (p. 9) gives the principal agricultural exports sent from the United States during 1896 (fiscal year) to the countries of Europe that supply us with sugar, and also shows what we sell and where we sell most heavily.

Several of the European countries mentioned in the table threaten to exclude our farm products from their markets. From each of these countries we buy sugar. The home production of this article will make us independent to the extent of its value. We have been producing raw materials for the nations of the world. The grain we sell to them is turned into horses, cattle, meats, poultry, and dairy products that compete with our own products of like nature in the world's

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TABLE No. 8.

COUNTRIES TO WHICH EXPORTED.	DOMESTIC EXPORTS.							
	Total.	Breadstuffs.	Provisions.	Cotton.	Cotton-seed Oil.	Oil-cake and Oil-cake Meal.	Tobacco.	Hides and Skins.
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
Germany	96,364,368	7,333,640	12,052,676	41,759,576	271,152	1,939,558	3,034,342	1,074,268
Belgium	26,391,925	4,793,161	5,033,599	3,539,012	124,408	1,206,719	2,216,921	178,526
United Kingdom	401,145,205	81,709,991	83,563,561	93,050,467	631,172	3,506,715	8,365,289	277,197
Netherlands	38,092,901	6,907,797	8,681,417	556,471	1,311,540	827,114	1,152,136	124,745
Austria-Hungary	2,370,901	154	68,985	648,727	425,095	.....	40,324	10,563
France	45,352,724	2,081,480	3,408,218	19,506,348	1,356,858	123,745	2,614,605	1,021,321
Total	609,718,024	102,826,223	112,808,456	159,060,601	4,120,225	7,603,851	17,423,617	2,686,620
Per cent of total exports	.....	16.86	18.50	26.09	.68	1.25	2.86	.44

NOTE.—Our total domestic exports to *all* countries from which we receive sugar amounted during the fiscal year 1896 to $863,200,487.

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markets. Every bushel of grain sent abroad takes so much plant-food from our soil and reduces the land's producing power, while the sugar we purchase in return brings no plant-food to our shores. The factory should, therefore, be established on the farm in every neighborhood, so that skill, art, and science may change the raw materials of the farm into higher-selling goods.

Instead of sending our mill-feeds abroad in the shape of oil-cake, bran, cotton-seed meal, gluten meal, and similar by-products, we should ourselves convert them into live stock, meats, and other animal products, in which form they can be sold in foreign markets to greater advantage. When we make our own sugar and divide $100,000,000 among our farmers, laborers, and capitalists, we can afford to that extent to keep our raw materials at home.

Germany produces about as much sugar as the United States imported in 1897. It was grown on a little over a million acres. If the sugar we now purchase abroad were produced in this country, four hundred factories would be required to work up the necessary amount of sugar-beets. This would afford capitalists a field, as safe and permanent as any now offered, for the investment of $200,000,000, and would reduce to a very large extent the vast sum we annually pay for agricultural products that might be grown within the United States.

JAMES WILSON.

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THE DUTY OF ANNEXING HAWAII.

THE Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P., having advised us, through THE FORUM, in the most friendly spirit, of the dangers of the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, we are naturally led to an examination of the question whether we are compelled to that measure by a sense of national duty.

The friends and advocates of free republican government do not admit that the full liberty of national progress is incompatible with the theory of republican self-government. Being, largely, of British origin, the American people have inherited the love of their ancestry for every form of progress that is justified by a sincere regard for the rights and welfare of other peoples. Mr. Bryce finds no occasion for cautioning the British people against the danger of extending their dominion in foreign lands, and does not intimate that Great Britain would have any hesitancy in adopting Hawaii as a colony, with Kioulani as Queen, or even with Liliuokalani on the throne, if the United States should abandon that Republic and consent to the revolution, or assist the Royalists in the reëstablishment of the native monarchy. Kioulani, who is half English, and was brought up and educated in England, would, probably, supersede Liliuokalani, who abdicated the throne, subject to the decision of President Cleveland, and then failed to sell us her claim.

Great Britain would find it easy and quite natural to establish a protectorate, or a colony, under the reign of Kioulani.

Such a circumstance, however, would seriously offend American sentiment, and would subject our people to self-reproach for a weak desertion of a very high moral and national duty. Without stating the facts and public declarations on which this duty is founded, it may be said that it is strictly analogous to that which belongs to one who has adopted a son, in a form that confers on him no legal rights, and afterward desires to admit him to the full rights of his family, including the right of inheritance.

From the beginning, we have uniformly declared that the Hawaiian islands and people hold to the United States a relation that does not exist between them and any other nation, and that we will not permit

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to exist with any other country. This close relation has been strengthened by three treaties, until the public property of Hawaii is so far subjected to our authority that the Hawaiian government cannot dispose of it, without our consent, to any other Power. It has been strengthened, also, by important concessions of commercial advantage to that government, and by ties created by intermarriage with our people.

We are authorized, therefore, to consider this question from a point of view that is not covered by the benevolent counsel of Mr. Bryce. Some of these reasons for annexation are as follows:—

The Republic of Hawaii provides for its people as good and as pure a government as can be found in any country. This is evidenced in the condition of the people of all classes, collected there from Europe, America, Asia, and the Polynesian islands, who live together in peace, observing order and obedience to the laws, and engage industriously in gathering rich and varied harvests from the very fertile soil.

The Hawaiian people rely, almost exclusively, upon the productions of the soil for the supply of articles of commerce; and they export more, in value, of their home productions *per capita* than any other country.

Every family of the permanent population in Hawaii has a homestead; and 90 per cent of these homes are healthful and agreeable abodes with comfortable houses and sufficient grounds for raising fruits and vegetables, pigs and poultry, for the supply of the families.

The native people are very cleanly in their habits and dress, polite in their manners, and cheerful and agreeable in their conduct. They are a happy race, not inclined to crimes of a serious nature, and singularly free from larcenous or malicious offences. It is asserted in Hawaii that houses are seldom locked up at night, so free are the people from burglary, or theft. It is also a most creditable fact, due to the respect those people have for females, that a woman may safely travel alone, in any part of any of the Islands, by night or by day, and that she will be cheerfully assisted by any man whose help she may need.

The education of the people in public schools and colleges, supported by the state, is compulsory, and is thus extended to all persons of school age in the Islands, without regard to color or nationality. All the natives, and many others, over ten years of age, can read and write in the Hawaiian language and, most of them, in the English language.

Great respect and reverence is felt for religion and the Sabbath; and the instruction of the people in Sabbath-schools is not more careful in any other country. All the Christian denominations have churches, in many places, with large numbers of communicants; and Christian

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churches, with handsome chapels, are supported by both Chinese and Japanese congregations who are converts to Christianity.

A government that protects and fosters the people in these industrial, social and Christian enterprises and movements is entitled to their confidence and support; and it is given with cheerfulness.

The present government, with the present population, if the Islands continue to receive the present protection and assistance of the United States, would stand for many years; and the people would prosper. But the silent invasion of the pagan races from Asia, attracted by the excellent climate and the abundant fruits of the fertile soil, and encouraged by those who have, or will acquire, large sugar, coffee, rice, and banana estates, will not only defy all efforts of the Republic to prevent their immigration, but, very soon, will have the active assistance of Japan and China and the encouragement of the European states that are establishing their power along the whole of the Asiatic shores and islands of the Pacific Ocean. They will restore the monarchy, if we hesitate to act now. If the monarchy be restored in Hawaii, the latest measures of its policy, which caused its overthrow, will be renewed, including opium licenses, the free importation of spirituous liquors, the charter of lotteries, and the over-taxation of capital, and will result in the confiscation of the property of Americans. The relapse to barbarism will be rapid and inevitable. The monarchy will be reëstablished in Hawaii, through a combination of the lower classes of natives with the Japanese; and, in this movement, effective assistance will be given by the government of Japan and by certain wealthy men, who have large holdings of leasehold lands which they are eagerly seeking to convert, with the consent of the government, into fee-simple estates.

The United States cannot prevent the destruction of this beautiful land with its present excellent government, unless it intervenes with some sort of protectorate that will enable it to dictate laws and prescribe policies for Hawaii, such as it cannot assert even within our own national boundaries.

As we are not provided with the constitutional power to legislate for foreign countries, and can, at most, exercise only a moral influence over the government of Hawaii, any effort of ours to prevent the flooding of that country with a tidal wave of paganism, or to prevent the relapse of the republic into the monarchy, or to prevent the wealthy holders of the leased lands from obtaining fee-simple estates there through the corruption of the Queen and her Cabinet, will be utterly futile. We shall be compelled, if we refuse annexation, to stand by

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and witness the destruction of the people of our own blood, and of our citizens, without being able to assist them, unless we intervene with force.

Whether other interested nations, with large numbers of subjects in the Islands, will quietly permit such interference by our Government, is a question that must be answered at a date when the assembled Powers of Europe and Asia will find their advantage in a release of Hawaii from our assumed guardianship. That time will come, and Hawaii will no longer be our ward or adopted child, if we do not meet and disperse the flood of immigration that already has introduced into these islands two Asiatics for every native Kanaka. If there is any way to prevent the submergence of Hawaii beneath this inflow of Asiatics, except by annexation to the United States, no one seems to have been wise or fortunate enough to point it out.

The future of Hawaii, under a government that can provide for and control its assured development, such as the United States, Great Britain, or Germany, is full of interest to all the maritime nations, and is of the greatest importance to the commercial world.

As the only possible location of a central point for all the cables that can be laid in the North Pacific, its value and importance cannot be stated in any way that approximates the truth, without apparent exaggeration. Whether, in controlling markets, or the movements of naval or mercantile vessels in time of war or peace, or in the necessities of commercial correspondence between Asia and America or with the islands of the South Pacific, the plexus of cable lines, that can meet only in Hawaii, will be to all these immense interests what thought is in the control of inanimate nature, or in the movements of fleets and armies. Cable lines across the oceans are as indispensable to commerce and strategy in war as coal is to the swift ships of commerce and the battle-ships that protect them. In the present state of the art of cable construction and operation, it is impossible to work an ocean cable with success, or to maintain it, on so long a line as that from Vancouver or San Francisco to Yokohama, or to Hong Kong, or to any of the islands south of the equator in the Pacific Ocean. Such a line can be made successful only by landing the cables on some of the Hawaiian islands, for the reason that there is no other landing place in the North Pacific Ocean.

It is needless to elaborate upon the almost inexpressible advantages that must inure to the commercial nation that holds Hawaii. The question of the sea power that Hawaii must give to the maritime nation that has possession of the Islands, and owns Pearl Harbor, is one that

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can be most satisfactorily settled by the opinons and reports of skilled and experienced officers of the Army and Navy, of whom we have a number that stand at the head of their profession. Almost with one accord, and for reasons that they all agree upon, this great body of officers declare, with earnest emphasis that Hawaii is indispensable to the protection of our western coast; that it will enable us to dispense with expensive land defences at many of our lesser ports, which otherwise, we should be compelled to build; that it would enable us to defend our very extensive coast on the Pacific with fewer ships than we must now employ, because our coast-line is the arc of a great circle, of which Pearl Harbor is the centre; and that, in the event of a war of invasion directed against our Pacific coast, no nation could afford to take the risk of a direct attack upon any of our harbors without first driving us from our advanced and fortified position in Hawaii.

These opinions of able and responsible military officers have not been shaken, in the least degree, by those of the opponents of annexation, who seem to dread the fate of our armies and navies when they are found a little way from home, with no safe line of retreat.

In his last Message to Congress, President Jackson urged upon the country the increase of our navy, because that is the best means of defending our great cities from direct attack by sea, and because the true strategy of naval warfare is to meet the enemy at a distance from our own coasts, so that our ports will be sheltered from attack. His other point was, that it is always best to meet the invader far to the front, and on battle-fields where you have nothing to care for, or protect, except your own army, or fleet. It is quite safe to assert that, for military and strategic reasons, the authorities are overwhelmingly in support of the annexation of Hawaii, and agree as to the serious danger to our country of allowing these islands to become a base of operations for any European or Asiatic Power, against our western coasts.

The commercial reasons for the annexation of Hawaii are not undervalued by any merchants, or mariners, who have any acquaintance with the trade of the Pacific Ocean. Their united and unvarying opinion on this point must be accepted as authoritative, if we accept a consensus of enlightened opinion on any subject as being of any value. The merchants and navigators have made Hong Kong the second or third seaport in the world, simply through their trade with China and Japan, and the support of the sea power of Great Britain. In fifty-five years, this rock in the sea, with a good harbor, but without any other advantage, has been converted by the merchants and mariners into this

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tremendous commercial mart, only because they had there the protection of the flag of Great Britain. The island of Hong Kong has only sixteen miles of coast line, and is barren and most unhealthy.

In the same period, Honolulu, with the protection of a feeble and, for the most part, a corrupt government, has grown from a village of grass huts, occupied by natives, into a city of 30,000 inhabitants, with every appanage of the highest civilization and culture and with a foreign commerce of more than $20,000,000 per annum. In the same period, our Pacific coast has built up great cities, of vast wealth, with a commerce over the ocean of hundreds of millions of dollars. The merchants and the mariners have executed the greater and the most indispensable part of these great achievements. If the Pacific Ocean had been an area of land beyond our frontier, these people would have been as poor and helpless as those of Thibet, which is shut out from commerce on the ocean by Russia on the west, by China on the east, by Siberia on the north, and by India on the south. Yet that vast area is more fertile than our Pacific slope. It is the merchants and mariners who give to production its commercial value; and they need and well deserve the protection and encouragement of their governments.

Annex Hawaii, and we will rapidly build up at Honolulu, in sight of Pearl Harbor, a commercial mart, like Hong Kong, protected by a fortress, easy of construction, far stronger than Gibraltar, that will stand sentinel over the surrounding ocean for thousands of miles.

In the mild and agreeable climate of Hawaii there is encouragement for labor, and every element of health and physical comfort. Agriculture finds there full and remunerative reward for its labors in all the varied fruits of the tropics, in the sugar, rice, coffee, taro, and food-plants of the semi-tropical regions, and in the grain, grapes, cattle, sheep, hogs, goats, horses, and mules of the temperate zones.

Our own people, with pure minds and clean hearts and hands, have planted there, wisely and deeply, the foundations of Christian power, and have built upon them our well-ordered structure of human liberties, guarded by a written constitution. They have crowned their labors with a republican government; and now they tender to us the hand of friendship, with a plea for union with the Great Republic.

There are none to forbid the banns, except a pagan monarchy that appeals to the dissolved remains of a local and corrupt monarchy for a coalition that will submerge the Republic and the Cross in common burial. The American people will never accept that result.

JOHN T. MORGAN.

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OUR DUTY TO CUBA.

THE United States has a duty to perform, to herself, to Cuba, and to Spain; and this duty must be approved by considerations of reason, of justice, and of honor. We have never striven for, nor even desired, the hegemony of the American States. On the contrary, our Government has, with rare exceptions, studiously avoided international complications and responsibilities, perhaps at times to the prejudice of our national prestige. But it often happens that the situation of a nation, while conferring certain privileges and rights, also imposes certain duties and obligations; and, however willing it might be to dissociate itself from the affairs of other countries and to ignore their claims, it cannot always in honor and safety do so.

Such a case confronts us to-day. The Cuban Problem presses for solution; and there is a general desire to solve it wisely. We must determine what action is required of us that we may be true both to ourselves and the Cubans, and, as far as is consistent, considerate of the rights of Spain. During the last two years Congress, for the first time taking the initiative, has been discussing the recognition of belligerency; a power heretofore exercised by the Executive in all forms of government. Legislative action in such matters has, until recently, been confined to an expression of opinion intended to excite a tardy Executive to action. The joint resolution recently passed by the Senate would be an authoritative recognition of belligerency of the highest character, if it should meet with Executive approval; and, as a consequence, important benefits would inure to the Insurgents. The Cuban cruisers would have the same rights as those of Spain; and the Cuban flag would be as much respected. Her captured soldiers would be entitled to treatment as prisoners of war; and Cuba would enjoy the same rights as Spain to purchase all munitions of war, and what is more important—to borrow money. Perhaps also her credit would become as good as that of Spain.

The last Administration did not see fit to issue any proclamation of neutrality; and the present Administration, thus far, has adopted the same policy. Impossible requirements have been made of the Cubans

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as necessary precedents to the recognition of belligerency, such as a permanent seat of government, the occupation of a seaport, and general engagements of armies. The whole character of the war, however, absolutely precludes the fulfilment of any one of these conditions. They would not be demanded by any sincere man who had the slightest knowledge of the military operations peculiar to a struggle of this kind. The Insurgents have conducted the war in the only way possible to success. They have not weakened their forces by garrisoning capital or seaport, or by attempting to hold any particular point of vantage; nor have they been so foolish as to risk the whole result of their struggle in pitched battles, when forty thousand diversely and insufficiently armed patriots would be required to fight the two hundred thousand regulars of Spain, and her fifty thousand guerillas and volunteers. On the contrary, they permit the Spaniards to employ their great force in garrisoning towns, ports, trochas, railroads, etc., while they themselves keep the open country, live upon its products, collect taxes, and harass the enemy whenever the latter leave their fortifications. The plan of the campaign, therefore, has been masterly, and its execution gallant and effective.

We must remember, further, that the recognition of belligerency is a question not of right, but of fact only. Presidents and Secretaries of State speak, in messages and dispatches, of the contest as "war"; but they will not acknowledge it to be war by any proclamation of neutrality. Indeed a great deal of zeal is displayed in repressing every act of the American people that might in any material way prove helpful to the Cuban cause; while the Spaniards have free access to our markets for whatever they may need. Doubtless this great advantage to Spain has not been unperceived by our statesmen.

But a recognition of belligerency would not accomplish our measure of duty in this matter. The preservation of material interests and of national and political influence has been recognized by international law as sufficient cause for either peaceful or armed intervention in civil wars. Whenever a nation believes that the integrity of its territory, the peaceful permanence of its institutions, its influence, its prestige, or its commercial interests will suffer by the continuance of a struggle between two countries, or between any country and a revolting portion of its subjects, then the intervention of that nation is justifiable. We may cite as examples the armed intervention of the Czar of Russia, who crushed out the Hungarian revolt against Austria upon political grounds; also the intervention of Britain, Austria,

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France, Prussia, and Russia, when those countries, after having been invited by the King of the Netherlands to "concert" with him in restoring the revolting Belgians to their allegiance, interfered only to uphold the insurgents and to establish for them an independent government, which was maintained by force of arms. They assigned as the reason for this intervention their desire to prevent the effusion of blood and to restore the equilibrium of Europe. For three-quarters of a century, furthermore, the European Powers have forcibly interfered with the affairs of Turkey; dismembering her empire by giving independence to some provinces, and autonomy to others. Their only excuse has been a determination, in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, to "regulate," with a view to European order, "the affairs of the Ottoman Empire." Only last summer, the Powers of Europe laid a repressing hand upon Greece, sent their warships into her waters, fired upon her troops, and imposed upon Turkey the autonomy of Crete. This interference was professedly for the sake of order, but really to protect the bond and stock market of Europe. Moreover, all the acquisitions of territory made in Asia by European peoples have been for the protection or enlargement of their commerce. In view of these facts, are we not justified in concluding that all the motives which have excused intervention on the part of other countries unite to induce us to take the necessary steps to end hostilities in Cuba?

If we look to our duty, we cannot be indifferent to her fate. The example of insurrection against oppression was set by us. We taught her that revolution is the right of every people—that the tyrant listens to no appeal, except the appeal to arms. Lying almost in sight of our shores, Cuba has had full opportunity to observe the glorious success of the grandest experiment ever made by any people in self-government. Every day she contrasts our condition with her own. We unconsciously teach her to imitate our example and to emulate our prosperity.

We must remember, in the next place, that the citizens of the United States own over fifty millions of property in Cuba, and have mortgages on as much more. All this is being wasted by a war of destruction. A trade amounting to about eighty-five million dollars per annum is being wrecked, and, if the war continues, will almost disappear. That claims for damages will be worthless, has been fully proved by experience. It is the duty of the United States to protect this business as well as the property of its citizens. To secure this end, every effort toward peaceful mediation should be first tried, although our pre-

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vious propositions to lend our friendly offices have been rejected. The United States should proffer to stand security for Cuba, for the payment to Spain of two hundred million dollars for her quit-claim to the island. In consideration of the bankrupt condition of her exchequer and of her demonstrated inability to suppress the rebellion, Spain could honorably accept this proposition.

In 1848, we made an offer for Cuba which was peremptorily rejected. In 1853, urged thereto by strong public sentiment, we made another offer, which was refused with disdain; the Commission chosen for the negotiation being abruptly dismissed. The Commissioners then retired to Ostend and published their famous manifesto, which declared, substantially, that the United States should take and annex Cuba, if Spain continued her refusal to sell. The Spanish ministry said that Spain would as soon sell her honor as sell the island. The conqueror of Spain, it should be remembered, had not thought it dishonorable to sell to the United States the province of Louisiana which he had wrested from her.

In settlements of boundaries and in treaties of peace, it is not unusual for changes of territory to be made for cash compensation. There is, then, no reason why we should not repeat our proposition. In case of failure, we should insist, both in our own interest and for the sake of humanity, that Spain end the war within a definite period; and, if necessary, we should enforce this demand. The struggle, however closed, will leave the island devastated; but, under an enlightened government, its recuperation cannot fail to be rapid. It now supports a population of a million and a half; it bears a taxation of twenty-six million dollars; and has a foreign trade of one hundred millions. Java, with about the same area (52,000 square miles), also lying in a tropical sea, supports a population of about thirty-four millions. When it came into the possession of the Dutch it had fewer inhabitants than Cuba has now. The latter can easily support a population of at least ten millions; and its productions of field, forest, and mine can be enormously increased. Its citizens therefore, would, soon be enabled to pay their debts and to extend immensely their trade with us. There is not a country in Europe, occupying relations to Cuba in propinquity and trade similar to ours, that would hesitate a moment to make some effort to stop the work of bloodshed and destruction.

Whether, ultimately, Cuba shall be an independent republic, or shall be annexed to the United States, is another question; but it is certain that in either case the great influx of American energy, business

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sense, and capital that would follow the close of the present war would add rapidly to the development and wealth of the island; for there is no other field so convenient and inviting to the American.

It may here be noted, however, that the idea of the ultimate acquisition of Cuba by the United States has been cherished by the greatest statesmen of the Union since the beginning of our existence as a republic. We have declined to consider the right of any European nation to acquire it, or even have a voice in deciding its destiny. Mr. Everett, when Secretary of State, refused to enter into a convention with France and Great Britain for the purpose of securing it to Spain forever. His reasons were: First, that the United States would not tolerate the interference of European nations in a purely American affair; and, second, that the United States would not engage by compact never to acquire the island.

Mr. Jefferson and Mr. J. Q. Adams long ago set forth the advantages that would accrue to the United States by the acquisition of Cuba. It lies at our doors; it has ample and safe harbors, which our Gulf Coast lacks; it commands the commerce of the Mississippi River; it is a convenient base of operations in the Mexican Gulf and the Caribbean Sea. It should be remembered, further, that the French are again at work on the Panama Canal, and that, whether they succeed or not, a canal will somewhere and at some time unite the two oceans. Our Secretaries of State have officially informed the world that, whenever and by whomsoever built, any such canal will be considered part of the coast-line of the United States, because our interests demand it. If we intend to make good this declaration, the acquisition will be a necessity.

When, in 1820, Colombia and Mexico were contemplating an invasion of Cuba, Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State, instructed our minister to say that the United States would not permit "a desolating war to be waged in Cuba," because it was against our interests. In history, interests are always acknowledged as a proper cause for action. They are often made the excuse for what might appear to be a high-handed and arbitrary exercise of power; for it is conceded that a nation's first duty is to itself. No nation that has protected its interests at any cost has suffered in the esteem of mankind. On the contrary, a failure to do so is followed by a loss of prestige, if not by general contempt.

Mr. Cleveland, in his last Annual Message, while professing a desire to observe strictly our terms of the treaty with Spain, and assuring her of his readiness to suppress any attempt within the borders of the

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United States to give material aid to her insurgents, yet warned her that, if bloodshed and devastation continued on the island, the temper of our people would be so aroused that the Government would finally have to yield. No one suspects Mr. Cleveland of undue friendliness toward Cuba; but he could not fail to recognize that at some time intervention must come. More than a year has elapsed since that utterance; one campaign season has come and gone, and another will soon be ended. Then another rainy season will begin; making field operations hazardous, difficult, and almost impracticable. The climatic diseases, deadly to the alien, will be more fatal to the Spanish troops than the machete. Spain has exhausted her treasury; and her troops have not been paid for many months. They have become debilitated and have died from insufficient and improper food. Spain has been compelled to withdraw some of her forces from the field, and would be glad to see the war terminated. On the other hand, the Insurgents are full of courage and hope; they are better equipped, and stronger than ever before; and, confident of success, they are patiently biding their time. It is a case of the anvil wearing out the hammer. The Cubans are much misunderstood and undervalued. They are not a mongrel people, but are, in fact, the only Spanish-American colony without an admixture of Indian blood. They have been considered turbulent; but no people ever had greater cause for rebellion.

The oppression of Great Britain, which fired us to revolt in 1776, was a bagatelle in comparison with the tyranny and injustice inflicted by Spain on her subjects in Cuba. Cuba has not been fostered as a part of the Spanish nation; but she has been held in subjection, to satisfy rapacity and greed. She is under a despotism more absolute than that exhibited by any civilized monarchy in the world. The captain-general has the power of a commandant of a city in state of siege. His decrees are unchangeable, his excesses unquestioned; and the life, liberty, honor, and property of the inhabitants are subject to his caprice. This condition of things has existed for centuries. Promises of reform are never fulfilled. The Ten Years' War, closed in 1878 by the treaty—or, as it is termed, the "agreement"—of Zangjone, gained from the mother-country the promise of many reforms which, had they been carried out would, without doubt, have restored the estranged Cubans to loyalty to Spain. The governor-general who negotiated this agreement was not only a great soldier and statesman, but a patriot, a humanitarian, and an honest man. Yet Canovas del Castillo, the late prime minister, who at that time was also at the head

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of the Spanish Government, refused to submit the agreement to the Cortes for ratification. He was compelled to resign; and Martinez Campos formed a ministry which adopted it. Campos justified the treaty by declaring that the reforms promised must be granted or the war be carried to extermination, which latter alternative he could not accept. Yet this dreadful alternative seemed more agreeable to Canovas than any concessions, however wise, just, or necessary, made to insurgents in arms. He demanded that the Cubans should disarm and submit themselves absolutely to the pleasure of Spain; relying on promises that had often been made and as often shamelessly violated.

In short, Canovas, as prime minister during both wars, deliberately chose the policy of extermination. He allowed Martinez Campos, because of his soldierly and administrative capacity, to be sent to the island at the outbreak of the present rebellion; but this gallant man again refused to be the agent of so ruthless a policy. He was recalled by Canovas; and Gen. Weyler, whose views of humanity accorded with those of the Prime Minister, was sent to execute the plan. General Weyler was vigorous in his work, so far as the Cubans allowed him to be. Is it strange, then, that the latter make so desperate a resistance?

The Cubans are desperate, moreover, because no population in any civilized country carries such a burden of taxation, not one twenty-fifth part of which is expended for their benefit—a taxation that would drive to revolt the most peaceful and submissive people in the world. Their public affairs are administered by strangers who despise and plunder them; they are governed by officials who, whether civil or military, are almost universally corrupt. Even justice is for sale; and no man's rights are secure. The Cubans are shut out from public employments, and are denied a proper and legitimate field for their ambition. If they were not to-day in rebellion, they would be despicable in the eyes of honorable men. They have displayed a courage, a devotion, a fortitude, and a persistence of purpose that have elicited the admiration of the world; thus demonstrating their ability to govern themselves as a free and independent republic, and to assume and perform all the obligations of a member of the family of nations. There is no Spanish-American country so fit in every respect for independence.

However this may be, no failure at self-government by the Cubans can be so deplorably bad as the misgovernment of the island by Spain. They will be able to levy, collect, and expend their own taxes with more benefit to themselves than they derive under the present system.

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The three thousand miles of ocean between the ruler and the ruled seem to engulf all sense of justice, propriety, and humanity. The Cubans prefer destruction to any form of peaceful settlement, except independence. Their distrust is too profound to allow them to submit to a return to allegiance. The form of autonomy presented by Sagasta and approved by the American Government has been as heartily repudiated by the Spaniards on the island—citizens and soldiers—as by the Insurgents. The whole scheme was a failure from the beginning. Meanwhile, the policy of extermination goes steadily forward. Starvation is doing its expected work, but too slowly for the sanguinary Spanish volunteers, who desire a swifter means of destruction.

I have learned from reliable authority that, in the year 1897, 600,000 died of starvation and the diseases incident thereto. Every day thousands more are perishing. The American people are now asking whether the loss of life and property has not been sufficient. Every fresh horror is a trumpet-call to our sympathies; every vandal act of waste an appeal to our enlightened self-interest; and the public should give an expression of its wishes which the Government could not disregard. It is safe to say that there is not a people in Europe that does not sympathize with the Greeks and the Cretans; yet the governments of Europe have given their aid to the Turk. So the people of this Union would hasten to the succor of the Cubans; yet two Administrations have given but slight recognition to the public sentiment. Thirteen consuls of the United States in Cuba have truthfully portrayed the dreadful condition of the island; yet their official representations have not affected the policy of our Presidents and Cabinets.

The truth is, that the bond and stock market is to-day the most potent factor in the government of nations; and the men who compose it care but little for the general business of the mass of the people, for liberty, for religion, or for humanity.

H. D. MONEY.

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THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS FUTURE.

THE origin of the Democratic party is traced to Thomas Jefferson. That party is the outgrowth of his political teaching. Following the revolution of 1776, when the Fathers came to the difficult work of organizing a permanent national government, there was a wide divergence of opinion as to the form that that government should take and the powers with which it should be invested. The public sentiment in favor of a permanent union, while far from unanimous, was yet strong enough to make opposition futile. But when it came to the practical work of agreeing to the exact terms of the union, there were disagreements so radical in nature, and sometimes so dogmatic in assertion, as to imperil the momentous scheme in hand, and to excite, in consequence, a profound anxiety in the minds of the patriots.

To what extent the States should surrender their sovereignty; what the scope of the Federal jurisdiction should be; what powers the general government should have; and in what manner and through what agencies its powers should be exercised,—these were questions of grave import; for upon their settlement depended the future relations of the States and the people, on the one hand, and the approaching Federal establishment, on the other.

It is not surprising, therefore, that serious differences arose, or that acrimonious controversies were waged. Some favored a strong central government, clothed with such powers as should make it practically supreme in all things throughout the Union. The advocates of this theory, among whom were many eminent men, doubted the capacity of the people for self-government. They did not believe that real stability in governmental institutions was possible, or that great policies could be systematically developed, if the control of public affairs was left to the fickle impulsion of popular sentiment. They did not impugn the patriotism of the people, but feared that, in the determination of public questions, they would be too often swayed more by passion than by judgment, more by caprice than by reason. They sought, therefore, to amplify the powers of the central government, and to minimize and subordinate the authority of the States. They desired to

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make the new government in a large measure independent of popular opinion, and, by multiplying restraints, to insure stability: this was Federalism.

On the other hand, there were those who opposed the formation of an omnipotent central government, but favored one of limited and purely delegated powers, withholding all powers not specifically granted. The advocates of this theory—among them many of the most conspicuous men of the age—believed in the capacity of the people to govern themselves. They feared the tyranny of intrenched power more than the unreason of popular impulse. They sought, therefore, to create a union of States, to define the purposes of the central government, and to grant to it only such powers as were necessary to make those purposes effective. They desired to make the government directly responsible to the people. They opposed every form of irresponsible power and every pretence of "divine right" in government; holding that the only sacred and inviolable sovereignty was popular sovereignty. In other words, they sought to found a republic on the patriotism of the people, to be administered in accordance with the popular will: this was Democracy.

In the final outcome of these conflicts of opinion, neither side was altogether successful. The result was rather a compromise than a victory. The government was indeed made one of limited powers; for all powers not specially granted to it, or prohibited to the States, were expressly reserved to the States and the people, respectively. Such is the language of the Constitution. The Legislative and Executive departments were organized, in the main, on Democratic lines. The President and Members of Congress were made elective and, more or less, directly amenable to the people.

In these particulars, and to this extent, the cause of Democracy was triumphant. In the organization of the Judicial department, however, Federalism achieved a decided advantage. That department was constructed on Federalistic lines. The judges, of all degrees, were made appointive, with life tenures in office. They were placed beyond the reach of the people, and freed from direct responsibility to them; for impeachment, as Jefferson said, is only a scarecrow.

This war of ideas, waged in the convention which framed the Constitution, and renewed when that instrument was submitted for ratification, did not cease after the Constitution had been adopted and the new government established under its provisions. It has continued ever since: it continues to-day. Around these antagonistic ideas, these

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hostile theories, two political parties were organized. Absolute Federal supremacy has been, and is, the predominant thought and purpose of the Federalist party. In promoting that purpose, its advocates have been assertive, pertinacious, and aggressive. They have resorted to every conceivable device to evade the Constitution that loose construction could invent; and every breach of the organic law has been made a precedent for additional infraction. They have been ever reaching out for more power; striving to build up a stupendous and splendid Federal establishment, and to make it more and more independent of the people. Among the great men who, in the beginning, opposed the theory and designs of the Federalists, Thomas Jefferson stood preëminent. He was easily the recognized leader of the Democracy, and its ablest champion. No one loved the Union more than he; and none did more to unite the States under a common government. But Jefferson was firmly opposed to the Federalist scheme of organic consolidation. He realized that the greatest danger to free institutions and to liberty was in usurpation and corruption; and he knew that the danger would augment in a ratio corresponding to the growth of official power and independence. He believed in keeping the government close to the people, and, as far as possible, under their immediate control. He favored the State governments because they *were* close to the people, could serve them to the best advantage, and were less capable of abusing their powers. He believed in a strict construction of the Constitution: for he knew that latitudinarianism in this respect would lead to centralization; and centralization was the thing he dreaded most. A strong, majestic central government might be gratifying to national pride and, for a time, advantageous to national development; but Jefferson realized that beneath the glamor and tinsel, the pomp and circumstance of power, would lurk the germs of corruption, which, sooner or later, would infect the body politic with their festering poisons. He feared and foresaw that selfish special interests, alert, adroit, and powerful, would become very potent at the Capitol, and might so manipulate the government as to make it little more than a mere machine for the protection and promotion of those interests. Profoundly convinced that, the nearer the national government approached to Federalism, the farther it would recede from Democracy, he devoted his great powers to the formation of a party that would defend the principle of self-government and resist encroachment on popular rights. And so the Democratic party was organized.

The apprehensions and prophecies of Jefferson have been justified

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by the events of history. History marks an almost continuous struggle of the common people, so-called, to retain control of the government and to defend popular rights against the aggressions of powerful special interests. And in all these struggles, from the days of Jefferson to those of Bryan, special interests, pushing for advantage, have depended for support upon the Federal party, by whatever name known; while the Democratic party has inveighed against them. The truth of this can be demonstrated by reference to that chapter of our history relating to the old United States Bank. The momentous struggle between that bank and the people not only proves what I say, but also fitly illustrates the principles, purposes, and tendencies of American political parties. The creature of law, the Bank grew to such proportions that it mocked at law. It held the financial interests of a great people almost hopelessly in its grasp. It could expand or contract the currency at will, and thereby held the great business interests of the nation at its mercy. With audacious arrogance, it sought finally to dominate the political, as well as the fiscal, affairs of the government that gave it life. It laughed at restraint, and defied those who opposed it. Journalists, politicians, and business men were obsequious that "thrift might follow fawning," or because they feared the Bank's resentment. Those it could not frighten, it corrupted; and those it could neither frighten nor corrupt, it endeavored to destroy. Some it bought; others it coerced; while still others flocked to its standard from choice. It even went so far as to beard the lion, Jackson, in his den. Then the storm of battle burst; and it raged for years.

Through it all, from the beginning to the end, the Federalist party was the loyal champion of the Bank, and the Democratic party its uncompromising foe. The one defended it: the other destroyed it.

Looking back at the history of that time, it seems strange, at first glance,—indeed almost incredible,—that any great American party could lend itself to a cause so bad. But there is in fact no real occasion for astonishment. The United States Bank was a natural outgrowth of Federalism, a natural effect of a political cause. The doctrine of consolidation is necessarily productive and promotive of just such special interests. The Federalists supported the Bank because they esteemed it a good thing for the country; and the Bank supported the Federalists because they supported it. Sympathy of purpose and of interest allied them.

The history of that struggle, and the relation of the two great parties to it, would all be reproduced, could the contest occur over again.

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Any essential change in the situation would be impossible. Does anyone doubt that the Republican party—the Federalist party of to-day—would espouse the Bank, if it could be carried back, under the leadership of Mr. Hanna, to the days of Andrew Jackson?

But there is no need of going back to the old days, when Jackson met insolence with courage, and answered defiance with a blow,—no need, unless it be to imbibe somewhat of his heroic spirit, that we may imitate his patriotic example. There is no need, certainly, of going back for mere historical data with which to test the disposition of the Republican party. We have proof at hand that the Federalism of to-day is not different from the Federalism of the past, except that it is now stronger and more confident. The old United States Bank has reappeared in our National Banks. The destruction of the old Bank was, after all, but the sowing of the dragon's teeth, from which this new devil's progeny has sprung. There is some change in form, some alteration in details; but, otherwise, the old is easily recognized in the new. In their origin, and in their purpose and effect, the old and the new are substantially the same.

The National Banks are the most powerful single influence in America to-day. Politicians are subservient to them. Newspapers, parrot-like, repeat their oracles. Business men consult them for political opinions. They dictate platforms to political parties. They dominate the National Treasury. They direct the financial policies of the Government. They hypnotize Presidents and cabinets, and exert an influence on public affairs as baneful as it is appalling. If the National Banks are not guilty of all these things and more, they are terribly misunderstood, and the facts are strangely against them. History will write as I have written, with additions and elaboration. The Republican party created these banks, and ever since has been their steadfast friend, advocate, and defender. The Democratic party has been their inveterate enemy. It may be that, years hence, our descendants will wonder how any great American party could have supported these institutions. If so, the answer must be that which we make now, when we review the struggles of the past. History has only repeated itself.

For thirty years, Federalism has been in the ascendant. During a large part of that period its sway has been absolute; and during the whole of it it has stood on vantage-ground. During that period, the Democracy has been more a negative than a positive force, more a force in resistance than of impulsion. While Federalism has been assertive and aggressive, the Democracy has been (up to 1896), for the most part, apolo-

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getic and conservative. Federalism was offensive; Democracy defensive. What has happened? Mammon reigns at Washington. An empire has been granted out of the public domain to corporations. Great trusts have sprung up, like deadly upas-trees, throughout the nation. Manufacturers write tariff schedules; and bankers dictate the policies of the Treasury. Capital bargains for judicial appointments; and judges reverse a long line of adjudications,—even their own decisions,—that wealth may escape taxation. Government by injunction has been invented; and the army has been ordered to suppress local riots without the request of the State authorities, and in spite of their protest. Even great leaders of the Democracy have been coerced, corrupted, or cajoled into a betrayal of their party, and into an effort to crush it beneath the shining Juggernaut of plutocracy. These, and others of like kind, are the natural, inevitable fruits of Federalism. They are the very dangers against which Jefferson warned his countrymen. To all such, the Democratic party is instinctively antagonistic, and must be antagonistic, if true to its mission.

In 1896, the Democratic party was itself again for the first time in many years. It took the offensive, and fought to restore the rule of the people. Where stood the great banks, trusts, syndicates, corporations, and other large aggregations of capital? Drawn together by the cohesive power of plunder, every pampered interest which thrives on public favor, every meretricious offspring of class legislation, every combination which prospers at the expense of honest toil, every night-hawk of finance, every wrecker of enterprise, opened their treasuries to the Republican party. One and all, they attacked the Democratic party with a ferocity unexampled; resorting to bribery, intimidation, and coercion with a boldness never before attempted in our history. The Democratic party relied, as it must always rely, upon the plain people, the sons of toil,—those who create the nation's wealth, bear its burdens in peace, and defend its flag in war. The incidents of that remarkable campaign, and the forces in opposition, demonstrate that the old line of separation between the parties remains the same. Federalism and Democracy alike are unchanged.

But all this relates to the past of the Democratic party; whereas my subject relates to its future. I recall these facts of past and current history, however, as a basis of prognostication. Seeing what the party has been, we can the better judge what it will be. The lamp of experience throws the best light on the future. And so, judging the future by the past, I think it safe to say, generally, that, so long as the

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doctrine of centralization is opposed, and the doctrine of popular sovereignty in the nation and of State supremacy over local affairs is maintained, and so long as the people fight for liberty, for self-government, and for the control of public affairs against sordid special interests, the Democratic party will remain unchanged. In other words, concretely stated, so long as the principles of Thomas Jefferson are a vital influence in the Republic, the Democratic party will continue to be what it has ever been—the exponent of those principles.

The battles of the future will be substantially along the same lines as those of the past. Against the Democratic party will be arrayed the same powerful influences which opposed it in the last campaign; while its supporters will come from the multitude whose loyal hearts and busy hands make the nation really opulent and great. The declarations of the Chicago platform of 1896, so far as they relate to fundamental questions, will stand, as they have stood for a century, as the permanent creed of the party; and, so far as they relate to financial and purely economic questions, they will be repeated and insisted upon from one convention to another until crystallized into legislation, or until eliminated, by reason of satisfactory changes in the industrial and economic conditions of the country. I say this because that platform is a clear, conservative, comprehensive statement of the Democratic position. Every declaration in it is Democratic, made alone in the interest of the common people, and in strict accord with the ancient faith of the party.

Moreover, the platform has the approval of the people themselves; it is indeed their handiwork; and politicians could not change it if they would. The effort of the most powerful politicians in the party to lead the people away from the principles of that platform not only failed, but resulted in their complete undoing. Their revolt was abortive. It was important only because of its distinguished leaders, and great only in its disappointments. The platform has the approval of the party. The recalcitrant leaders who organized the Indianapolis fiasco have essayed to justify their apostasy by railing at certain clauses in the platform; resorting to interpolation and misconstruction, to prove them revolutionary and destructive. But, in truth, the very things which these whilom Democrats joined Republicans in denouncing most were those of the greatest merit. They were, moreover, the most Democratic things in the platform,—the things which have startled plutocracy most, and in which the people have taken the profoundest interest. These obnoxious enunciations related to the coinage of silver,

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the issuance of bonds, the income-tax decision, and government by injunction. Upon all these questions the Convention was right—both right and Democratic.

Bimetallism is an old Democratic doctrine. Ever since silver remonetization has been a political question, the Democratic party has favored it. For twenty years, it has declared for it in National and State conventions, and fought for it in Congress. There was nothing remarkable, therefore, in the Chicago Convention declaring for free coinage. It would have been remarkable if it had not done so. The declaration for a precise ratio and for independent action was a logical necessity of the situation. That declaration, if made in earnest, was the cream of the proposition: without it, the proposition would have been as skim-milk, blue and watery, a fraud and a sham.

International bimetallism is greatly to be desired; but, under present conditions, it is visionary to expect it. If Americans really desire bimetallism, they must act for themselves. Nay more, if they hope for international bimetallism, they must take the initiative. Were they to force this fight, they would bring the whole of Europe to their feet. In any event, the policies of our Government should not be directed from foreign capitals and counting-rooms. Our position should be one of independence, not subservience; our course, one of example, not of imitation. The Chicago declaration was not only good Democracy, but good Americanism. The party was right; and it still has the courage of its convictions.

Opposition to the issuance of interest-bearing bonds in times of peace is also an old Democratic doctrine. Senator Hill's assertion, that the platform declaration on that subject is "vicious and unfortunate," is a strange utterance from one who has boasted of his Democracy. Since when did the Democratic party become the advocate of bond issues? Since when did it enter into alliance with Wall Street and Lombard Street? Whenever this question has been raised,—in conventions or in Congress,—the Democratic party has uniformly opposed the issuance of such bonds. This is a historical party policy. It is also absolutely right; for a public debt is a curse, not a blessing. Nations, like individuals, are freer and happier when out of debt. Capitalists only are benefited by the issuing of bonds: but "the greatest good to the greatest number" is the essence of Democracy; and capitalists are comparatively few. The platform does not say that bonds shall never be issued; but it does declare against the policy of issuing them. A necessity for a bond issue might arise; but it should be an honest necessity, not a

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manufactured one: it should be urgent, imperative, and unavoidable. The Democratic party is opposed on principle to issuing bonds in times of peace, has always been, and should be. The declaration was right, and cannot be changed.

The income-tax decision deserved to be censured. The peculiar circumstances under which it was rendered were, it must be admitted, most unusual. It was sanctioned by only five of the nine justices; the other four dissenting. It overthrew "the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years"; and one of the justices reversed his own opinion in that very case. Wealth marshalled all its forces to fight the law, and won. That decision did more to shake popular faith in judicial integrity than anything that had occurred for a generation. It was bad in its moral effect, and bad as a precedent. As a precedent, it is a menace to the national safety, and, if permitted to stand, may turn up to plague us in some great extremity. Mr. Justice Harlan said of it:—

"It cannot be regarded otherwise than as a disaster to the country. The decree now passed dislocates—principally for reasons of an economic nature—a sovereign power expressly granted to the General Government, and long recognized and fully established by judicial decisions and legislative action."

Mr. Justice Brown remarked:—

"I cannot escape the conviction that the decision of the court in this great case is fraught with immeasurable danger to the future of the country, and that it approaches the proportion of a national calamity."

He feared that in some moment of great national peril the decision would rise up to frustrate the will of Congress and to paralyze its arm; adding:—

"I hope it may not prove the first step toward the submergence of the liberties of the people in a sordid despotism of wealth."

The other dissenting justices spoke to the same effect. The Chicago platform was not half so severe. With propriety and truth it might have said more. Such a decision should not stand. The public welfare forbids it; and, besides, the Supreme Court should be kept "spotless as a star."

Government by injunction was denounced because it is "a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners." It is an invention full of peril

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to Republican institutions and to personal liberty. When the courts usurp the powers of legislation and invade the Executive province, they become a menace. Public order must be preserved; but the duty of preserving it is primarily with the State. The Federal Government should interpose to suppress local disorder only when applied to by the State, in conformity with the Constitution. The Federal judiciary has no more right than the Federal Executive to infringe on State authority. If the courts can order the employees of a corporation, under the penalties of contempt, to serve their master against their will, there is no limit to judicial usurpation. Even necessity will rarely justify usurpation; and expediency is no warrant for official lawlessness. Usurpation should be resisted at every point; and a bad precedent should be recalled at the earliest moment.

Jefferson feared the judiciary as constituted. It was too Federalistic. The judges, he said, were the sappers and miners, who, encroaching a little here and a little there,—making one encroachment the precedent for another,—would go on unrestrainedly until all power would be absorbed by the National Government, and Republican institutions would sink into a splendid despotism. History has proved Jefferson right in this, as in most things. That many of our greatest and purest men have sat and still sit on the bench, does not alter the case. The tendency is toward absolute judicial supremacy; and that means absolute Federalism. The Convention was right. Government by injunction is dangerous and should be resisted. The law should be so changed as to curb the power of the courts by further limitations of their jurisdiction.

Yes; the Convention was right in all it said and did—both right and Democratic. The recreant lordlings who conspired at Indianapolis are no longer our Gamaliels. They can no longer speak *ex cathedra* of Democratic creeds. The Chicago platform will stand. Plutocracy may gnash its teeth and roar; but the Democracy is unawed. Defeated, but not dispirited,—still erect, defiant, and confident,—the Democratic party will go forward more resolutely than ever; fighting to uphold the cause of popular government and to preserve unsullied the institutions of the Fathers. That is its mission; and that will be its future.

WILLIAM J. STONE.

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CHINA'S COMPLICATIONS AND AMERICAN TRADE.

"The various nations of the earth watch round us, like glaring beasts."—TSO TSUNG T'ANG'S Memorial to the Throne.[1]

WITH Russia permanently encamped in the northern provinces of China, her railway survey parties and their military guards moving down through Manchuria toward Port Arthur, where her fleet is already in thinly disguised permanent occupation; with Germany's "mailed fist" in clutch upon Kiao Chou Bay; with Japan at Wei-hai-wei; with the masterful English pervading all the important trade centres, and keeping a formidable squadron on the coast; and with the French ever nibbling at the southern frontier, it is not difficult to read the meaning, or feel the pathos, of poor old Tso Tsung T'ang's bitter wail against the Outside Barbarians.

What will happen when the "glaring beasts" are weary of waiting upon their hapless quarry?

It would be only a rash and inexperienced prophet who would attempt to answer this question, or venture into the dangerous region of publicly expressed prediction, at this critical moment, when history is being made and changed, or may be turned upside-down, by any chance event, and when the great Eastern-Asiatic Question is possibly in course of final adjustment between the Christian nations.

Yet, even here, where facts, instead of theories, must be considered, it may be safe, at least, to infer that, in spite of the present gravity of Far-Eastern affairs, nothing of startling import—except perhaps for the Chinese—is likely to develop immediately. Any touch of a reckless match, under the inflammable conditions now prevailing, might light a fire, which would be certain to blaze around the world. Under such conditions it is more than probable that those dealing with this complex situation will walk with the fullest circumspection; and it is likely that England's recent bold stand, in respect of her treaty and trade rights, and of the opening of the proposed new treaty ports, may, if adhered to, prevent, or, at least, long defer, the threatened partition, and bring about a new and tolerably lasting *modus vivendi*.

[1] "Travels in the Middle Kingdom," by Gen. J. H. WILSON, p. 155.

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But, if such partition must result, or now tentatively begin, it is more than probable,—so long as the underlying motive of the foreign, or at least European, aggression is, on final analysis, merely a struggle for trade supremacy,—that the adjustment of China's bankruptcy will take some such peaceful form of division and distribution of assets as obtains in ordinary commercial failures; although in this case, all the claimants, whether just or unjust creditors, will certainly clamor for a substantial dividend. That Russia, holding what may be called a preferred claim, will demand not only Manchuria, but also the Liau Tong peninsula, goes without saying. She will indeed be grievously dissatisfied without Corea, concerning which—as well as Wei-hai-wei and various other factors of the problem—Japan will have her say. England must get the Yang-tsze Kiang Valley, vast and important as it is, with a liberal allowance of area in the southern provinces, whether to add to Hong Kong or guard the West River or the Yunnan trade, or to admit of the Burmah Railway extension, and so to head off the aims of France in those regions. She will imperatively need also the outlying islands of the Chusan Archipelago, in order conveniently to protect Shanghai and to afford a handy northern seaport on the China Coast. France may be accommodated with Hainan, and some of China's southern territory, but will quarrel for more, with the inevitable result, that many *questions epineuses* will arise to be threshed out later with Great Britain. Germany, as all the world has seen, has set her heart upon the rich province of Shan Tung, of which Kiao Chou is only the outward and visible sign; and Japan also must be provided for. The remaining, or what, in this situation, may be styled the *fainéant* nationalities,—the United States, Austria, Italy, Spain, etc.,—need not be provided for in the general scramble; but there should, in common decency, be *something* left for China.

Unfortunate China! It is futile to discuss her claims or equities, in the presence of these dominating and overwhelming alien forces, inspired as they are by a consuming avidity for markets and territory, while beholding here the only remaining open field of the world, and convinced that the once great Middle Kingdom which offers it is now only what is known in the contemptuous slang of the day as a "back number." If it be desired, however, to consider how such equities are currently regarded, we may conveniently take the most recent case of foreign aggression.

Here, we find Germany, a hitherto friendly Power, maintaining full diplomatic and treaty relations in harmonious working, suddenly, on a

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slim pretext, appropriating Chinese territory, under the guise of a lease or form of title which, for convenience, the world has agreed to recognize as of *prima facie* sufficiency. China is thus treated, on the one hand, as an autonomous Power, from which such form of title may be legally acquired; while, on the other hand, the Middle Kingdom is regarded merely as a barbaric occupation, open to encroachment, on whatever fanciful grounds, without the usual formalities of preliminary negotiation. At the moment, the current publications of the world are filled with discussion of this business and of the rights of things—Chinese, as well as international—in the premises, although the case admits of no hair-splitting refinements, and is met by no maxim or theory so fitting as the old and cynical suggestion,

> **"That they should take who have the power,**
> **And they should keep who can."**

This German procedure, as likewise the gradual Russian absorption of the northern provinces, might have been borne by the other outside nations with calm philosophy, so long as such operations involved no abridgment of their own rights. But just this detrimental condition directly results; seeing that all the other outside nationalities now possess full trading privileges for their subjects or citizens in such portions of the Empire as the Chinese have designated treaty ports,—obtained, either under the specific commerce articles of the respective treaties, or by the comprehensive "most favored nation" clauses commonly contained therein, and which are thereby directly imperilled. This, because commercial privileges of the kind, while fully active so long as China remains in control of her own territory, become obsolete in such portions of the Empire as may thereafter be lawfully acquired by any foreign jurisdiction. In such case, the latter, within the limits so acquired, will have full power to set up its own laws and regulations, including barriers of customs and tariffs, which may be more irksome than the nominal ones now existing under Chinese rule. Thus, at Kiao Chou, the Germans, having in theory duly obtained a cession or lease of the occupied territory, will, now or later, have lawful authority to establish there a local tariff expressly designed to exclude the goods of other nations. Their present talk of creating a free port in this instance is of no purpose, because Germany may to-morrow elect to declare it a closed one, and proceed to erect around it a belt of exclusive customs.

So, too, the territory north of the Great Wall,—and perhaps Port Arthur and the Liau Tong peninsula,—when in possession of Russia, may be surrounded by a Russian tariff expressly calculated to create

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an exclusive market for her own people. Nor, in such case, will either of these Powers be open to criticism at our hands; for the United States, with her established policy of Protection, would, under similar circumstances, be obliged, logically, to take exactly this attitude.

That Kiao Chou Bay had not been designated as one of the treaty ports of China before the German seizure occurred, makes the latter's occupancy of it less acutely objectionable to others than might otherwise have been the case. But, as all the world sees clearly enough, the Germans propose ultimately to spread out farther inland, along the path of least resistance. They will thus obstruct territory which is or may be reached by the trade of other nationalities through existing or possible future Chinese treaty ports. Hence it will be seen that, *pari passu* with foreign encroachment, the local markets, which had been or might still be thrown open to other nations, within the confines of the Chinese Empire, are either threatened or obliterated.

That such a restriction of the export commerce of other nations may thus arise and extend, notwithstanding their treaty rights, would seem to need no further argument. An illustration, on an extended scale, of the manner in which a mishap of this kind has already occurred is afforded by the impenetrable ring-fence of French colonial tariffs surrounding the vast and fertile area of Indo-China, including parts of Siam. There, the doors to large and profitable market-places have been effectively and permanently shut in the face of all outsiders.

Of all the nations, England alone has uniformly followed a broad-gauge, liberal policy in respect of Chinese trade, or occupation; and it can be safely reckoned upon, that, wherever she may obtain a foothold in the Empire, all the world will be welcome to enter on equal terms with herself. The British colony of Hong Kong, acquired by cession from China in 1841, has been ever since, and will doubtless remain, wide open to the commerce of other nationalities.

Just here, one is naturally impelled to consider what attitude the United States assumes on behalf of her own Chinese export trade, which, now rapidly developing, seems destined to grow to great proportions,—provided the existing markets remain undisturbed. Having ourselves no aim or prospect of land acquirement in the Far East, we are happily relieved from the consideration of what might otherwise have an incongruous effect: viz., the carrying there of our own protective tariff practices. As it is, our position is clear and simple: We now need look only to the care of our existing trade rights which, under our various treaties with China, and particularly under the "most favored nation"

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clauses of the same, are, in that country, full and ample. Let us see, then, what our Government is doing or likely to do in this regard. As yet no evidence is forthcoming that the Washington Administration means aught else, by way of creating a safeguard for these important interests, than simply to let matters drift in happy-go-lucky fashion. It would indeed appear as if it were believed that treaty rights derived from a helpless Power, whose territory is freely open to outside absorption, are automatically self-protecting and infused with inherent force sufficient to survive any political change, however radical. Our Secretary of State is reported in the press as holding the quaint and dangerous view, that the interests of the citizens of the United States are not threatened by a possible partition of China, and that even if that empire were divided between Russia and Germany, the opening there for our goods would still remain unrestricted.

Whether or not such business interests of our seventy millions of people are in this instance misunderstood or neglected by the Government, they may perhaps be measurably safeguarded by force of circumstances. The British stand on the question of foreign interference with China's trade, must incidentally protect us, although only by a lucky chance; and, in the changing circumstances of their negotiations, their present policy may not be adhered to. Happily, some of our merchants and traders, whose important affairs are thus seriously menaced, being men of energy and foresight, and used to fend for themselves, have now sought to instigate some action at Washington, without longer waiting upon the somnolent policy of merely trusting to luck. The appeal of many of the most important firms and corporations of New York—and some of those of Philadelphia—concerned in the American export trade to China, recently laid before the New York Chamber of Commerce, has resulted in the prompt despatch by that influential body to President McKinley of a memorial which concludes as follows:

"That, in view of the danger threatening future trade development of the United States in China, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York respectfully and earnestly urge that such proper steps be taken as will commend themselves to your wisdom for the prompt and energetic defence of the existing treaty rights of our citizens in China, and for the preservation and protection of their important commercial interests in that empire."

It will be of interest to see what attitude the Administration takes on these important representations. A fitting opportunity of proper, however tardy, action is afforded in formulating the instructions to be given to our new minister, on his approaching departure for China.

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American export trade to China, the chief features of which are elementary materials like cotton and woollen goods, kerosene, flour, timber, etc., is not now of great volume, but shows steady growth and a promise of wide and rapid extension. The recent report of the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce on this subject gives its value as having increased from $8,117,059, in 1893, to $17,978,065 in 1897. These estimates, compiled from the returns of the Chinese treaty ports, include such merchandise only as may be directly entered, without considering trans-shipments from an intermediate foreign point, like the British colony of Hong Kong, where many of our goods find inlet to the Empire. The latter, now classified in our own trade reports among shipments for English destinations, would, if more accurately returned, greatly augment the above figures. Our trade in China will grow rapidly, even under existing conditions; but, if there should be any such awakening as would probably result from the introduction of railways and other features of material and commercial development of the country, its volume and importance would speedily become of the highest consequence to our people.

Except for the Russian expansion in Manchuria, and the French conquest of Annam and Ton-King, foreign aggression within or near China's territory has mainly concerned temporary measures, designed to create or enforce treaty rights, rather than permanent occupation of her soil, until the recent swoop of the Germans upon Kiao Chou.

The two opium wars of the British, their two occupations of the Chusan Islands, the fights at the Taku forts, and even the Anglo-French invasion of 1861, with the sack and burning of the Summer Palace at Peking, have had no lasting results, other than of the kind indicated. The great Russian movement—beginning with the absorption of the Ossouri Province, and the acquirement of the necessary rights for the navigation of the Amoor River, which were essential incidents of Russia's effort to reach the Pacific at Vladivostock—was of slow growth, and attracted but little attention, outside of China itself. The establishment of Vladivostock involved the expediency of finding a more southern harbor: but this was a matter which could wait; and to this end, the Russians have long addressed themselves with patient and untiring energy.

In the results of the recent Chino-Japanese war the Russians found their opportunity. Here, with China's utter weakness suddenly revealed to a surprised world, and with the Japanese armies at Newchwang, on an open and short road to Peking, the government of the Czar at once

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stopped the victorious advance of Japan, and thus laid the helpless Chinese under an obligation which was sufficiently great and lasting to close forever their mouths from effective protest against further Muscovite encroachment. To check the victorious Japanese, when weary of their recent campaign and relatively far from their base of supplies, was not difficult, especially when France and Germany assisted, and when England held aloof. But the vast service thus rendered to China was greatly augmented by presently helping her war-indemnity loans on the foreign—especially the French—bourses.

It was not long after these events that skilful Russian agents were found to be pervading Northern China and Corea, and that the outside world received the startling intelligence of that often denied, but now generally believed in, arrangement known as the Cassini Convention, whereby Russia appeared to have obtained full domination of the whole of Manchuria, with effective rights at Port Arthur in the commanding Liau Tong peninsula, as well as in Kiao Chou Bay.

The great clamor which arose on all sides over this revelation is well remembered. But the world seems now to have generally acquiesced in these new conditions; recognizing, perhaps, that, after all, it is right, or at least inevitable, that so great a nation as Russia should have ample and unobstructed sea-outlets in the march of her Eastern-Asiatic development. It is of the highest significance that the English—who, next to the Chinese, were here most affected—appear to take this view. We find Mr. Curzon, one of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, in his recent Manchester speech, quoted as seeing nothing unreasonable in Russia's wanting a more southern and an ice-free port; although, from the outcry of the British press at the time the Cassini Convention was first disclosed, one would have expected each forward step of the Russians in Manchuria to be fiercely disputed by England. And now, Lord Salisbury himself follows—on the occasion of the recent presentation of the Queen's speech in Parliament—with what is tantamount to a frank acquiescence in Russian acquirement of Manchuria, and the bringing of the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Manchurian railway down to Port Arthur.

Thus, the now acute Eastern-Asiatic situation has developed slowly, under conditions which, however strained, were still quite endurable, so long as England appeared to be indifferent, China helpless, and the French and Germans otherwise occupied in jealous efforts to establish their respective *ententes* with the Czar. That a serious and growing friction between Russia and Japan on questions of Corean, as well as

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Chinese, complexion accompanied the relatively slow march of these events, was well known. It was manifest also that the Japanese had never forgotten how they were balked of the chief prize of their war with China. But the latent heat here developed bade fair to smoulder long before breaking out into a devouring flame.

Germany has greatly muddled and precipitated matters by her abrupt seizure of Kiao Chou Bay. Till then, devoid of any part of Chinese territory, and "not content to look on while other countries were dividing the world between them," nor satisfied with "merely a place in Heaven,"[1] she has thus brought her potent and disturbing presence in line with those of the other Powers who seek not only a share of China's trade, but also the ownership of China's market-places. Although much significance is attached to the general understanding before referred to, that prior Russian claims had been established at Kiao Chou, it is not yet clear whether the German Emperor had the tacit or expressed approval of the Czar in this disconcerting outbreak, or whether he merely made an impulsive grab while there yet seemed to be time. However this may be, the immediate result of the Teutonic outburst was to plunge the whole outside world into a ferment of apprehension and inquiry, which, as an unexpected consequence, may force at least the primary steps of the partition of China and which has only of late begun to quiet down, since Germany's subsequent halt, and her effort to "regularize" her violent appropriation of Chinese soil.

What is really now going on in the Far East and in the Chancelleries and Foreign Offices of the Powers concerning all these vital questions, is still shrouded in a mystery, which the cabled press-dispatches, day by day, serve to complicate rather than to clear. That Germany has taken Kiao Chou Bay, that Russia has sent her fleet to Port Arthur, that Japan now intends to hold fast at Wei-hai-wei, and that both Russia and England are struggling to force a loan upon the Chinese, may be taken as reasonably established facts. But otherwise, we find only clouds of doubt and uncertainty, from which at any moment events may emerge which may again change their aspect.

We have recently observed England's bold stand in defence of her Chinese trade, taken under circumstances which seemed on the instant

[1] *Vide* the recent speech of Herr VON BÜLOW, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the discussion of the Kiao Chou incident in the Reichstag; which utterance, coupled with the despatch of Prince Henry's vessels, should not be overlooked, when German suggestion as to her contenting herself with merely Kiao Chou Bay, and that too, as a free port, is under consideration.

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to restore the somewhat faded British prestige before the Asiatic world. Now, we learn that this stand is feebly qualified, and also, that the ingenious demand for Talien-wan as a free port—which incidentally sapped the foundations of Russia's plans concerning Port Arthur—is virtually withdrawn. Whether it be a fact or not, the mere suggestion of such a demand, coupled with the claim for other like open-trading ports, awakened a storm of Russian, French, and German protest; leaving those Powers frankly disclosed as at least not characterized by any such altruistic motives as would seek to establish ways and means for free and unobstructed outside commerce in Chinese terrritory.

That the attitude of the English thus appears to have now become less bold and striking is doubtless due to secret diplomatic bargaining, the details of which, in the absence of further light, we may only guess at. Lord Salisbury's speech above referred to would seem to indicate that those burning questions of the Talien-wan and Kiao Chou Bays are left to cool down for the present, in consequence of assurances from Russia and Germany. The Talien-wan affair is, indeed, to remain in abeyance until the completion of the railway to Port Arthur, which must in any case require a period of some years. The sparks may possibly fly later in both of these cases: but the present postponement of the final decision is, on the whole, a happy one; seeing that it makes for peace, and so, for the general good of all concerned. One point in Lord Salisbury's remarks seems worthy of special note, where our trade interests are under consideration; viz., his disclosure of the nature of the assurance given by Russia in regard to such coast outlet as may be established for the railway. If his probably carefully measured words are to be taken literally, what the Russians promise is, merely that such outlet shall always be a free port *for English commerce*,—a limitation, which obviously would not greatly benefit the United States and other outside nations. Perhaps, as would be entirely reasonable and probable, the English have grown weary of fighting alone and unassisted in the cause of open Chinese ports for us and others.

After all, why should the conditions as to authentic news reasonably be different, when, behind the veil of the pending international diplomacy, there must and can be only such secret trading and balancing between the great Powers as differ merely in degree from the like give-and-take evolutions and shiftings of ordinary commercial operations? The possibilities of war, which here accompany the negotiations, are far too awful to be really invoked or seriously counted upon, however much they may be hinted at.

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How then, can ordinary outsiders expect to be let into these secret tradings before the bargains are consummated? One may, in any case, surmise that Russia must have Port Arthur, and this, too, free from the complications about the proposed embarrassing free-port regulations at Talien-wan. For such accommodation she will probably pay any reasonable price in the shape of a balancing concession. Whether her yielding take the shape of promise of aid, or withdrawal of threats, elsewhere than in China, or whether it concerns the long and easily disturbed frontier of England's Indian Empire, the concession of the Yang-tsze Basin to the British, or the abandonment of a portion of Corea to Japan, with something in the south for France, irrespective of a sop for Germany, the outside world most probably will never know the real facts, until the deal has long been privately agreed upon.

One thing at least is clear; viz., that if such of the important Chinese trade-rights of Americans as may remain to us are to be duly safeguarded, now is the time to act, before the final deal of the cards in the great game is made. One forceful protest now, on the part of the United States, will be more useful than a volume of after-remonstrances and tardy diplomatic inquiries.

But what of unfortunate China? We have seen that it is of small avail to discuss her equities, under the adverse conditions of the *force majeure*, now confronting her; and we have ventured upon the qualified prediction that there is at present no great likelihood of her actual partition, however much the plans of foreign aggression may have progressed. But even if a formal partition were here immediately made, there would still be room enough in so great a country for the foreign nations to take their respective shares of territorial booty and yet leave full scope for an inland native empire, which would afford an ample crop of vexed questions for future generations of the white races to deal with. That these will not concern the side of militancy, at least under native inspiration or leadership, is more than probable. No great Chinese leader, who might accomplish such a miracle, has as yet appeared, nor under the cramping restrictions and jealousies of the Chinese System will one probably arise; and a population so docile, so utterly devoid of patriotism, as that of the Middle Kingdom is not likely either suddenly or effectively thus to transform the peaceful habits and characteristics which it has acquired through the thousands of years of its evolution. Still, as has been pointed out in the remarkable work of the late Prof. Pearson,[1] the Chinese, being of all known peoples the

[1] "National Life and Character," by Prof. C. H. Pearson.

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most sober, industrious, economical, and physically fit, afford ample material for an invading, perhaps a conquering, *industrial* army, which may yet scourge the wide world of the white races. That the conditions which would render this possible may find more favorable growth under the shelter of foreign control is obvious; nor should it be overlooked that, under like conditions, with foreign leadership and drill, even this eminently peaceful folk may possibly be converted into the formidable legions of a devastating war. In any event, four hundred millions of a hardy, tenacious race, destined steadily to increase, are here to be dealt with; and this circumstance presents problems which one may perhaps be excused from endeavoring to solve within the limits of a magazine article.

Whatever China's unhappy complications may be, we Americans should, and indeed are obliged to, look first at what concerns ourselves. After the fashion of mankind, and especially in view of the necessarily selfish policy which all nations must follow, it is essential to consider how our national pocket is or may be affected. In this regard, it is at least clear that we ourselves must promptly watch over and safeguard our own trade-rights in China in order to save what is left of them.

At the moment, the highly complex China Question occupies the forefront of the stage in the rapid evolution of the world-drama; but, as yet, the lights are dim and the curtain only halfway lifted. Here we must leave the unfortunate Middle Kingdom in humiliation and disaster. That thus, in its colossal weakness, it excites our sympathetic pity, may be frankly declared; but it is now wholly beyond our power to afford more tangible support or consolation.

CLARENCE CARY.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing article was prepared, it is reported (New York "Journal of Commerce," February 14, 1898) that the State Department at Washington has received assurances from Germany and Russia—presumably in regard to Kiao Chou and Talien-wan Bays—of a similar nature to those given to Great Britain. It is evident that, in our case, mere diplomatic politenesses of this character will not be fruitful of results or safeguards in the pending scramble for Chinese territory; nor will they be accompanied by any such compensating offsets or benefits in hand as the English must be obtaining in the present situation.

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BRAZIL: ITS COMMERCE AND RESOURCES.

BRAZIL extends from 5 degrees North latitude to 33 degrees South, and embraces within its territorial boundaries nearly half the continent of South America. Its length is 2,675 miles, its greatest breadth, 2,500, and its total area, about 3,261,000 square miles. It is twenty times larger than Great Britain, is only one-seventh less than all Europe, and its coast-line, upon which are situated many safe harbors and at least twenty growing commercial cities, is 4,000 miles in extent. The longitude of New York City and that of the extreme western part of Brazil are nearly identical, so that the latter country lies almost wholly east of the United States. The distance between the southern limits of Florida and the northern limits of Brazil is only twenty degrees,—about two-thirds of the distance from Chicago to San Francisco. Access to Brazil will soon be made easier to us; for satisfactory preliminary surveys have already been made in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru over the most difficult parts of the route of the proposed international railway, which will in time become the chief road of commerce between the Americas, and which will ultimately be the means of developing the marvellous resources of the Andes ranges and the Amazonian valleys and plateaus.

In view of these well-authenticated prospects open to the commercial world, it is remarkable how little the average American business man knows, not of Brazil only, but of the entire continent to the south of him. He does not realize that the link is nearly formed by which he may ride across the continent, from Valparaiso to Buenos Ayres, in a railway coach with accommodations equal to those of the best Pullman car; nor does he know of the prospective advantages of the contemplated transcontinental railway, which is to run, midway between the Amazon and the La Plata, through Bolivia to Rio de Janeiro. While seeking in the Far East for consumers of his surplus products of farm and factory, the average American overlooks the opportunities open to his enterprise and sagacity in a continent which lies, comparatively speaking, at the threshold of his factory and the gateway of his farm. At the same time, he fails utterly to realize that the United States—the

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chief consumer of South American products—is paying, by way of exchange, a vast tribute to Europe, not merely on what is taken from her nearest and most natural market for her own products, but on all she sells there. If intelligently utilized, not only would the semi-home markets of South America save to the American consumer what he now pays in exchange to his more enterprising European competitor, who has forestalled him in the exploration and development of the vast resources of the southern republics, but they would in time turn the overwhelmingly adverse balance of trade to the credit of the United States. Although this article is designed to discuss more particularly our commercial relations with Brazil, it will be in order first to refer briefly to some of the earlier influences which directed the foreign trade of that country to Europe.

It was through the medium of buccaneering expeditions that British merchants early secured considerable knowledge of the great natural resources of South America. As early as 1822, however, when Dom Pedro I was crowned Emperor of Brazil, and contemporaneously with the successes of Bolivar and San Martin in supplanting the authority of Spain in America, England was closely followed by France and Germany in the cultivation of commercial relations with the Latin-American countries. The French and the Germans drifted most naturally to imperial Brazil; thus laying the foundation for the advantages enjoyed by them in what has since become the greatest of the South American states. France, at the inception of the Empire, magnanimously and wisely provided free scholarships in her universities to Brazilians, thousands of whom were educated in her schools, and carried back to their southern homes that impress of French manners, tastes, and methods which now characterizes the Brazilian people. The Germans found their way to Brazil, first as soldiers in the ranks of Dom Pedro's imperial body-guard, and subsequently, by colonization under the patronage of Dom Pedro II. A German commercial colony in the city of Rio de Janeiro has already celebrated its seventy-sixth anniversary. Italy, Portugal, and other European countries have also large colonies in Brazil. But British merchants utilized from the first the opportunities presented for the establishment of trade, by providing storehouses for their merchandise in every commercial city; nor have they yet ceased to cater with punctilious care to the tastes and other trade requirements of the market,—the selection, manufacture, packing, and selling of their goods,—accommodating themselves always to the business methods of the country.

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At the establishment of the Empire, and for many years subsequently,—as long as the merchant marine of the United States occupied the first place in the carrying trade of the world,—American goods were in fair demand, and growing more popular as they became better known. Later, however, the manufacturers of New York and New England, satisfied apparently with the nearer home market, lapsed into indifference, disregarded the demands of merchants who supplied the South American markets, and surrendered the field to their European competitors. To-day, the leading commercial city of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, with a population of nearly 750,000 souls, contains but one strictly American mercantile house supported by any considerable amount of capital. In the entire republic, with a population of 16,000,000, only two such houses exist. The American colony, registered, numbers probably 1,500, embracing a few coffee buyers (agents only), farmers, clerks, mechanics, dentists, and other professional men scattered over the country; while the British, French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies number respectively, in the order named, many thousand inhabitants; representing hundreds of millions of dollars placed in mercantile, banking, mining, transportation, and other pursuits which yield remunerative dividends.

We thus see that the late changes in Brazil's government wrought no change in our relations with that country. A republic, representing twenty States, was proclaimed on November 15, 1889. A federal constitution, similar to that of the United States, was adopted on February 24, 1891. It makes the union of the States perpetual, and confers the suffrage upon all citizens over twenty-one years of age, except beggars, those who cannot read, soldiers in service, and members of Orders (monastic) owing first allegiance to foreign Powers. It institutes civil marriage, secures freedom of worship, and provides for free primary education. The power to levy duties on imports and on shipping, to establish banks of issue, and to control postal and telegraphic communication is reserved to the national government. The first president, Deodoro da Fonseca, resigned in 1891. He was succeeded by Floriano Peixoto, under whose able administration the naval revolt of 1893-4—the first and only effort to reëstablish the Empire—was completely suppressed.

That the Republic, thus governed, is a country of vast natural resources, cannot be questioned. The great variety of soil and climate embraced in its territory adapts it to the cultivation of all the products of the temperate and torrid zones; and of two of these products—coffee

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and india-rubber—it has almost a monopoly. This gives its resources a wonderful elasticity that enables the country to tide over successfully the severest crises and to bear burdens that would be intolerable to a country less favored by nature. When one part of it shows signs of exhaustion, another comes to the rescue; thus preventing any decline in production.

Alison says that, were Brazil as well peopled as France, it would contain 320,000,000 inhabitants, or 60,000,000 more than all Europe west of the Ural Mountains; and, notwithstanding the great amount of this population, such are the agricultural resources that there can be no doubt that it is much less than could be maintained with comfort on its territories.

In addition to its strictly agricultural resources—at the present time the most interesting consideration to commerce—Brazil has forests which abound in valuable timbers, dyewoods, gums, resins, fibres, medicinal plants, and spices; below the surface of the soil lie almost inexhaustible stores of minerals of infinite variety; some of its immense plains are admirably adapted to stock-breeding; and its waters contain fish that contribute materially to the support of its population.

The greater part of this wealth is as yet unavailable; but it is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when population, capital, and cheap transportation will serve to unlock the treasure-house and thus aid in swelling the commerce of the world. I believe that even now Brazil offers many good openings to energy and enterprise, if properly guided by administrative capacity and duly supported by capital. It is obvious, in particular, that a large number of energetic and intelligent Americans engaged in industrial pursuits in Brazil would have an enormous influence in developing the natural resources, and, consequently, in increasing the purchasing power of the country, as well as in directing trade toward the United States.

Taking now a closer view of Brazil's resources, we find that nearly all the twenty States produce more or less coffee,—particularly Rio de Janeiro, Espirito Santo, Minas Geraes, and São Paulo. The latter is the coffee State *par excellence*. The principal ports of export for this product are Rio de Janeiro, Santos, and Victoria. The latter—the capital of Espirito Santo—is a promising city, destined ultimately to share honors with the new port of Macahe as an outlet for the products of Minas Geraes. From the State of Espirito Santo about 600,000 bags of coffee were exported last year. In the seven years, from 1887 to 1894, the Rio and Santos crops of coffee amounted in the aggregate to

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39,905,000 bags. Within the last few years many thousands of young trees have begun to bear; and the coffee crop of São Paulo alone for 1896–97 was estimated at 4,500,000 bags. It is officially stated that the value of the coffee crop of São Paulo for the year 1895–96 was about $5,900,000. An estimate made last year showed that the total number of coffee-bearing trees in the State of São Paulo was 350,000,000, which, at an average of 2½ milreis each, represented a total value of $170,000,000 at the current value of the milreis.

Dumont—one of the most notable plantations in Brazil—was sold last year to an English syndicate for the round sum of £1,200,000. The estate contains 110,000 acres of the best lands in the State of São Paulo. The coffee area covers 13,000 acres, and contains 4,426,604 trees from two to twelve years old; 2,500,000 being less than six years old. For the year 1895, the profits are certified, by an eminent firm of London chartered accountants, at £127,453; and those for the current year are estimated at £142,000. The accountants valued the estate at £1,300,000. It is connected with the Mogyana Railway by a private line sixteen miles long. It contains twenty-four settlements of colonists, comprising eight hundred families,—nearly all Italians,—who live in three hundred and thirty-four houses, of which two hundred and seventy-three are brick. But, although the Dumont estate, because of the value of its improvements and of its annual production, is considered the most important, it is not the largest coffee plantation in São Paulo. This distinction is claimed by the plantation of Palmeiras, which is nearly forty miles long and thirty miles wide at its extreme points, and contains over 300,000 acres of land.

The next important portion of Brazil is the renowned Amazon region, which abounds in undeveloped resources, vast in extent, and embraces the rubber district. There is probably more American capital invested in this section than in any other locality; and the development of its industries has already placed india-rubber second among the staples of export from Brazil. The State of Amazonas, with an area of 732,350 square miles,—nearly twice as large as the original Thirteen States of our Union,—is the chief source of supply. It contains a population estimated at only 300,000, of which Manaos, the capital, has about 20,000. The climate, according to a recent authority, although it is hot and damp in the low, swampy lands through which flow the rivers Branco, Negro, Japura, and Madeira, is dry and healthy in the high lands and in the western part of the State. The temperature in the shade ranges from 80° to 90° in the hot season;

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but the heat is moderated by the great forests, by the river floods, by the rainfall from December to June, and by the strong summer winds. Marsh fevers prevail in the low, swampy lands bordering certain rivers, particularly at the commencement of the flood and reflux of the Amazon and its tributaries; but no other form of endemic disease exists. There are no railways in the State; the rivers affording the best means of transportation. The Booth Steamship Company owns a line of steamers running from Manaos to New York. Products of the State, other than india-rubber, are numerous and valuable, especially the woods, which are of great variety and excellent quality. An American company recently completed a telegraph line connecting Manaos with Belem or Para,—the capital of the State of Para and the chief commercial city of northern Brazil,—situated on the delta of the Amazon 1,100 miles from Manaos. It has a population of 100,000, and about 2,500 industrial and commercial establishments. The rivers of the Amazonas are navigated by several hundred steamers sailing under the Brazilian flag. These vessels conduct the local and coast traffic; while the trade with the United States and Liverpool is carried by British steamers twenty-six in number. It is believed that a good opening exists for extending the steamship accommodations; and investigation would no doubt show the feasibility of establishing a line of steamers covering all the Brazilian ports of entry, at least as far south as Rio de Janeiro.

Sugar and cotton are staple commodities in the States of Pernambuco, Bahia, Alagoas, Sergipe, and Parahiba. At various periods, cotton, which is cultivated to advantage on the coast-line from the Amazon to Rio, has been largely exported; but now it is in the main consumed by the numerous cotton-mills of the country, which produce low grades of goods only, and are quite remunerative. Several of the most important of these factories are located at Petropolis, the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro, which is situated about 3,000 feet above the sea-level. It is reached by a cog railroad, which makes the necessary ascent in a distance of four miles. Up this heavy grade, all the raw material consumed by the factories is conveyed; the advantages of the location being chiefly water-power and the beautiful climate. The Cachoeira cotton factory in Alagoas, which has been in operation for three years, is said to have paid in the first year a dividend of 48 per cent, in the second year 50 per cent, and in the third year 40 per cent. It has 480 operatives, and produced in 1895–96 122,783 pieces of cotton cloth, which sold at a profit of 315,526 milreis ($63,105). The

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machinery cost 364,445 milreis; the factory buildings, 192,000 milreis; the 124 houses for operatives, 51,000 milreis; and the whole enterprise is protected by an export duty on raw cotton and by heavy import duties on cotton fabrics. Although the consumption of oil is very large in the Republic, no cotton-seed-oil factories have yet been established.

I have already said that the woods of Brazil are not the least important among its varied resources. On the Amazon and its tributaries, and in other sections of the country there are dense forests of hard and soft woods adapted to ornamental and practical use in the manufacture of furniture, trimmings, and other commodities, as well as in house- and ship-building. Dyewoods are found in the States of Amazonas, Para, Maranhão, Ceara, Parahiba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe, Bahia, and Goyaz. "Brazil," which is the principal dyewood exported, is put on board ship at Bahia at a cost of about one cent a pound.

There are many other woods of great value, but the most wonderful of all, from a single tree of which an enormous quantity of clear lumber is said to be obtained, is the carnahuba palm (*Copernicia ceriferi*), which grows uncultivated in the States of Parahiba, Ceara, Rio Grande do Norte, Piauhi, and some of the neighboring States. The descriptions given of it to me seem incredible. Perhaps in no other region is a tree to be found that can be employed for such varied and useful purposes. It resists intense and protracted droughts, and is always green and vigorous. Its roots produce the same medicinal effects as sarsaparilla. Its stem affords strong, light fibres, which acquire a beautiful lustre, and serves also for joists, rafters, and other building materials, as well as for stakes for fences. From parts of the tree wine and vinegar are made. It yields also a saccharine substance, as well as a starch resembling sago. In periods of famine, caused by protracted droughts, the nutritious substances obtained from it are of immense benefit to the poorer classes. Its fruit is used for feeding cattle. The pulp has an agreeable taste; and the nut, which is oleaginous and emulsive, is sometimes used as a substitute for coffee. Of the wood of the stem musical instruments, water-tubes, and pumps are made. The pith is an excellent substitute for cork. From the stem a white liquid, similar to the milk of the cocoanut, and a flour resembling maizena may be extracted. Of the straw, hats, baskets, brooms, and mats are made. A considerable quantity of this straw is shipped to Europe; and a part of it returns to Brazil manufactured into hats. The straw is also used for thatching houses. Moreover, salt is extracted from it, and likewise

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an alkali used in the manufacture of common soap. But from an industrial and commercial point of view, the most valuable product of the carnahuba tree is the wax obtained from its leaves. From this wax, candles are made, which are extensively used in the northern Brazilian States. Some twenty years ago the State of Ceara annually exported about 1,500,000 kilos (3,306,900 pounds) of carnahuba wax; and the home consumption was estimated at 850,000 kilos (1,873,910 pounds) per annum. In two municipal districts of Rio Grande do Norte, a sufficient quantity was produced to supply the demands of home consumption and leave a surplus of 300,000 kilos (661,000 pounds) for exportation. The declared value of the exportations of carnahuba wax to the United States last year was $210,347.

In Santa Catherina, south of Rio de Janeiro, there are forests of *Araucaria braziliensis*, the wood of which, resembling our fir, produces resin, turpentine, and other similar products; while its ashes are rich in potash and soda. There are also dense masses of timber in Minas Geraes. The forests of Espirito Santo, which adjoin the State of Rio de Janeiro on the north, are remarkable for the variety and abundance of their valuable woods. Besides the rosewood, they include the peroba, much used in ship-building and cabinet-work; one variety being spotted with bright yellow, and the gerapopo, a very elastic wood of a lilac color. The catalogue, "Indice general dos Madeiras do Brazil," mentions 22,000 species of woods found in the valley of the Amazon alone. But these great forests of woods, valuable to commerce, are not at present accessible. They cannot be utilized for want of capital to develop them. Though many of the Brazilian cabinet and hard woods would be valuable in exchange for the southern pine we are now sending to Rio, chiefly from Pensacola and Brunswick, they are not to be found, for the reasons above stated, in these or any other markets.

Mining is another promising industry still in the infancy of development. The most important gold explorations are those in the State of Minas Geraes. At Morro Velho the St. John del Rey Gold-Mining Company, an English corporation, has worked for more than fifty years a vein of arsenical pyrites, which is the best kind of quartz found in Brazil. Water being plentiful, the only motive power used is hydraulic. Other minerals, more or less valuable, from diamonds to coal, abound, in great variety, in all sections of the country; but, next in order to Minas Geraes, Bahia is probably the most important mining State. One of the oldest mines in that State is Oro do Morro de Fogo (Gold Mine of Fire Mountain) which was worked more than a hundred

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years ago. During the Portuguese rule, a tax was levied by the crown, the records of which show that an aggregate of about 65 arrobas (2,000 pounds) was paid into the treasury, making a corresponding output of probably 20,000 pounds of gold extracted from this mine before the independence of Brazil. It has been extensively worked since, though the deepest shaft is not over 75 feet. At this depth the operations were obstructed by water; and no effort has been made to go deeper. The Momonos placer diggings, in the same district and on the same belt (free and very coarse gold), are still being worked. The richest and most important mines now in use are situated in the Serra do Assurna district, about 150 miles west from Jacobinas. These mines, according to the report of the United States consul at Bahia, yield the purest gold, mostly in nuggets. Placer mining of the most primitive sort is practised; the miners using a common hoe and a wooden wash-pan. They dig out loose quartz rock imbedded in red clay, pound them, and then wash them in the pan.

Turning now from the chief industries of Brazil to its natural features, we must admit that, although the unchanging verdure covering its surface from mountain-top to sea-shore is strikingly beautiful, its unparalleled river system is the most wonderful feature of that marvellously endowed country. A glance at the lines marking the courses of the great Amazon, with its confluents on the north, and of the Paraguay, with its countless tributaries on the south, convinces one of the immense growth of population and wealth that would follow an intelligent development of the lands through which they flow. These navigable waterways, running in different directions from the plains of Matto Grosso to the Atlantic seaboard, symbolize a double cornucopia pouring the abundant resources of the plains and valleys fertilized by the affluents of the Amazon, Paraguay, and Parana into the lap of international commerce. It has been stated that by means of a small canal,—which the Portuguese attempted to cut in the last century,—a flat-bottomed boat might pass from the mouth of the La Plata at Buenos Ayres to Para at the mouth of the Amazon through the rivers of this unique system. There is also a great central waterway, the São Francisco, rising in the State of Minas Geraes and emptying into the Atlantic at a point midway between Bahia and Pernambuco. This river has a wonderful waterfall, which, in the quantity of water passing over the rapids, is said to rival Niagara itself. From the sea to the falls, it is navigated by ocean steamers; and above the falls, for hundreds of miles, by river steamers. The Parana, the main stream of the southern system,

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is navigable by ocean steamers up to the falls of Guayra, and the Paraguay for over 2,000 miles, by steamers from Montevideo. In speaking of such mighty streams one naturally omits to mention many rivers larger than the Ohio. But one cannot afford to overlook the fact that, besides the advantages they yield for purposes of irrigation and transportation, these rivers of Brazil are inviting to the development of manufacturing industries, by the possession of an unharnessed force equal to, if not exceeding, the mighty power of Niagara, recently put to practical use.

The length of the Amazon in Brazil is 2,335 miles; but as it also penetrates 1,210 miles into Peru, its total length is 3,545 miles. Its tributaries flowing from the lofty ranges of the Andes are navigable for a distance aggregating 26,858 miles. Besides the national product, india-rubber, the products of neighboring republics, mostly those of Peru, pass down a branch of the Amazon to Manaos, in transit to the United States and Europe—a fact worth noting in connection with the feasibility of a traffic route from the Pacific to the Atlantic *via* the Amazon.

The Brazilian government pays annually in subsidies nearly an equal amount to river and ocean navigation; and the latter would no doubt be increased in order to guarantee an American line of steamships between the United States and Brazilian ports, in which trade there are now many foreign ships engaged, but none of American register.

Foreign vessels entered at the port of Rio de Janeiro during the year 1895 (the latest available data) showed an aggregate of 679 British, 164 German, 159 French, 120 Italian, 135 Swedish and Norwegian, and 51 American. Including other nationalities, the total entries for the year numbered 1,460 vessels, of 2,243,103 tons. The American loss for the year over the previous season was 12 ships, measuring 19,388 tons, while the British gain was 130 ships, measuring 71,059 tons. The share that the British flag took in the carrying trade of Rio de Janeiro that year was 54 per cent, while that covered by the American flag for all the ports of Brazil was less than 4 per cent of the aggregate tonnage of the single port of Rio. In 1859, American vessels carried 63.8 per cent of the imports into the United States and 70 per cent of the exports from the United States to foreign countries. In 1895, American vessels carried 15.5 per cent of the imports into and only 8.2 per cent of the exports from our country. What a travesty on American shipping the above figures present; and how plainly they mark the necessity for rehabilitating the American merchant marine! Some people, however, are hard to convince.

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When asked why the New York merchants did not arrange for a line of steamers to Brazil and the River La Plata, an American capitalist once answered that it would not pay; and he went on to observe that there was no money in ocean-transportation lines, and that the people of the United States were wise in allowing England to conduct the commerce of the seas at a loss. Now let us see if this holds true with regard to Brazil.

England, France, Germany, and Italy have not one line, but several steamship lines each, plying regularly to Brazilian ports; and each nation is continually increasing and improving the service of its lines. Does anybody suppose that they would increase the number and build first-class ships especially for that service if it did not pay? The Royal Mail Packet steamers run from Southampton to Buenos Ayres, where they connect with other steamers for the Pacific ports; the Hamburg and South American line from Hamburg to Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul; the French line from Bordeaux to Buenos Ayres; two Italian lines from Genoa and Naples to Buenos Ayres; the Pacific Steam Navigation line from Liverpool to Valparaiso.

All these lines give regular service. According to the annual report of the Hamburg and South American Steam Navigation Company, great progress has been made toward replacing the smaller boats of 2,000 to 2,500 tons carrying capacity, with old compound engines, by large, modern steamers of 5,000 to 6,000 tons capacity, having triple and quadruple cylinder engines. The directors decided to distribute out of the profits of last year's working the sum of 459,375 marks as a 7 per cent dividend. This is about the same amount as the previous year's distribution, at a 12 per cent dividend; the capital being at that time only half the present amount. The net profits for the past year amounted to 2,703,812 marks ($643,552). These figures speak for themselves.

We may now consider the general railway system of Brazil, which is devised on an elaborate and intelligent plan, and furnishes every facility, in conjunction with the navigation of the great waterways, for the development of the natural resources of the country and for its strategic defence. By means of the services of the Department of Industry and of the Inspector-General of Railways, the government exercises fiscal authority over all the roads, the principal one of which, the Central, has 1,164 kilometres under traffic, and does a very large and increasing business. Besides this trunk line, the government operates eight other lines, aggregating in all 2,825 kilometres—about 1,788 miles,—which, at the end of December, 1894, showed a deficit of

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11,118,477 milreis, of which the Central's share was 1,113,724 milreis. The latter line is embraced in the termini of the proposed inter-continental railway system entering Brazil on the Bolivian border at Corumba. In addition to the government roads, there are one hundred and twenty-eight railways, covering a distance of 8,672 kilometres (5,576 miles), which are owned and operated by private companies. One of these—the Santos and Jundiahy—owned and operated by an English company, the São Paulo Railway, Limited, covering 139 kilometres (85 miles), is said to be the best-managed and best-paying railway in the country. The aggregate cost of the nine State-controlled railways has been estimated at 288,118,193 milreis. In 1895, £828,501 9s 9d was paid in London on account of guaranteed interest for subsidized roads.

It is proposed to lease the government roads for the maximum period of ninety years, and that the minimum amount to be paid shall be £14,000,000 ($67,131,000), of which £8,000,000 ($38,932,000) shall be paid in cash and the remainder at the end of one year; the money thus received by the government to be applied exclusively to the redemption of paper money. The Central, the main artery of the railway system of the country, as now conducted, gives employment to 15,000 persons; but it is believed to be possible to operate it upon a better system with one-third that number of employees. Certainly it would be an immense advantage to our commercial relations with Brazil for an American syndicate to take over this road.

With regard to population, we find that during the year 1895 the number of immigrants arriving in Brazil was 164,371, two-thirds of whom were Italians and Portuguese; the former being in excess of the latter probably at the rate of 2 to 1. These immigrants are not of the type most desirable for the intelligent development of an agricultural country. They came as laborers of the lowest class in connection with immigration contracts. There are no public lands at the disposal of the federal government to be offered as an inducement to immigrants under preëmption or homestead laws such as exist in the United States. Brazil's marvellously rich natural resources afford every opportunity for men of enterprise and means, who can wait for returns on intelligent investments.

The physical constitution and habits of North Americans, Englishmen, and others of similar type do not qualify them for self-depending agricultural pursuits in the *tropical* States of Brazil, because of the trying climate. There are, however, more favorable localities in the

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middle States, especially in the coffee-producing districts of São Paulo, Minas Geraes, Rio de Janeiro, and adjacent States, and below the tropic line, in the States of Parana, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, which have a variable climate similar to that of our Southern States, and offer millions of unoccupied acres, where Anglo-Saxon colonies, intelligently planted, would prosper. Reliable statistics show that the latter are the best States for diversified farming and stock-raising, such as our people are accustomed to.

I must draw my paper to a close with the gratifying statement that Brazil is doing well under her republican government. The abolition of slavery, followed almost immediately by a radical change in the entire system of administration, produced, of course, many antagonisms; and difficulties have necessarily arisen in the administration of federal and State laws which it will take time to abate. Still, it is generally conceded that under the new order the States, as sovereign Powers managing their own affairs, are in a better condition socially and financially than they were as dependent provinces under the Empire.

It was hardly to be expected that a radical change in the government of a great nation could be effected without engendering friction and dissension. In my opinion, however, notwithstanding the recent attempted violence against the President and the reports of a turbulent character following that dastardly assault, there is no organized party of monarchists now in Brazil; nor is there likely to be at any future time one strong enough to overthrow the existing form of government. The latter is as heartily supported by the overwhelming sentiment of the people as it is by intelligently governed State organizations composing the Federal Union.

Since the suppression of the revolutionary movement led by Admirals Mello and Da Gama in 1893–94, two political parties have been formed,—one, conservative in character, supporting the administration of President Prudente de Moraes, and the other radically opposed to the harmonizing policy of that statesman. No vital principle seems to be involved in the differences characterizing these parties. They sprang from a contention in Congress between the executive and legislative branches of the government, on questions of executive policy only, none of which is of a very serious character. It is simply a division into party factions, similar to the political organizations in the United States. Each of the parties is thoroughly republican in sentiment, and the permanency of the Republic is in no wise endangered.

THOMAS L. THOMPSON.

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ENGLAND AND EGYPT.

THE pacific mood of Europe has been again severely tested by events in the Near East.

We have seen a Christian nationality, under European protection, abandoned to the ruthless ruler whose word is a law unto himself, and whose law is a byword among the nations. With compassionate hearts, but averted eyes, we have permitted the massacre of thousands of our coreligionists, under circumstances of almost incredible barbarity; salving our consciences with protests that lack unanimity, and with threats that cannot be enforced. The danger of a European war has paralyzed our manhood and absolved our pledges of honor.

Even the champion of persecuted nationalities, the mother-nation of freedom, whose queen but recently received the homage of the world and the adulation of her subjects, has been forced to repudiate her world-mission, for fear of precipitating a struggle which all foresee, but none dare challenge.

It has been left for a minor Power, the foster-mother of European civilization, Greece, to cast aside all considerations of prudence, and boldly to enter the lists—although on another quarrel—against the Mohammedan oppressor. In the absence of allies, the result of the campaign was inevitable. But one issue may not have been foreseen: The invading army, by its humane conduct and discipline in the field, has rehabilitated Turkey as a neighbor of Christian Europe. The virility of the Ottoman Empire, at least as a fighting machine, has been again vindicated.

Thus, if the Powers succeed in pacifying the Near East, the partition of Turkey may be postponed to an indefinite period.

The Egyptian Problem, which is so closely associated with the Eastern Question, may consequently demand a solution and be settled on its own merits. The fall of the Ottoman Empire would inevitably leave Egypt in the hand that now holds it in an iron grasp the strength of which is masked by the velvet glove of diplomacy. The annexation of Egypt at the present day by a European Power would amount to a matter of money and prestige merely, so far as Turkey is concerned,

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although its effect upon the final settlement of the Eastern Question would be as great as in the years to come.

At Constantinople, the rival Powers are Great Britain and Russia; at Cairo, Great Britain and France. The other Powers play a subordinate part. Great Britain is openly opposed to the Dual Alliance in the settlement of the Eastern Question. But for the colonial aspirations of Germany, the dominant partner of the Triple Alliance, a *modus vivendi* might be established between the Mistress of the Seas and the Central Powers of Europe; since Germany has no vital interests in the Mediterranean, and the interests of Italy and Austria-Hungary do not clash with British policy within that strategic area. Germany, however, has assumed a hostile attitude, under the ægis of a heaven-sent Emperor; and in any case the policy of the British Empire is opposed to formal alliances.

The possession of Constantinople by Russia would concern Great Britain as much as, but no more than, the other European Powers, or at least no more than those striving for mastery in the Mediterranean; but the occupation of Egypt by any other great Power might ultimately involve the loss of Britain's Indian Empire.

Egypt is the chief nodal point on the world's highway. Its destiny has always been, and will continue to be, controlled by the leading maritime Power in the Mediterranean. In the past, its geographical position has condemned it to be a foot-note to European history; and now-a-days, from the same cause, it is but a stepping-stone to European conquests in the Far East. For the practical purposes of political domination, it is an island, surrounded either by pitiless deserts or by water-highways open only to the Mistress of the Seas; and as an island, politically speaking, it naturally falls a prey to the dominant maritime Power of the day. Great Britain, therefore, can never evacuate Egypt, except under conditions which, so far, have been proved incapable of realization, or at the risk of imperilling her maritime supremacy. Consequently, the Powers in whose interests it lies to dispute the command of the sea with Great Britain must necessarily be opposed to British domination in Egypt.

The logical sequence of this argument places Great Britain in rivalry with the Dual Alliance. But nobody believes that France would go to war with her for the possession of Egypt, or that Russia would be prepared to support such an extreme measure, except under conditions in which this question was subordinate to wider issues. The present European equilibrium, therefore, would appear to suggest the adhesion of

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Great Britain to the group of Powers which gave her the possession of Egypt as the price of her support; but, since all are committed to the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as the fundamental principle of the concert, such a solution, apart from the known desire of Great Britain to avoid alliances, is neither practicable nor desirable.

If it rested alone with the protectoral Power in Egypt, none but a natural solution of the Egyptian Question would be attempted. It is obviously in the interests of Great Britain to maintain the *status quo.* For all strategic purposes, Egypt is fulfilling the function of a British possession; and, as regards commerce, Britain already enjoys a monopoly resulting from open competition. But her rivals in Egypt and the Soudan will not leave her alone. They foresee the inevitable destiny marked out for themselves by the teaching of history and experience. They know that a nation can never stand still without suffering atrophy of its functions, but must ever press forward from conquest to conquest. Russia, herself, is the most remarkable example of this natural law. France, too, recognizes it, in her zeal to regain a colonial empire; and Germany is its latest exponent. In the hands, therefore, of the greatest colonial Power of these or any other times, Egypt must necessarily tread in the path of progress; she must reacquire the territories which she lost by mismanagement when left to herself; and must establish her dominion over the unity of the Nile Basin. If she fail to do this, she will be at the mercy of any European Power commanding the Upper Nile Valley; since Egypt has been created by the Nile and is fed by it.

This, then, is the danger that now threatens Egypt, and is likely to precipitate a solution of the Egyptian Question. The rival action of certain European Powers in the Nile Valley has sent the Egyptian army—prematurely and not without risks, both financial and military—into the Soudan on a path of conquest that may ultimately prove to be beyond its strength, without the necessary means to consolidate its victories. If the protectoral Power have to provide men and money for the reconquest and pacification of the Soudan, her hold on Egypt will be immeasurably strengthened, and the tenure of her guardianship indefinitely extended. Can the Egyptian army, without the aid of British troops, break up the Khalifa's power, reoccupy Khartoum, and pacify the wild tribes of the Soudan? Can the Egyptian government, with the funds at its disposal, pay the bill? Can Egyptians be trusted to create order out of chaos and to administer the Soudan, when, even in Lower Egypt, European control is necessary? And, finally, will it pay? These questions, of vital importance to Egypt, must now be answered.

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The Egyptian Question has a twofold aspect—internal and external. The internal conditions are associated with the postulate, that Egypt shall "stand alone," that is to say, be capable of self-government and of maintaining her political integrity. Could Egypt stand alone at the present day, there would be no Egyptian Question as generally understood, though there might be one in the Soudan. The external conditions apply to the problem, now being solved before our eyes, as to who shall eventually dominate the Nile Valley.

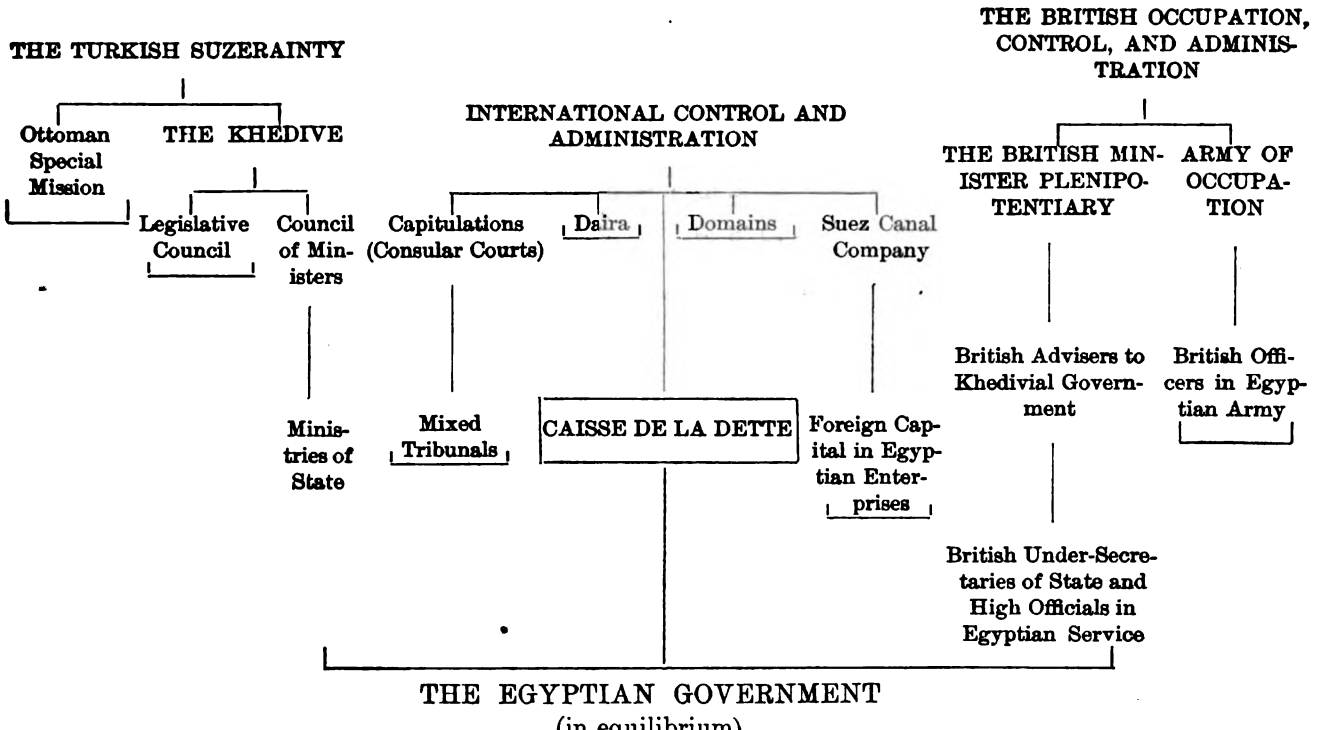
All authorities agree in the verdict that, without European control of some kind, Egypt would quickly relapse into anarchy. Some would even now prefer a dual or, perhaps, an international control—both of which have been tried and found wanting. On the other hand, British control has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations. Patriotic Egyptians very naturally wish to control themselves. Led by the young Khedive, whose lack of self-control is conspicuous, they are inimical to both the French and the English factions, but with a difference. As Tigrane Pasha put it to me, "Egyptian sympathies are more with the English than with the French. The French are too intolerant and meddlesome. In fact, the English have always had a predominant influence in Egypt. They are at least generous. Occasionally, crumbs do fall from the table of the Englishman; but none come from the French; and on the Italian table there are no crumbs at all." What he and other Nationalists complain about is, that the English system of control does not protect Egypt against the extortion of foreign rivalries. That is perfectly true. But consider for a moment the fetters with which Egypt and the protectoral Power are bound. What is the actual political situation in Egypt?

When I was in Egypt, "the situation" was constantly coming up for discussion between myself and those who favored me with their confidence. One day I constructed the diagram which appears on the next page. This diagram seems to me to embody every element of weight in the political situation, and to illustrate more graphically and convincingly than the most elaborate thesis how susceptible the Egyptian administrative machine is to any disturbance of its equilibrium.

We here see the Egyptian government in a state of just poise; and we have only to imagine some of its constituent factors subject to agitation in order to realize the see-saw of Egyptian politics. The correlation of its component parts, on either side of the centre of oscillation, is as nearly as possible accurate; and though it is impossible, in a diagram of this kind, to represent the relative weight of each (even if one

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EGYPT.



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could make such an estimate), the machine, as constructed, may be supposed to balance. The central position of the *Caisse de la Dette*, and its consequent capacity to disturb or restore the balance of political factors in the Egyptian situation, will be noted. In all respects but one, the principle of this illustration holds good. The exception is obvious in the outlying pendants of this machine. If you knock away the "Ottoman Special Mission" and the "Legislative Council," the balance of power would scarcely be disturbed; but if you remove the British "Army of Occupation" and the "British Officers in the Egyptian Army," the voice of the British Agent and Minister Plenipotentiary would be as "of one crying in the wilderness."

In spite of the equivocal position of the protectoral Power, Lord Cromer would be quite able to control the situation in Egypt if he were to receive at all times the full support of Her Majesty's government. But the British Foreign Office has not the courage of its convictions. In all vital matters, its support is given without hesitation,—we had almost said, without inquiry,—so greatly is Lord Cromer trusted as the *deus ex machina*. But, under the complex conditions of British foreign policy, it often happens that the situation in other parts of the world precludes any pressure being applied for the promotion of Egyptian interests, when these are opposed by France. Under such circumstances, Egypt has to wait; and under any circumstances she has to pay. Though Her Majesty's government may be convinced of the importance of certain reforms, these cannot always be pushed at an inopportune moment. To an outsider it might appear that the complaisance of France was more important than the need of Egypt,—except, as I have said, in matters of vital consequence. In the end, of course, all necessary reforms are carried out, no matter what may be the opposition of France; but the constant friction, intrigues, and the anomalous conditions that prevail are very prejudicial and burdensome to Egypt. All the Powers squeeze *bakhshish* out of that distracted country; and they will continue to do so, so long as there are Capitulations, international posts, duplication of offices, and general uncertainty regarding the future. If Great Britain were given a free hand, all, or most, of these abuses would be swept away, and a considerable saving result to the Egyptian exchequer. As things are, however, it requires the greatest tact on the part of Lord Cromer to avoid offending French susceptibilities by any action that may bear the construction or even the appearance of nepotism. To govern Egypt is an easy matter; but to satisfy France is a Sisyphean task.

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The policy of France in Egypt is that of the Opposition in the English Parliament—to oppose. Under the circumstances, such an attitude may be understood. But French opposition is too often carried to the point of obstruction in blocking legislation or the passage into law of special humanitarian and financial measures against which no fault can be found except that they are, it may be, British proposals. And since in Egypt, as elsewhere, most measures involve a question of money, France utilizes her position and her backing in the *Caisse de la Dette* to obstruct legislation whenever it seemeth good unto her. Finance being the basis of Egyptian prosperity and independence, it follows that the *Caisse de la Dette* becomes, at times, an *imperium in imperio*, and on its good-will, rather than on its strict sense of justice, depends the adoption of proposals requiring its sanction. Sometimes the *Caisse* is in a complaisant mood, and grants readily enough the surplus funds at its disposal; but should this not be the case, or should some extra-political motive exist, no measure, however humane, however necessary for the welfare of Egypt, has a chance of being passed. Perhaps the most inexcusable instance of this obstruction was the persistent opposition of France to the abolition of the *corvée*. Sir Alfred Milner tells us, that "it took three mortal years to get France to give anything more than a provisional sanction to the arrangement. French diplomacy," he adds, bitterly, "was not above keeping Egypt in suspense about this vital matter, in order to bring pressure to bear upon her government for the concession of some rather shabby demands about the pay and position of certain French officials."

This is only a single instance. Many others might be cited: in particular, the opposition of France to that most urgent of all needed reforms—the right of Egypt to dispose of her own surplus. But it is sufficient to illustrate the fact, that France utilizes her position in Egypt to advance her own ends and to obstruct legislation. By opposing measures which, all are agreed, would benefit Egypt and not endanger the interests of the bondholders, she simply prolongs the British occupation, against which she inveighs with uplifted hands. If, as she sometimes asserts, Egypt can "stand alone," why does she not propose the abolition of the Consular Courts? Why does she not conclude a commercial treaty with Egypt? And why does she require a postal service of her own? But to attempt to argue with France would be as fruitless as to reason with an angry woman. France is angry because she is angry. She does not like to see England in Egypt, and she does not want to take England's place; but she does want to exercise polit-

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ical domination without accepting the responsibilities of guardianship.

The grouping of the Great Powers in Egyptian politics is that which obtains elsewhere in diplomatic circles, subject to local conditions. Russia follows the lead of France, though not always willingly; Germany makes political capital out of the "open sore" between France and Great Britain; Austria-Hungary and Italy are benevolent opportunists; and the United States of America watch their humanitarian and commercial interests without concerning themselves with the balance of power. In effect, the struggle for domination is between France and Great Britain alone; since the suzerainty of the Sultan is merely a diplomatic fiction, religiously upheld by the protectoral Power. The hostility of the Khedive, serious as it now is, would practically cease to exist if Great Britain accepted the responsibility of a protectorate. One-man rule is the only possible government for Oriental countries, in which force takes the place of popular institutions; whilst disputed power gives an opening to intrigue. The young Egyptian party has no standing and no influence; but the hostility of the Khedive himself constitutes a menace to law and order, of which he is the nominal head. Some day he may go too far, and be removed, as Ismail was removed, for the good of his country; for if he were to have his way, and Great Britain were to abandon her task in Egypt, a state of anarchy would supervene, and His Highness would be the first to suffer.

That the task of Great Britain in Egypt has been performed with success, and marked by signal unselfishness on her part, requires no proof in this article. Out of financial ruin and political chaos she has built up a new Egypt. There has been a gain to everyone, and not least to the bondholders. Nevertheless, the relative share of Great Britain in the volume of Egypt's external commerce has declined from 57 to 54 per cent. The secret of her success is hard work and honest and capable administration. If her pledges of evacuation cannot now be fufilled, it is because the hopes entertained at the time those pledges were made have not been realized, and because the obstruction of France has been inimical to rapid development. She is not open to the charge of bad faith. Witness the Drummond-Wolff Convention, by which, ten years ago, Great Britain undertook to withdraw her Army of Occupation after a period of three years; reserving to herself the right of reëntry under certain legitimate circumstances. This convention Turkey would have ratified, but for French intervention. Circumstances have altered a good deal since then. Under the process of regeneration, the standard of Egypt's independence has undoubtedly been raised, so that few ex-

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pect that she can ever attain unto it. Experience has taught, however, that a weak Egypt would soon relapse into a state of anarchy, and that another twenty years would not be too long a period to fix for her final emancipation from European control. What are twenty, or even fifty, years in the life of a nation? It would, doubtless, be safe to say that it would take even longer than that time to inculcate the principles of honesty in the administration of an Oriental country and to train up a new governing class to replace the Turkish taskmasters. The Egyptians themselves are totally lacking in initiative and in the habits of command; and the Pasha class, who have these qualities cultivated to a predatory extent, cannot throw off their pashadom. Education in Egypt is a vehicle not so much for cultivating the mind and training good citizens as for the manufacture of government clerks *en masse;* and as the supply exceeds the demand, we find, as in India, a good deal of intelligence diverted into useless or mischievous channels. In a word, the regeneration of Egypt must proceed normally and circumspectly, if she is ever to "stand alone," without artificial or alien support.

This brief outline of the internal situation must suffice. If Egypt were capable of self-government, and able to offer guarantees of her power and capacity to maintain her complete independence and political integrity, the British Army of Occupation might safely evacuate the country. Her financial relations with Europe are, however, too intimate and far-reaching to enable her to escape from the fetters of international control; and until this situation is relieved, her political independence will always be at the mercy of her financial stability. France participates too closely in the general prosperity of Egypt, to risk the promotion of any adventurous schemes of political upheaval; and the European bondholders are too well satisfied with the results of British occupation to condone such a step. The 4-per-cent Unified Debt, which before the occupation was quoted at 27, and on the occupation, at a little over 50, now stands at nearly 106; and the amount of Egypt's available income has risen from one-third to over one-half. The five millions resulting from economies of the conversion of the Debt might be profitably invested in the development of Egypt: but France has locked up that surplus; and it cannot be touched without her consent. Nevertheless, says Sir Alfred Milner,

"for every pound, by which the government exceeds the 'authorized' expenditure, it has to raise two pounds in taxation. Let this fact be well grasped; for it is a central principle of Egyptian finance. . . . It is evident, therefore, that for every extra £ E 100 required for administrative needs, the country must pay £ E 200 in taxation,—the other £ E 100 going to the reduction of the Debt."

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The only natural solution of the Egyptian Question,—so far as the internal situation is concerned,—and certainly the best and most profitable for Egypt, would be for Great Britain herself, as the responsible protectoral Power, to guarantee the entire Egyptian debt. There would be no financial risk, either to the guarantor or to the bondholders, in the acceptance of this responsibility; provided, Great Britain were given a free hand in Egypt. But, in effect, this would amount to a recognized British protectorate; and, consequently, it is not likely to meet with the approval of France. The alternative is to accept the present equivocal situation and to prepare for an indefinite extension of the British occupation.

That such an extension is inevitable, I now purpose to explain. In the end,—judging from the French annexation of Tunis, an analogous case,—it will probably amount to the same thing, whether Great Britain receive the mandate of Europe, or whether she drift from a masked to an open protectorate over Egypt. The annexation of Egypt by Great Britain is, in my opinion, merely a matter of time and opportunity: it is the logical sequence of the present situation, and is in full accord with the principles of English colonial expansion. Great Britain must dominate the Nile Valley, in virtue of her position as the tutelary Power in Egypt, and for strategic reasons of her own.

In the year 1882, Egypt, under the suzerainty of Turkey, possessed exclusive rights of sovereignty throughout the Nile Valley, as far south as Wadelai and Fauvera. Egyptian garrisons were established in Kordofan, Dar Fur, the Bahr-el-Ghazal, on the Red Sea littoral between Suakin and Massowa, on the Gulf of Aden at Zeila and Berbera, and at Harar. But the revolt of the Soudanese tribes, under the leadership of a false Mahdi, destroyed every vestige of Egyptian rule in the Nile Valley, except in Emin Pasha's province (Hat-el-Estiva).

Great Britain, who in 1882 had occupied Lower Egypt,—with the tacit consent of the Powers and of Turkey,—for the purpose of restoring the authority of the Khedive, after the Arabi revolt had been crushed by her, forced Egypt in 1884 to abandon the Soudan, and herself undertook a costly expedition for the relief of the Khartoum garrison. Great Britain thereby made herself responsible for the reëstablishment of Egypt's sovereign rights over the Soudan; and her own sacrifices, which were considerable, entitle her to any advantages accruing from her position as the tutelary Power.

It is unnecessary to examine the various international acts by which France, Italy, and Great Britain acquired possession of the territories

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and islands they now occupy in and around the southern entrance of the Red Sea, or to narrate the course of events which led Great Britain to assume a protectorate over Uganda and the adjacent countries. The lapse of Egyptian sovereign rights and the peculiar circumstances of the case are responsible for this situation, the legitimacy of which, as a question of international law, is guaranteed by Article XXXIV of the General Act of the Berlin Conference (1884-5), and by the mutual conventions, treaties, etc., which regulate it.

The boundaries of Egypt were confirmed by the Sultan's *firman* of investiture granted to the present Khedive in 1892; a supplementary telegram including the Sinai peninsula. The sovereign rights of Egypt and the principle of Turkish suzerainty have been faithfully upheld by the protectoral Power in Egypt. They are not contested, in principle, by the Powers engaged and concerned in the partition of Africa; but encroachments of a questionably legitimate character have undoubtedly taken place. Great Britain herself forms no exception to this charge. Her so-called lease of the Bahr-el-Ghazal to the King of the Belgians in 1894 was certainly an action open to misconstruction, and gave France a plausible excuse for the advance she was then making into the Upper Nile basin. Any such arrangement should have been made in the name of Egypt alone.

Unquestionably, Great Britain has shown her hand too openly in her manifest desire to exercise, directly or indirectly, exclusive political domination in the Nile Valley; and it is not surprising that France should seek to thwart her ambitions. The result of this rivalry is, that Egypt is prematurely committed to the reconquest of the Soudan, and, consequently, will require material support from Great Britain. In the "North American Review" for September, 1896, I claimed to have established, by documentary evidence, the true, as opposed to the ostensible, motives of this precipitate campaign, the order for which came direct from Downing Street without previous consultation with the Egyptian authorities. Bold initiative and craven timidity are characteristic features of British policy in Egypt.

To Egypt, herself, it is a matter of vital importance that no first-class Power, other than Great Britain, whose interests are identical, should secure a footing in the Upper Nile basin. Apart from the menacing military situation, any European Power on the Upper Nile might tamper with the water-supply of Egypt, by establishing extensive irrigation works. It would not be possible to dam the White Nile in flood; but this could be done easily enough in the summer, even by a temporary

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dam to hold up the water, with the result that the *Sefi* cultivation in Lower Egypt would suffer disastrously. As it is, Egypt has only just sufficient irrigation for the cotton crop; and the failure of her water-supply would bring ruin to the country. A hostile Power might also partially divert the course of the Atbara; but, as Egypt receives her chief alluvial deposits from the Blue Nile, this risk is not a serious one. For these and other obvious reasons, it is clear, therefore, that the friendship of Abyssinia is of great importance to Egypt.

Now the friendship of Abyssinia is being eagerly courted by France and Russia. For the last six years, this courtship has been going on under the guise of religious confraternity and mutual esteem. France openly supported Abyssinia in her conflict with Italy; and, after the disaster to Italian arms at Adua in 1896, Great Britain sent the Egyptian army into the Soudan with the avowed purpose of diverting the attention of the Dervishes, who were supposed to be hanging about with the felonious intent of swooping down on Kassala and other positions occupied by Italy. As a matter of fact, this move was a mere pretext for an advance into the Soudan, the true object of which was to re-establish Egyptian sovereignty by driving the Dervishes out of the chief strategic positions in the Soudan. This campaign has met with remarkable success.

The question naturally arises: Why should the British taxpayer fight Egypt's battles? It is morally certain that the *quid pro quo* will in future be exacted, though it was generously waived after Tel-el-Kebir. The reoccupation of Khartoum by an Anglo-Egyptian army would pave the way to the declaration of a British protectorate over Egypt and the Soudan.

The Province of Dongola is valueless to Egypt, so long as it is open to Dervish raids. South of Berber, the Nile Valley is a desert. But, with Anglo-Egyptian rule firmly established at Khartoum, a new era of prosperity would dawn on the Soudan. The Khalifa and his Baggaras would seek safety in flight, if they survived the downfall of Omdurman, and would be harmless enough in the deserts of Kordofan, because the other tribes would quickly rally to the standard of the conqueror. The work of pacification, of reconstruction, of administration, will, however, be a colossal and costly task, quite beyond the powers and resources of Egypt under her present dispensation, hampered as she is at every turn by the hostility of France. Some relaxation of the existing tension must be introduced, lest history repeat itself, and Egypt be again involved in disasters in the Soudan. Everything,

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in short, points to the assumption by Great Britain of increased, even uncontrolled, powers over the destiny of Egypt. The logic of events will prove stronger than self-denying ordinances; and the pacific opposition of France cannot stay it.

Personally, I have never shared the fears, so sedulously cultivated by the press, of either France or the Congo States being able, from their distant bases on the West Coast, to establish and maintain even the feeblest kind of administration in the basin of the Upper Nile; but that will not deter them from setting up paper-rights over this region,—an adventure in which both have been engaged for several years past. More effective for offensive purposes would be the coöperation of Abyssinia in any schemes of French aggression: but the present Negus, Menelik, is a shrewd statesman; and the British mission to his country a year ago must have convinced him of the wisdom of maintaining peaceful relations with Egypt and the protectoral Power. The Abyssinians, having a blood-feud with the Dervishes, will never coöperate with these, their natural enemies; whilst the restoration of law and order in the Soudan will be Abyssinia's opportunity to reap the fruits of her latest victories.

Under whatever aspect we regard the Egyptian Question, therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that its solution rests with Great Britain; and on her courage and capacity to deal with the situation must depend the measure and extent of her success. The time for complacent drifting is past: the moment of action is at hand. Success must bring responsibilities of almost unlimited extent; but defeat would be the first blow struck at Britain's maritime supremacy, upon which her existence as an empire is based.

A. SILVA WHITE.

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SOME RECENT MUNICIPAL GAS HISTORY.

THE trend of public opinion in favor of municipal ownership and operation of electric-light- and gas-plants is unmistakable. At the recent convention of American mayors, at Columbus, Ohio, it was one of the chief topics of discussion; and interviews in the public press indicated that the majority of those attending the convention were in favor of public ownership. In December, 1896, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing directly about half a million trade-unionists, and indirectly many more, the following resolution was adopted, with scarcely any opposition:—

"Whereas, The influences of corporations, holding or seeking to obtain possession of public franchises, are among the most potent influences antagonistic to reformative measures, and the most active cause of corruption in politics and of mismanagement and extravagance in public administration; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the sixteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor urges upon all the members of affiliated bodies that they use every possible effort to assist in the substitution, in all public utilities—municipal, State, and national—that are in the nature of monopolies, of public ownership for corporate and private control."

Trade papers, run in the interest of their chief patrons,—the managers of private works,—such as the two leading gas journals of America, viz., the "Progressive Age" and the "Gas Light Journal," by the space they devote to the discussion of this question, show its growing importance.

The lease of the Philadelphia gas-works, for thirty years, to a private company, last November, after fifty-six years of public ownership and operation, is so important a chapter in the history of this movement as to demand chief attention at present.

Briefly, the facts of the case are these: The works were inefficiently managed under public ownership; and the lease offers considerable financial benefits to the city for the next few years. But the people of Philadelphia were already beginning to see the need of better management. The very week before the Councils leased the works, the people, by a great majority, voted $1,000,000 for improvements of the gas-works.

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That they would have voted more, if a larger appropriation had been desired by the Councils, is indicated by the fact that they voted the same day $11,200,000 for the improvement of the water-works, school-houses, and other public works. This appropriation, joined to the increased popular interest in the gas-works, and the growth of sentiment in favor of municipal reform, promised, in the course of five or ten years, still better results than are offered by the lease. The Councils, last November, voted down a resolution to submit the question of a lease to popular vote, which, it was generally believed, would have been overwhelmingly adverse to the lease. This same governing body, by accepting what was clearly far from the best lease that was offered, proved how little was the value of its own opinion on any question relating to the gas-works. Other wealthy and responsible bidders offered lower prices and more bonus to the city, while otherwise exactly duplicating the offer of the United Gas Improvement Company.

The lease should be studied, then, not as evidence of the deliberate turning of the city against city ownership of a great monopoly,—which it was not,—but as a striking lesson of the benumbing effects on public ownership of its mixture with private ownership, as has been true for ten years; and a lesson, further, of the difficulties that city ownership must face in this country by reason of the "spoils" system, and the readiness of the masses to follow those party bosses and "leading citizens" who fatten on the demoralizing relations between weak or corrupt government and immensely valuable franchises, when in private hands.

According to the published reports of the Philadelphia Gas Department, the cash profit, in 1896, was nearly $89,000. To the expenses, however, should be added about $281,000 for omitted items, such as the expense for water, for lighting, extinguishing, and repairing street lamps, and for collecting gas bills. There should also be added an allowance for depreciation, estimated by that competent authority, Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, at $276,500. On the other hand, there should be deducted, first, $118,000 spent for new meters and services,—wrongly classed by the Department under "Operating Expenses,"—and, second, $505,000, the value, at 75 cents per thousand feet, of the gas used by the city on the streets and in public buildings. The true surplus of the city was about $150,000. This, however, would have been turned into a deficit of about $200,000, if the city instead of buying 40 per cent of its gas in the holder, at the high price of 37 cents per thousand feet, from a branch of the present lessees, had itself made the gas at the exorbitant cost of about 55 cents, at which it made 60 per cent of the supply.

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The superintendent of the best of the three city-operated plants has made the startling statement to the writer that the cost in his plant was only 27 cents; and he explained how commonly labor was employed, at the other plants, through political influence.

In contrast with this, the successful lessees, on receiving the present city plant rent free for thirty years, agree to retain only 90 cents per thousand feet for all gas sold during the next ten years, 85 cents during the following five years, 80 cents during the next five years, and 75 cents during the last ten years of the lease. The Councils may, however, fix the price at any higher amount not exceeding $1, and turn the difference into the city treasury.

The lessees also agree to light the streets free of charge, to spend $15,000,000 in improving the plant, and at the end of the thirty years, to return the plant to the city, without charge, although doubtless in a considerably depreciated state. On the assumption that the increase of population and the growing use of gas for fuel purposes will augment the total output in the next thirty years nearly five-fold, as it did in the last thirty years, a reserve fund set aside of less than 10 cents per thousand feet of annual output will cover these obligations of the Company. Minor details, such as an impracticable provision for resumption of city control at the end of ten years, may be here omitted.

It is promised that the quality of the gas shall be improved to 22-candle power. But the average of the gas at the time it leaves the works is nearly that now; an old and inadequate distributing system being responsible for poor light in many homes. There is reported, at present, an appalling amount of leakage, viz., about 22 per cent; while in good companies this loss is usually from 6 to 12 per cent. But some of the best authorities on this subject reject as absurd the possibility of so great a leakage without an odor in the streets so offensive as to be at once noticeable. They believe that there is no such leakage, but that probably a large number of the meters have become worthless from long service. In one city an apparent leakage account of 35 per cent was reduced recently to 7 per cent, merely by putting in correct meters. Of course the Philadelphia gas consumers would not relish a rise of 12 per cent in their gas bills, such as new meters under the new company might involve; and, if such be the result, the city will have to be credited with much less cost, both to itself and the consumer, for every thousand feet of gas really delivered than has been inferred from the city reports.

The gas-works have been handicapped, partly by unbusiness-like methods in the purchase of supplies, but chiefly by the failure of the

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Councils to improve the works as fast as the mass of the voters and the needs of the plant demanded, and by the influence of the spoils system. In respect of the latter, some interesting facts are at hand. Mr. William K. Park, Chief of the Bureau of Gas, testified before the examining committee of the Pennsylvania Senate, December, 1896, that all gas employees made contributions to the Director of Public Works, and that, from time to time, some of the men were appointed or removed by the Director for political reasons. The men he recommended for discharge as the least efficient were not always the ones dismissed when the force was reduced in the summer seasons. Side by side with this remarkable confession, however, should be placed the equally startling statement, to the same committee, by William H. Gartley, Engineer and Superintendent of the Philadelphia Gas Improvement Company,—a branch of the United Improvement Company, and the maker, during the last ten years, of about one-third of the gas delivered in the city mains. He said he was over-run with applicants recommended by councilmen. To men with such endorsements he did not profess to give steady work. He merely took as many as were needed, with the understanding that, even if found to be good workmen, they would not be kept more than three months. The majority were inefficient, and were dismissed at the end of an hour. After employing four or five men endorsed by one councilman, those endorsed by another were taken. "In that way we oblige as many [councilmen] as we can. We oblige them as often as we can. . . . Our favors are distributed."

With the spoils system to weaken the efficiency of the plant, with the councilmen indebted to a private corporation for favors, it is easy to understand why the works have been surrendered. It is also easy to believe that the works will continue to be in politics as much as ever. Yet the majority of Philadelphians, and the great Reform organizations of that city—such as the Municipal League and the Citizens' Municipal Association—decidedly preferred the continuance of public ownership and operation for the following reasons:

(1) Under city ownership the price of gas had declined in Philadelphia and elsewhere, in the last twenty-one years, at a much faster rate than it can decline, under the new lease, during the next thirty years. The fall from 1875 to 1896, in Philadelphia, was from $2.30 to $1.00. In Richmond, Virginia, it was from $3 to $1; in Birmingham, England, from 75 cents to 53 cents (£1 = $4.86); in Manchester, England, from 89 cents to 55 cents; and in Glasgow, Scotland, from $1.13 to 53 cents.

(2) The People's Gas Light and Coke Company, one of the leading

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Chicago companies prior to the recent consolidation, filed a statement with the New York Stock Exchange in 1893, declaring, over the signatures of its officials, that the entire cost of delivering gas to the consumer in 1892, including taxes but not profit, was 43 cents per thousand feet,—or rather they gave figures from which this computation is easily made. There is evidence at hand that the cost in some large cities is under 40 cents to-day, and that it is certain to become still less in the next few years. If Philadelphia had retained her gas-works and reformed her administration, she might have hoped to equal these results. Indeed, a responsible gas engineer, Col. John I. Rogers, had agreed, in case the city would permit him to erect a water-gas-plant for sale to the municipality, that he would charge nothing for it, if it did not produce 22-candle-power gas for less than 25 cents a thousand feet in the holder; and there is abundant evidence at hand that 10 to 15 cents should cover all expenses of distribution.

(3) During the last fifty-three years the price of gas had been lower in Philadelphia under public ownership than in New York under private ownership, save for three years in the sixties and the eight years preceding 1894. A considerable reduction was forced on the New York gas companies in 1886 by Act of Legislature. Yet out of the net cash receipts, Philadelphia had entirely paid for her works, not to speak of all the free gas used on the streets and in public buildings. Even the contract just made with the private lessees would not have been within the reach of Philadelphia, had the city not retained, during all these years, the control of its plant; and the vast superiority of the terms recently offered to the city over those that the same lessees offered in 1887—when they sought a long contract, with the price throughout the period at $1.50—was good proof of the wisdom of holding on to the plant.

(4) It was generally believed that the unwillingness of the Councils to improve the works was due to their opinion,—and that of the ward bosses back of them,—that more profit would come to them through deals with the United Gas Improvement Company, which was yearly supplying an increasing quantity of gas in the city holders, than through building up the city plant. Not very long ago the Councils refused to give demanded appropriations to the Gas Department; while they insisted upon appropriating much more money for another department than, in the opinion of its chief, could be wisely used. The "Progressive Age" thus remarked editorially, in its issue of December 16, 1895:—

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"The most strenuous efforts of the most unscrupulous machine element in the politics of that city [Philadelphia] have been directed *not* toward the retention of the gas-works under municipal ownership and control, as being the policy of greatest pecuniary advantage [and therefore sole interest] to the office-holders, but toward the sale of the gas-works again into private ownership."

Cities that own their water-works and electric-light-plants are usually very liberal and far-sighted in their appropriations for improvements and extensions. When Syracuse, New York, for example, bought out its private water-works two or three years ago, it proceeded at once to increase greatly their size and efficiency.

(5) It was feared that the demand for good government, on the part of both rich and poor, would be weakened by the surrender of the works. The lessees were known to have been closely identified with the street-railway and electric-light companies, whose influence in keeping the politics of the city corrupt is famous throughout the nation. A former director of the Department of Public Works of Philadelphia, now a prominent banker there, when asked which exercised the most corrupting influence upon the city government, the public-owned gas-works or the private-owned street-railways, replied at once: "Why, the street-railways. They own us."

The Honorable Wayne MacVeagh, in a public address during the discussion of the lease, said deliberately:—

"Every man who votes for this ordinance will go through the rest of his life with the brand on his forehead, bribed by the rich to rob the poor."

The well-known citizen, Henry C. Lea, wrote, during this same period:—

"It would appear superfluous to discuss any proposition save that of the United Gas Improvement Company, for the influence in Councils of the gentlemen concerned in this corporation has been too often manifested for us to suppose that rival offers will be successful,"

—a prediction verified, as we have seen, by the results.

The Philadelphia "Ledger," although it had been somewhat friendly to the lease, showed its belief in the influences leading to the surrender of the works when it inserted editorially the following, after one branch of the city government had already approved the lease:—

"Select Council should not, by emulating the lower branch, show a like example of contempt for the provident, decorous, and proper laws and usages of legislative procedure; thereby creating and fostering suspicion in the public mind that a majority of its members can be influenced by motives which will not admit of convincing explanation and which cannot be effectively defended."

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"City and State," thus remarked, in its issue of November 15, 1897:—

"Many of our wealthy citizens gave large donations to the defeat of Bryanism last year. We did what we could to the same end in the columns of 'City and State'; for we believed that free silver was a serious financial error, and that Mr. Bryan was a very crude and unsuitable mind to guide the executive action of the country. But we also felt sure that Mr. Bryan would not have had the immense following of nearly half the voters of the country if it were not that he gave voice to popular discontent with very serious wrongs and abuses existing in this country. We refer especially to the unscrupulous use of corporate wealth, acting through political machines on our legislative bodies. Bryanism was a crude and dangerous protest against the exceedingly ripe and much more dangerous corruption. The maintenance of that corruption will insure the continuance, and perhaps the triumph, of Bryanism in the future. The exhibition which Philadelphia has recently enjoyed in the passage of the gas-lease ordinance through Councils, is fully illustrative of the way in which corporate wealth often seeks to gain its object. The United Gas Improvement Company has presented a vivid object-lesson of one of the main causes of the power of William Jennings Bryan."

Very striking was the fruitless protest of the Municipal League to the Mayor, just before he confessed incompetence by signing the lease:—

"If the recent discussions should have satisfied you that there are incompetent or superfluous officials or employés, you can remove them; if there is a conspiracy of mining and transportation companies to secure excessive prices for coal, no one is in a better position to expose and defeat it than yourself; if Councils should refuse to make necessary appropriations or to sell the Ninth Ward works, or to stop the purchase of water-gas, it is in your power to present the facts to them and to the people in a way that would soon lead to a different result; if the works are in politics, you can take them out of politics at any moment by enforcing the letter and spirit of the civil service provisions of the Bullitt Bill; and we may add in this connection that no one knows better than yourself that if Mr. Dolan [President of the United Gas Improvement Company] and his friends should obtain the control of our gas-works the latter would become a more dominant and corrupting factor in our politics than they have hitherto been.

Under these circumstances it seems to us that the audacity of these gentlemen, in expecting you to admit that you are incompetent to perform the duties for which you were elected, could hardly have been greater if they had been capable of imagining that you were a man whose honor and self-respect could be bought and sold in a public market.

The consummation of the proposed lease would be a confession to all the world that the government of the city, which you have so often and so eloquently praised, is so lacking in honesty or intelligence that it cannot manage its own gas-supply, and that, while other cities are going forward, Philadelphia is going backward in the path of municipal progress, and degenerating, instead of advancing toward a purer, stronger, and more efficient local government, and toward a more generally interested and active citizenship."

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Emboldened by their success with the gas-works, prominent Philadelphians are now trying to secure the water-works; and the Councils are pursuing their old policy of first crippling the works. For either keeping what they have, or getting more, the people will be driven to place in their State constitutions the referendum and the imperative mandate.

A reference to public ownership of gas-works elsewhere will be in place here. Richmond, Virginia, a city of 80,000 population in 1890, has owned and operated its gas-works since 1852. In 1896, the net cost of its mixed coal-and-water-gas of 20.3 candle-power was 65 cents, and in 1897 only 57 cents, aside from depreciation and such taxes as a private company would have to pay. These two items might add 14 cents. It is unnecessary to add even a fair interest charge, or say 15 cents more, because the plant has long ago paid for itself from net earnings.

The same facts may be put in another way by saying that, although less fortunately placed than most cities, as regards a market for coal, oil, and residuals, Richmond secured a good profit, in 1897, by selling about 180,000,000 feet of gas to private consumers at $1 a thousand feet. After expending from earnings $4,624.54 for extensions, and using, free of cost, in streets and public buildings, over 10,000,000 feet, the city had left in cash over $66,000.

The 80,000,000 feet of coal-gas and the 133,000,000 feet of water-gas cost, in the holder, for manufacturing, repairs, and general maintenance, 18⅛ cents per thousand feet, aside from 24 cents, the net cost of coal and oil. The best private companies making as large a proportion of water-gas, and with the same total output, would probably have reduced the above item for labor, repairs, and general maintenance to 12 or 13 cents,—partly through the payment of lower wages to common labor. But such private companies would probably have had distribution and leakage expenses quite as high as the 14.7 cents at Richmond, and would have charged the consumer much more than the total cost at Richmond, even after due allowance had been made for depreciation, taxes, and interest, and a few minor expenses, such as water and office rent, not included in the above figures.

The city of Hamilton, Ohio, since building its own plant in 1890, has amply covered expenses by selling gas at $1 a thousand feet, although the private company previously in possession of the field was charging $2 a thousand feet. During the twelve months ending November 1, 1897, when a mixed oil-and-water-gas was sold at 80 cents, the

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operating expenses were only 38 cents for each thousand of the 38,000,000 feet at the burner; and a fair allowance for taxes, depreciation, a few needed repairs, and even 5 per cent interest on the cost of the plant, would raise the above cost to the selling price of only 80 cents.

Bellefontaine, Ohio, with a consumption of 16,000,000 feet of excellent 24 candle-power water-gas in 1896, had an expense of only 58 cents, aside from depreciation, of, say, 7 cents. No taxes or interest had to be paid. While selling its gas for illuminating purposes at $1.25, this small, but progressive, city finds it profitable to encourage the sale of the same gas for fuel purposes for 50 cents, and is steadily reducing the cost of manufacture.

Charlottesville and Danville, Virginia, have had the best of success with their gas-works since 1876. Fredericksburg, Virginia, was able, on assuming public ownership, in 1891, to sell its gas at $1.50; while the people had been paying $3.00 per thousand feet to a private company. Success seems also to be attending the small gas-plants established in 1894 in Middleborough and Wakefield, Massachusetts, as well as in Henderson, Kentucky, which began public ownership in 1867. Wheeling, West Virginia, which established its plant in 1870, has for years been selling its gas for 75 cents a thousand feet. Its operating expenses, which average from 40 to 50 cents, might be considerably reduced by a reduction in labor force and by certain improvements; yet it does not seem likely that any private plant would do as well by the people as does the public plant.

Most of these gas-plants were started years ago in cities where the spoils system was well intrenched. In Wheeling and Alexandria the expenses are probably higher than they would be under more efficient management, and, possibly, with less of politics in the former city. It would not be surprising if the gas interests should make a tremendous effort to undermine public ownership in some of the cities of Virginia and Ohio. Thus far, however, the people in all these places have been almost unanimous for a continuance of public ownership; and, judging by the higher prices paid in other cities of the same section of the country, where there is private ownership, the people have good grounds for their preferences. So pleased have the people been with public ownership of gas-works, that in most of these cities public operation of electric-light-plants is being tried with increasing satisfaction.

With regard to English and Scotch cities, there is at hand conclusive evidence that public ownership means even a lower cost of operation and more efficient service—as well as lower prices to the consumer, or

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larger revenue to the community—than is afforded by private ownership.

John W. Field, an English statistician, issues yearly an analysis of all the items of cost of gas-making in the following nine cities and towns that own their plants; viz., Birmingham, Bolton, Carlisle, Leicester, Manchester, Nottingham, Oldham, Salford, and Glasgow. Similar information is given regarding the private gas companies at the following eleven cities and towns: Bath, Brighton, Bristol, Derby, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Plymouth, Portsea, Rochester, Sheffield, and Dublin. As Mr. Field, for some reason, makes a separate analysis of Glasgow and Dublin, we will follow him, and confine our attention to the other private and public companies, although the inclusion of Glasgow and Dublin would make the comparison still more favorable to city ownership.

It appears from the analysis that although eight of the public-owned plants made gas of about 1½ more candle-power on the average than the ten private companies, obtained 27 per cent less per bushel for their coke,—which is sold by gas-works as a by-product,—and made a larger allowance for taxes, they, nevertheless, had a total expense account of only 20.01d., or about 40 cents, per thousand feet, as contrasted with 20.24d., or about 40.5 cents, in the private companies. This superior showing, slight as it is, becomes significant when its causes are noted. It was made possible not only by a lower price for raw material,—the average cost of this item in the public works having been 13.28d. and in the private works 13.59d.,—but also and chiefly by the greater efficiency of their labor force, due, presumably, to better machinery. Again, in the public companies there were no salaries of directors to pay. The labor and salary cost per thousand feet for putting gas in the holder at the works was 20.3 per cent less in the public than in the private companies, being 4.7d. per thousand feet in the one and 5.9d. in the other. Further, the distribution expenses were 9 per cent less in the public-owned plants than in the private companies, being 4.53d., or about 9.06 cents, in the former cities and 4.98d., or about 9.96 cents, in the latter. Part of the lessened cost of distribution in the public-owned works, despite the larger taxes, was due to the fact that the gas used at the works and that unaccounted for through leakage and condensation was in the private companies 7.85 per cent, and in the public companies 6.8 per cent, or about five-sixths as much.

In view of the claim, too often well founded, that in America economies of operation are not so well secured in public as in private ownership of natural monopolies, this evidence of a contrary character from

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England is encouraging. To be sure, to a moderate extent, cities may well give shorter hours and better wages than private corporations. Even where operating expenses under public ownership are unduly swelled, it does not follow that either consumer, or municipality, would be better off under private ownership. But, of course, no body of citizens ought to tolerate such extreme mismanagement as has attended a few city plants of various kinds in America.

There is no reason why American cities should not have equal success in public ownership of lighting-plants with that existing across the water, as soon as our people are as anxious to have such success. As long, however, as the so called "leading citizens" of our cities prefer to do their "leading" in the direction of their private interests, as involved in valuable franchises, and so long as the rest of the community are not prepared to take the leadership into their own hands, just so long will the present corrupting relationship between private-owned franchises of enormous value, on the one hand, and city and State government, on the other, continue to exist.

As Dr. Albert Shaw has indicated, it takes a more honest and efficient government to make contracts with the private owners of valuable city franchises, and to enforce those contracts when made, than it does to put down the spoilsmen and secure a generally efficient administration of public-owned monopolies. In the former case, the self-interest of a large portion of our millionaires is arrayed against proper regulation, because these wealthy and very influential and able men are either owners of the stocks and bonds of these monopolies, or are interested in banking and trust companies which handle their securities. Under public ownership, the self-interest of these same prominent people will be more directly aroused as taxpayers, in putting down the spoilsmen and securing honest administration.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

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ORGAN MUSIC AND ORGAN-PLAYING.

WHILE the organ is a very ancient instrument,—a Pan's pipe with a bellows attachment was probably its most primitive form,—I doubt if legitimate organ music can be said to have existed before Andrea Gabrieli, an Italian born in 1510, and his nephew, Giovanni Gabrieli, who were the first composers of the fugal form. But the school of organ music thus auspiciously founded in Italy soon fell into decadence. Indeed, after Frescobaldi,—the immediate successor of the Gabrielis,—who created the florid, brilliant style of composition and playing, and was, in his day, as much an object of suspicion as was Wagner three centuries later, there were, until we come down to the present day, few Italian organ composers worth mentioning, except Padre Martini. The Padre composed twelve remarkable organ sonatas, in one of which occurs the popular gavotte, almost universally known at the present day as a pianoforte solo.

A number of Italian organists are now making a praiseworthy effort to restore the Italian school of organ composition and playing to its old-time preëminence. The most prominent among these are Filippo Capocci of Rome, who has composed four excellent sonatas, besides many other pieces for the organ; Enrico Bossi, author of several capital organ pieces; and Signor Tebaldini. These musicians, in striving to cultivate a taste for a better class of organ music and a higher style of playing, have had more than popular indifference to overcome; for the defects in the instruments upon which they are obliged to play make their task a peculiarly difficult one. It is really a discouraging fact that most of the Italian organs lack many of the appliances necessary to the performance of elaborate organ music. The fault lies with the Italian organists who succeeded the early masters. They did not develop the legitimate style of organ-playing or organ composition.

Instead of carrying forward the polyphonic school, they regarded the organ merely as an instrument for the accompaniment of the voice. The general lack of interest in instrumental music in Italy diverted Italian organists from upbuilding and developing the school of the Gabrielis and of Frescobaldi. As, under such conditions, Italian organ

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music did not call for more elaborate organs, and Italian organists took but little interest in their instruments, organ-builders had no incentive to progress.

As a result, the stops in many Italian organs of to-day are divided as in an ordinary harmonium,—separate rows for the treble and the bass,—so that, to draw them, both hands have to be used at once. This, of course, greatly impedes the player. The pedal-boards, also, of Italian organs are very deficient; the pedals being so short that the player has to reach out for them with his toes.

Twelve years ago I was invited to play in Genoa by Signor Remondini, who, though not a professional musician, was one of the leaders in reforming organ-building and organ music in Italy. I found among the organists of Genoa a general impression that it was impossible to play Bach and Mendelssohn on the organ; and when I told them that I played Bach's fugues upon organs constructed after the plans of Signor Remondini, their surprise was great. In fact, it was so apparent, that I requested them to call for any one of Bach's fugues at my recital. When I responded to their call for one, they sat open-mouthed with astonishment. They called for another. To their credit as musicians be it said, that these fugues made a profound impression upon them, and that the next day every organist of Genoa was making arrangements to have a pedal-board attached to his piano, so that he might practise pedaling the Bach fugues at home.

The pioneers of the German school of organ composition and playing were Samuel Scheidt, Johann Froberger, and Dietrich Buxtehude. Froberger belonged to the seventeenth century, and was known both in Germany and in England. There is a romantic anecdote regarding his visit to England. He was twice robbed on his way to London, and, reaching that city practically penniless, was obliged to accept the place of organ-blower at Westminster Abbey. At the solemnization of the marriage of Charles II, he overblew the bellows,—necessarily with disastrous effect upon the performance. The organist, Christopher Gibbons, was so enraged that he jumped from the organ-bench and not only berated Froberger, but actually struck him. A few minutes later, however, Froberger, seeing the organ-bench vacant, occupied it and began improvising. His style of playing was immediately recognized by a court lady who had been one of his pupils in Germany. She sought him out, and presented him to the King, who received him most graciously. After that his circumstances improved greatly.

Buxtehude's place among these pioneers is of primary importance,

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not only by reason of his individual work as composer and player, but also because he exerted a marked influence upon Bach. Every one must have a father; and there are fathers in music. Buxtehude was Bach's musical father. His influence on Bach was as marked as was Weber's upon young Wagner. Buxtehude was a Dane; but his most solid work—that upon which his fame rests—was done in Germany. He was organist of the Marien church in Lübeck for many years. Here he originated the so-called Abend-Musiken,—great musical performances given in connection with church services on the evenings of the five Sundays preceding Christmas,—which, under his successors, continued well into the nineteenth century. The extent of Buxtehude's fame and influence may be understood from the fact that Bach walked fifty miles in order to hear him. At the time Buxtehude was organist in Lübeck, Handel applied for a similar position in another church in the same city. But, as one of the conditions of the appointment obliged him to marry the daughter of his predecessor, he withdrew his application,—whether before or after he had seen the young lady, I do not know.

Organ music reached its climax with Bach: it may, perhaps, be said that all music did. At any rate, one thing is certain: viz., if there has been any progress in music since the day of Bach, it has been due to him. Bach's music is polyphonic; and polyphony is true music. To its foundation upon this school is due the fact that there has been no decadence in music in Germany.

There has been no advance in polyphony since the days of Bach. Such advance as has been made has been in originality and boldness of modulation. Wagner's music may be called "omnitonic," that is, modulating into all keys: but it is still polyphonic; and for that reason it is real music. The old church composers wrote their pieces in one key and the keys closely related thereto. Wagner expressed passion, love, and, in fact, all the emotions, and swept over the whole gamut of chromatic tonality. But both the old German church composers and Wagner are polyphonic; and the latter is but a logical evolution from the former.

For pure organ music, Bach still is, and probably will always remain, the greatest of all composers. Even with all the modern mechanical appliances that have been attached to the organ, his works are still very difficult,—perhaps the most difficult of organ compositions. He must have been as great an organist as he was a composer. That he should have been able to play, upon the organ of his day, works so exacting in technique as his own, is simply marvellous.

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It is one of the phenomena of musical history that, while orchestral, operatic, and other branches of music were in their infancy in Bach's day, and have developed since then, Bach brought organ music to its climax. He was not the small source whence flowed a rivulet which, in time, was to expand into a broad stream; he was the broad stream itself. The word "Bach," in German, means a brook, which led a famous German composer to say punningly that this great master was not a *Bach*, but an ocean. The music of Bach must be played in the strictest style of *legato*, in each individual part; but this does not exclude accentuation. Bach was an excellent violin-player; and there are many traces of violin technique in his organ compositions, which decidedly affect the phrasing. The familiar "G Minor" fugue, for instance, is full of violin phrases, requiring the most delicate accentuation, in order that their full meaning may be disclosed.

There are some singular details in connection with several of Bach's compositions. To this day, the pedal-boards of most German organs have only twenty-seven notes, instead of thirty. They range from the low C to the middle D of the piano, instead of to F or G. Yet, in the "Toccata in F Major" the pedal part goes to F. One of his organ chorales even reaches F sharp, half a tone higher; and in the "Fantaisie in G Major" he starts on B below the lowest C found on the old pedal-boards. This suggests that possibly some of these compositions, like the "Passacaglia," were composed for the clavecin with pedals.

My admiration for Bach is unbounded. I consider that Bach is music. Everything else in music has come from him; and if all music, excepting Bach's, were to be destroyed, music would still be preserved. People who think of Bach as a composer of fugues, and imagine that because he wrote fugues and pieces belonging to that style of music, he was merely a dry, learned, musical arithmetician, are to be pitied. Bach's genius was most flexible; and many of his works indicate that, if he had been disposed to become a dramatic composer, he might have done so successfully.

His "Passion" music, for instance, is full of emotion. The expression in such recitatives as that describing the rending of the veil of the temple is marvellous. At the same time, the music is extremely realistic. In fact, throughout the "Passion" music, recitative and chorus follow the action closely and give exact expression to the emotions suggested by the text. It cannot be doubted that Glück's style of dramatic recitative is founded upon Bach's wonderful achievements in the recitative of the "Passion" music. Another dramatic number in Bach's works,

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to which I always like to call attention, is the F Minor chorus in the cantata entitled "Actus Tragicus." In this chorus the alto, tenor, and bass chant a sad and solemn reflection on death, while above them the soprano part soars like a prayer breathing hope in the Saviour. In fact, in everything relating to the Saviour, Bach's musical expression is exquisitely tender.

But I find the heart of Bach in the chorales which he wrote for the organ. These combine in a wonderful degree exact musical science with the deepest feeling, and are grand objects of study. At the Paris Conservatoire, where I have the pleasure of being professor of the organ, much time is devoted to these chorales. I think that, on account of the polyphonic character of Bach's works, they should not be played too fast. In ancient music, the "Allegro" movement was not played so fast as at the present day. On the other hand, the "Andante" is now frequently played too slowly.

Mendelssohn, in his organ music, has given a modern touch to polyphonic writing; and the later German organ composers are following him. As regards playing, the German organists have adhered to the classical style; but I consider this due largely to the fact that German organ-builders have not thoroughly modernized their instruments. The touch of German organs is stiff; they have few modern mechanical appliances; and, while the mixtures and diapasons are good, and the pedal-boards have decidedly improved, the reeds remain poor.

Coming now to the French school, I should call Jean Titelouze the father of organ music in France. Like the Italian pioneers of organ composition, he wrote pieces in the Gregorian tonality. Unfortunately, little by little, his successors departed from the polyphonic style, with the result that organ music in France underwent a degeneration similar to that in Italy.

About the middle of the present century, a well-known organist named Boëly endeavored to place French organ music upon a more solid basis, and to restore not only the old style of composition, but also of playing. He made a valiant attempt to introduce Bach and other serious composers; but he was unsuccessful. He simply sacrificed himself; for his efforts resulted in dismissal from his church. But M. Jacques Lemmens, from whom I had the honor of receiving instruction, was more fortunate. His efforts to introduce the best style of organ music in France began in 1852. His playing of Bach was a complete revelation to French organists, and formed the foundation of a more serious style of playing and composition.

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Among the more famous and best-known organists and composers of France, in recent years, are: MM. Cesar Franck, A. Chauvet, Th. Salome, Saint-Saëns, Widor, of St. Sulpice, Eugene Gigout, of St. Augustin, Clement Loret, of the École Religieuse, and Theodor Dubois, who succeeded M. Saint-Saëns at the Madeleine and is now the Director of the Conservatoire.[1]

The development of organ-playing and organ composition in France has been greatly aided by the skill of French organ-builders, notably by the inventions of Aristide Cavaillé-Coll. The first notable product of the skill of the latter was the organ of the Basilique at St. Denis. It was he who devised the distribution of the wind at different pressures, which has resulted in greater steadiness of tone.

Organ-playing may be divided generally into two schools. In one, the organ is treated as an orchestra, the production of orchestral effects being sought; while the other holds that the organ has so noble a tone quality, and so many resources of its own, that it need not servilely imitate the orchestra. I belong to the latter school. Berlioz said: "The organ is Pope; the orchestra, Emperor." In other words, each is supreme in its own way.

I am utterly opposed to the playing of orchestral works on the organ. While the rendition of orchestral pieces on it, in an attempt to reproduce the orchestral color of the original scoring, is, to my mind, deplorable enough, the playing of such works as the "William Tell" or "Semiramide" overtures is especially out of keeping with the character of the instrument.

It is true that I myself have arranged several works for the organ; but in each instance the composition had been previously played by the composer. Among these may be mentioned: The "Marche Héroïque" (Saint-Saëns), Prelude to the "Déluge" (Saint-Saëns), and "Romance" (Chauvet). The "Berceuse," by Saint-Saëns, which I have only recently arranged, was done at the special request of the composer. At the same time, M. Durand requested that I would transcribe the finale from M. Saint-Saëns's "Suite Algérienne." This I refused to do, because the piece is not in the organ style.

As between orchestra and organ, each has its great qualities and its faults. The organ has a certain solidity of resonance; while the orchestra's resonance is restless, feverish. The organ holds, sustains. On the other hand, one of the great faults of the organ is its lack of attack,

[1] This list would be incomplete without the addition of the name of M. ALEXANDRE GUILMANT himself.—ED. THE FORUM.

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or slowness of response. Here I may refer to a fault in technique which is often found. Many organists think it wise not to press down the key too quickly or too far. I think, on the contrary, that the full pressure of the finger should be made at once, and the key held down solidly until released. As to pedaling, French organ pupils are now taught to hold the knees together and to use the heels much more than formerly. This method results in a quieter style of playing, and gives greater smoothness in phrasing; while it increases speed.

In America I have found many good organs. They are especially effective in the softer stops, such as the Dulciana, Flutes, and Gamba. But the Full Organ lacks resonance and energy, and does not thrill. I do not think the mixtures and reeds of the Great Organ should be included in the swell-box, as this weakens the tone and destroys proper balance. The pedals in American organs are not so clear and distinct as they should be. They lack the Eight- and Four-Foot tone. The effect is the same as if there were too many double-basses in an orchestra and not enough violoncellos. The Sixteen-Foot Open Diapason in the Great Organ is so powerful that every organ should also have the milder Sixteen-Foot Bourdon, which gives a mellow quality to the foundation stops. But, as a rule, the softer Sixteen-Foot stops are wholly lacking in American organs.

My opinion is that organ-builders should devote less time to mechanical improvements, and more time to improving the voicing of their instruments. Mechanical appliances are multiplying so fast that very soon the organist will be unable to occupy himself with anything except the mechanism of his instrument. This is a tendency greatly to be deplored. Organ-playing should be essentially musical, and, as far as possible, in the pure style of the organ; it should not involve the necessity of constantly changing the registration.

There is too great a tendency to use the vibrating stops, such as the Voix Céleste, Tremolo, or Vox Humana; so that, when these effects are really called for, they do not make the desired impression.

Both in Europe and in America, a lively interest is evinced in all these questions, so vitally important to the organ; and it is to be hoped that, as a result, a taste for pure organ music and better instruments will be promoted. In France, a society called "The Schola Cantorum" has recently been formed with the object of reviving the ancient forms of church music, and for the study of the Plain-Song, Gregorian Chant, and organ music. Were a similar movement initiated in America, it would certainly bear good fruit.

ALEXANDRE GUILMANT.

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THE TRAMP PROBLEM: A REMEDY.

DURING a summer day, several years ago, a laborer lay down in a public square in New York, to obtain rest before his dinner-hour had passed. He was tired, and soon fell into a doze from which he awakened to find himself surrounded by a crowd of people who supposed that he had been overcome by the extreme heat. And such of the onlookers as were charitably inclined had tossed a handful of coppers, nickels, and dimes into the man's hat, which had slipped from his head. The object of sympathy and beneficence realized the situation at a glance, and "recovered" slowly. In all probability he found a day's wages in his hat; and I have been informed recently that he has since led the life of a professional beggar.

A well-known business man was accosted on Broadway one day last winter by a muscular youth, who besought him to provide a breakfast.

"I know I look strong and hearty," the applicant added, "but that very fact prevents me from getting a meal; and I am half famished. If you 'll only pay for something to eat, I 'll gladly pay back in any kind of work."

The manufacturer thus addressed permitted sympathy to overbalance common sense and justice; and, while refusing to give money, he took the applicant into a restaurant where he was known, and told the cashier to give the fellow some food, and to charge it to his (the manufacturer's) account. Later in the day, this misguided philanthropist called to pay the bill, supposing it would amount to twenty or thirty cents. He was surprised, naturally, when informed that the hungry young man had purchased expensive viands and several cigars, costing altogether about two dollars.

The problem of the street beggar has not yet been solved: perhaps there is no solution for it. Every sensible person knows that the vast majority of beggars on the streets are idle, lazy vagabonds and quasi-criminals. The very fact, that they beg for food or money without offering service in return, is sufficient proof of this assertion to a majority of intelligent men and women. Yet we know that in some dark corner of a rookery on the East-side of New York, or in corresponding slums

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of other great cities, more than one poor woman, and more than one little child, are actually suffering the pangs of hunger. Experience indicates that persons in real want of food or medicine do not as a rule appear on the streets as beggars; nevertheless, as long as we know they exist somewhere, it is very hard, for fear of refusing aid to the needy, to close one's purse and harden one's heart when applied to for assistance, whoever the applicant may be, although it is quite generally accepted that ill-directed charity is the principal cause of beggary.

Recall the march of "Coxey's Army" from Ohio to Washington, a few years ago. The main portion of that "Army" consisted, doubtless, of idle men, whose emotional nature had been played upon by loquacious leaders, of whom some may have been honest in their intentions. Many more, it is safe to say, were merely political demagogues, seeking notoriety and, ultimately, elective office. But as the "Army" proceeded in its ridiculous "march," it was joined by scores of tramps and other vagabonds, as well as by hundreds of ill-balanced laboring-men, who actually quit work to further the "demonstration against capital." A journalist, who accompanied the Coxey brigade for one of the greatest newspapers in the world, states that it was a frequent occurrence for farmers along the line of march to urge members of the "Army" to drop out of the ranks and go to work harvesting at good wages. The correspondent says further, that these offers were laughed at, and that he does not know of one having been accepted.

Such a "demonstration" as that engineered by Coxey could have but one result, namely, complete failure within a brief period. But the imitators of Coxey, who sprang up in other parts of the country, acted in a much more dangerous manner. They robbed, held up trains, intimidated individuals, and even terrified local Government officials. The greatest evil born of that insane movement was that thousands of men in the Western States learned that they could readily obtain food and clothing without work; and it is impossible to estimate the number of persons who became habitual tramps, after joining various divisions of the "Coxey Army."

It has been said that tramps are not all criminals. Yet, when an unambitious man ascertains that he can spend five months in the country, walking or resting as he chooses, but always sure of sufficient food and clothing, he has no overpowering desire to work hard during the remainder of the year; and the chances are that in winter he will drift to some large city (unless he goes South), and by degrees become a professional criminal. Again, there are so many "charity restaurants" scat-

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tered throughout our large cities, that a tramp, or a street beggar, really has no especial occasion for hard work. He has little trouble in obtaining two or three cents for a charity meal, and an extra nickel for whiskey or beer. Material for smoking may be found in the gutters; and matches are plentiful.

Large as is the army of street beggars in our cities, yet far greater is the number of tramps in the country districts from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. From time to time we read that a citizen of one of our larger cities has been attacked by a beggar to whom he refused to give money; but such instances are extremely rare when compared with the frequent intimidation by tramps of women who happen to be alone in their homes, either in villages or in farm-houses, at a distance from neighbors. There are few mothers and fewer daughters who, under such circumstances, would refuse to give food or clothing to a burly, unkempt tramp, who accompanied his request with threatening expression. Remembrances of assault, of robbery, and of incendiary fires usually cause an unprotected woman to be prompt when a villainous-looking vagrant demands a "hand-out." So much dread of tramps existed a few years ago, in one of the more populous farming counties of New York, that the wife of a well-known Representative in Congress insisted that, when away from home, he should leave open the door of his safe. "I have seen too many tramps," his wife used to say, "to feel at ease, even with dogs running free about the grounds, and would much rather have the silver stolen than be chloroformed by a burglar who could easily drop from one freight-train, accomplish the crime, and depart on the next."

The widespread fear of tramps throughout our rural districts has by no means decreased in recent years; and the very existence of such fear has made it easier for tramps to obtain "hand-outs,"—a fact which tends to encourage their insolence and to increase their numbers.

Many attempts have been made to solve the "tramp problem"; but, so far as can be ascertained, only one has met with even temporary success. This plan, which originated in Rahway, New Jersey, will be described further on. As in the case of the city street-beggars, there would be no "tramp problem" if the public could be made to feel that it is directly responsible for the trouble. The tramp who ascertains that he cannot secure food through begging will go to work. Hunger is a master before which laziness bows in submission. Scattered through various counties of the several States are homes of sensible people, upon whose gate-posts may be seen chalk marks made by tramps, to inform

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others who follow that it is useless to beg at such houses. But, unfortunately for the public, the vagrants know that these are unusual cases of common sense, and that, by tramping a short distance farther, they can reach other homes where food and clothing may be secured with little effort. Years ago, one of the most generous of men, when opening his home, gave orders that no person who applied for food should be refused. This unfortunate and ill-directed philanthropy had the natural result of bringing numbers of tramps to his door every week; but—and this is the main point—it also brought the same vagrants to his neighbors. If that gentleman's wisdom had been as keen as his heart was large, he would have ordered that no person should receive food from his kitchen until sufficient work had been performed to pay for it, at market rates.

It would be impossible to ascertain and describe the many methods which have been tried to solve the tramp problem. So far as the writer knows, all, except the Rahway plan, have failed. And, this plan, owing to its objectionable feature, is not likely to find many advocates. Indeed, notwithstanding its success, it has already been abandoned by the authorities of Rahway themselves. The Rahway plan was suggested only when the usual methods of arresting and fining tramps had failed to free the locality of their presence. Situated on the main line of a great railroad, Rahway was visited by an ever-increasing number of vagrants, until it was finally decided by the Mayor that notices should be conspicuously posted throughout the city, warning tramps that they would be arrested on sight, and put to hard labor on the streets in chain-gangs. The notices were posted; but the first tramps who saw them treated the matter as a joke, and proceeded, as usual, to beg from house to house. They were, probably, the most surprised vagrants who ever visited New Jersey, when they found themselves, next morning, forced to mend and clean the streets, each man wearing a ball and chain riveted to one of his ankles. The unusual punishment created great interest. Rahway correspondents of New York papers telegraphed the news, which was then disseminated throughout the country by means of press associations; and within a brief period tramps from one end of the land to the other were familiar with the "horrible fate" that would await them upon a visit to Rahway. The gentleman who advised the Mayor to apply this summary treatment said recently that, after six of them had been so treated, the city was absolutely freed from tramps, and that although the plan has not been carried out of recent years, its effect had been so salutary that it is exceptional, even to-day, for a

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tramp to enter the confines of that municipality. Instead of walking through Rahway, when journeying to or from New York, the vagrant waits outside the city limits until he is able to board a freight train, and travels through the place as fast as the cars will carry him.

The plan was abandoned because legally there was no power to enforce it. As the laws of the State made no provision for such punishment for vagrancy, any of the tramps so treated might sue the city for damages. The method, however, proved perfectly successful.

As it may be assumed that the Rahway plan will not meet with general approval, it must be admitted that, as yet, no effective scheme has been invented to drive tramps away from the larger communities. In view of the fact that the annoyance and danger from tramps are far greater in small villages and in outlying farming regions than in towns and cities, which possess more adequate police protection, the remedy at the disposal of villagers and farmers, which I suggest below, is certainly worth a thorough trial.

Unless he is really suffering from illness, or hunger, or exposure, the honest, self-respecting man will not ask for food, shelter, or clothing without offering to pay therefor in either money or work. On the other hand, there are few villagers or farmers who would refuse food to any hungry man offering to work in payment for a meal. The natural deduction is apparent. If the farmers and villagers will carry out strictly and mercilessly the following plan, they may rest assured that tramps will disappear from their neighborhoods:—

(1) Let the householders of a village, or the farmers of a specified locality, hold a meeting, and formally agree that, for the period of one year, no tramp not actually suffering shall be given food, clothing, or shelter unless he perform in advance sufficient work, at the prevailing rate of wages, to pay for what he receives. (2) Let notices to that effect be posted; and let the action of the meeting be fully reported in the local papers. (3) Most important of all, let the village correspondent of the Associated Press send out the news, so that it will be printed throughout the country in journals large and small. In communities where no correspondent resides the editor of the local paper will know where and how to address the nearest representative of that great news-gathering agency; and he should furnish him with full information. News travels with incredible rapidity through "Trampdom"; and there is nothing the tramp hates so much as work.

HENRY EDWARD ROOD.

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IT IS WORTH WHILE TO TAKE OUT A PATENT.[1]

IN the January FORUM there appeared an article attacking the patent system and arguing against the advisability of patenting inventions. I am surprised to see displayed at this day such lack of faith in a system from which, as the Hon. Elisha Foote said, "there has been more advance in all the practical arts of life than was made in all preceding ages of the world taken together." The wisdom of maintaining a patent system is so apparent that every really civilized nation has its laws for the protection of inventions.

A little reflection will make evident the necessity for such laws. There will always be men who, for the mere love of science and fame, will seek to discover the principles and laws of nature; but these discoveries can be of little use or profit to mankind, until some practical application of them has been made. To reduce to a working form some broad idea; to improve a process; or so to alter an existing machine as to bring the cost of manufacture to a point where the product can be sold at a profit,—any one of these often requires years of experimentation and thought, and the expenditure of large sums of money. Who will undertake such burdens, if the fruits of his labors are to be reaped by his competitor on the day his first sale is made?

The law provides for patenting any new and useful art, machine, manufacture, or composition of matter. It is nearly impossible to keep secret machines and articles of manufacture. Concealed processes are often worked out from a study of their products; and frequently the formulas of compositions of matter can be discovered by analysis or experiment. In other words, mechanical inventions, almost without exception, must be patented; and many chemical inventions cannot be controlled without the same protection. As the proportion of mechanical to chemical patents granted by the United States Patent Office is 17 to 1, it is manifestly unfair to base an argument on the patent system, as did Mr. Huntington, solely on chemical cases.

A patent is in the nature of a contract between the public and the

[1] A reply to the article, "Is it worth while to take out a Patent?" by MR. HARWOOD HUNTINGTON, in THE FORUM for January, 1898 (p. 606).

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inventor, whereby, in return for the exclusive right to his invention for seventeen years, the inventor agrees clearly and fully to disclose his invention in every detail and in its best form. The inventor who seeks to conceal an essential point of his invention, while gaining the protection of the patent laws, manifestly defrauds the public, and fails to perform his part of the contract.

In the Verdigris Patent Case, cited by Mr. Huntington, the inventor, in concealing the use of acid to hasten the dissolving of the copper, showed bad faith, violated the law,—which required him to explain in his specification the best method of carrying out his invention,—and sought to acquire the protection of the patent, while concealing a step that would give him an advantage after the invention had become public property.

As the result of a patent, the public gains an invention which, perhaps, otherwise would never have been made, and also receives an accurate record which will "enable any person skilled in the art" to use the invention. The records of the Patent Office are the most complete encyclopædia of the useful arts in existence. There is hardly anything that one could wish to accomplish in industrial life, in respect of which the Patent Office cannot furnish the choice of a score, or it may be a hundred, methods.

The really useful inventing is done by those who work in an art with which they are thoroughly familiar. Such men know what is most needed in the way of improvement; and, being fully aware of what has been already done, they do not waste their efforts in reinventing what is already known, as frequently do those who invent at random. Such inventors form the class who make the most satisfactory use of the patent system, because they are the best able to conform to its requirements.

Where a process is held not to infringe a patent for a process which, having the same purpose, has more steps, it is because the omission of the steps in question involved the exercise of the inventive faculty. If the change is one which could have been made by anyone skilled in the art, upon a request to shorten the process, then the courts hold that the new process is the equivalent of the patented one, and that it infringes. The same reasoning applies to the addition of elements to those of a claim. Thus the patent law protects the inventor in all that can possibly be called his invention.

The disadvantage of having omitted one element of a lengthy claim, while the benefit of the invention is retained by the infringer, can be

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easily obviated by the well-recognized practice of drawing a series of claims, each broader than the preceding one, so that it will be impossible to use the essence of the invention without infringing the patent. At the same time, if evidence produced in a suit should show that the patentee is not the inventor of the broad invention, his specific claims may be still upheld. These conditions may be difficult to fulfil; but it is the duty of a good patent lawyer to be equal to the task required of him, That this is not an impossible task is shown by the fact that patents are sustained every day under the fire of the most acute lawyers, whose interest it is to disprove the validity of the patents in question.

A bar of the Patent Office, similar to that of the courts, would protect, to a certain extent, inventors who cannot judge of the qualifications of their attorneys; and legislation for that purpose is now proposed. At present, it is too frequently the case that a solicitor who is not a lawyer is employed to secure the patent, and that a lawyer of ability is employed only when suit is to be brought, or the patent is to be defended. In this way, many defects are allowed to creep into the patent; causing great expense in sustaining it. Manifestly, it would be wiser to expend the ability in securing a flawless patent than in finding excuses for errors after the patent has issued.

While it is true that every possible flaw in a patent is attacked, the courts do not allow justice to miscarry on a really unessential point. How can a patentee be surprised when his patent is defective if, to prepare it, he employed a man not skilled in the field of science to which the invention relates? I venture to assert that no patent lawyer can be eminently successful if he have not, besides his legal qualifications, a thorough scientific education. As for the cost of a patent litigation, it must not be forgotten that the rights of the public, as well as those of the patentee, are involved; and the patentee should not be allowed to set up his monopoly without clearly establishing his rights in due form, although, it may be, at considerable expense to himself. In my judgment, the course of justice is not unnecessarily long.

The question of experts in patent matters is undoubtedly one which needs attention. If experts were selected by the courts, and their fees added to the costs, they would then be free from bias toward or against the patent.

The complaint is made that our patents are so frequently upset in court that it is difficult to enlist the aid of capital in support of really meritorious inventions. In view of the comparatively small force in the Patent Office, it is strange that so large a proportion of the patents

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is sustained, as is the case. Among the governments having patent systems in extensive use, ours alone (with one exception, perhaps) seeks to grant only such patents as will be sustained by the courts. There are about a million patents of all countries, besides numerous scientific publications, which must be considered in determining whether or not an invention is new. It is not impossible to perform this task with reasonable certainty; but, to do it, there must be a proper classification of the records, and ample time to consider them. At present, the arrangement of the patents is such that usually there must be considerable doubt as to whether or not the field of search has been fully covered. Numerous questions of form and merit arise in connection with each application for a patent; and the conflicting claims of rival inventors necessitate long and complicated proceedings to determine who is entitled to the patent.

What judge would undertake to make in one year over seven thousand preliminary and final decisions, many of which involve large sums of money, as does the primary examiner in one of the divisions of the Patent Office—and that division not the busiest one?

With a sufficiently large corps of examiners, the invalid patents could be reduced to an insignificant number, so that capital might be more readily found for this form of investment. This inability of the Patent Office to cope with the enormous amount of work imposed upon it is, I think, the greatest difficulty in the way of the successful operation of the patent system. In view of the fact, that the earnings of the Patent Office have exceeded its expenses by over five millions of dollars, there should be no difficulty in securing the legislation necessary to increase the force of examiners.

The foregoing considerations seem to me thoroughly to establish the fact that while, doubtless, there are difficulties in the way of the inventor who patents his discoveries, he is still very much better off than the man who seeks to control his invention by concealing it.

EDWIN J. PRINDLE.

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STATE CONTROL OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

AN old topic of political interest has become a new subject of public discussion. It is commonly designated Primary Election Reform. It is, in fact, the question of State control of the caucuses, primaries, and conventions of political parties. Within the past ten years there has been a gradual growth in the scope of legislation in this direction. All the more complete and comprehensive statutes upon the subject have been enacted within five years.

The laws proposed in the past have been scattered in aim; and those enacted have been desultory in purpose. All have one common characteristic: They seek to adapt to the choice of party nominees some of the safeguards which have been thrown round general elections. The more recent ones have shown clearly that we have entered upon an entirely new stage in the development of our system of popular government. The last sessions of the legislatures of various States were particularly marked by proposed legislation which recognized this situation. A National Conference of men of all political parties was held in New York in January last for the purpose of discovering the precise defects in the present primary laws and to suggest remedies. Representative public men, from Massachusetts to California, spent two days in an exhaustive discussion of the subject in all its aspects. Its novelty and the diversity of local ideas made it unadvisable to attempt to agree upon uniform laws, or even unanimity as to proposed legislation. The deliberations of the Conference ended in the formation of a "National Primary Election League." Its objects are the encouragement of legislation in the several States, which shall secure to voters their individual rights in the conduct of enrolments, registrations, primaries, caucuses, conventions, and nominations, and provide adequate penalties for violations of those rights. The influence of the Conference has been, as the work of the League will be, far-reaching in its results. The government will no longer be one "of the people, by the people, for the people," but of the parties, by the parties, for the parties.

The State control of elections has been an accepted fact of our system of government; but the early forms of this control were of a very

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simple character. They consisted almost exclusively in counting the ballots and certifying the results. This was supplemented by penal provisions to punish repeaters and to prevent other frauds on the ballot-box. Such primitive methods worked well in rural communities, but were failures in populous centres. They have been generally supplanted by State control of the printing, distribution, preparation, casting, and counting of the ballots, and of the certification of the results.

The present agitation in favor of State control of political parties is a direct sequence to the increased control which the States have assumed within the past ten years over the preparation and form of the ballot at general elections.

Any person seeking election to a public office is naturally anxious to secure the nomination of the political party to which he belongs. He can thus rely upon a substantial body of voters casting a straight party ticket which will include his name; and minor defects in his individual character will be merged in the general merits of his party. All candidates not particularly objectionable can count upon this party support. Party managers are always eager to secure the party nomination for their tools or favorites. But they want no candidate who will run behind his ticket. Managers and candidates alike fear the voters who may "scratch" the ticket. Under the old system of voting, this fear was a much more potent factor in the management of political parties. The regular party ballots were printed by the general committee of each political party; but there was nothing to prevent any other person from printing tickets for the same political party. Each candidate could print his own tickets. Anyone might print a general party ticket, with his own name as an independent candidate for a particular office substituted for the regular nominee of the political party. Such tickets could be distributed near the polls by the friends of the independent candidate and deposited in the ballot-box. One piece of paper containing the names of candidates was as good as another in the eye of the law.

The fear of this sort of work made political managers more careful in their treatment of rival candidates for a nomination at a primary or convention. Their only escape from a cut-throat contest was to conduct a caucus or convention with such fairness that the defeated candidates and their friends would have no ground to claim that they had been defeated by trickery or fraud. They had an effective remedy for such wrongs in their own hands: Their candidate could run as an independent candidate for the office and insure the defeat of his successful

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rival. The freedom in the form and preparation of their ballots, and the simplicity of the means of getting them into the box, made the candidacy of such a rival a dangerous factor in the election.

The establishment of the official ballot with party columns has largely changed this method of procedure. The defeated candidate for a regular party nomination cannot easily get his name upon the official ballot. He must procure a petition signed by a stated number of his friends and verified before a notary. The place which he then obtains upon the official ballot is an obscure one in a remote column at the outer edge. His name is indiscriminately mixed with those of other men who, in a similar way, have secured independent nominations for all sorts of offices. The task of explaining to his friends where his name will be found upon the ballot makes a proper canvass practically impossible; and the risk of improperly marking an official ballot —thereby losing their entire vote—destroys the willingness of his friends to assist him in a fight.

Formerly it was easy to vote a "scratched" or "split" ticket: now it is difficult. Formerly the scratched or split ticket was prepared by the interested candidate: now it must be prepared by the voter. The importance of a regular party nomination has been magnified; the political value of a place in the regular party column has been enhanced; and the incentive to win such a place is greater. The increased rewards of success have increased the temptation to win by fair means or foul. The centre of political trickery has been transferred to the party caucuses, primaries, and conventions. Perhaps in no State has the evolution of this situation been more marked than in New York.

The enactment of a statute directing the printing of official ballots by a public officer, necessarily involved some grant of authority to that officer to determine, in the first instance, which candidates should have their names printed on that ballot. The danger of erroneous determinations by that officer, by reason of ignorance, mistake, or prejudice, made imperative the grant of the right of appeal, by the defeated candidates, to the courts for a review of those determinations. This statute has changed slightly from time to time, but has never varied in substance and purpose from its present form. It provides that any questions arising with reference to the construction, validity, or legality of any certificate of nomination shall be determined, in the first instance, by the officer with whom such certificate of nomination is filed. The courts have summary jurisdiction, upon complaint of any citizen, to review the determination and acts of such officer, and "to make such

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order in the premises as justice may require." The same statute provides that if there be a division within a party, and two or more factions claim the same device or name, the officer shall decide such conflicting claims, "giving preference of device and name to the convention or primary or committee thereof recognized by the *regularly constituted party authorities.*"

Under this statute, contests over the construction, validity, or legality of certificates of nomination multiplied for several years. The courts were appealed to with increasing frequency to review the determinations of officers having jurisdiction of such questions in the first instance. These appeals were seldom carried beyond the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. The provisions of the law were so meagre, and there were so many references to the rules and regulations of political parties, that conflicting decisions were the result.

One line of decisions held that the determinations of party conventions or party authorities had no weight whatsoever, and that the public officers and courts must examine all the facts and do substantial justice. The other held that, in determining questions as to the regularity of political conventions, the public officers and courts should rely upon the action and determination of the regularly constituted party authorities upon such questions, where there had been a determination by such party authorities.

This conflict of decisions in the Supreme Court has been settled by a decision of the Court of Appeals.[1] The Court decided:

"that the State Committee and State Convention of the party are its regularly constituted authorities . . . It is much more proper that questions which relate to the regularity of conventions, to the nomination of candidates, and to the constitution of committees should be determined by the regularly constituted party authorities, than to have every question relating to a caucus, convention, or nomination determined by the courts, and thus, in effect, to compel them to make party nominations and regulate the details of party procedure, instead of having them controlled by party authorities. We think that, in cases where questions of procedure in conventions or the regularity of committees are involved, which are not regulated by law, but by party usages and customs, the officer called upon to determine such questions should follow the decisions of the regularly constituted authorities of the party, and that courts, in reviewing the determination of such officers, should in no way interfere with such determinations."

This decision leaves the procedure of conventions and the conduct of primaries to "the decisions of the regularly constituted authorities of the party." Their determination of questions arising under the "usages

[1] Matter of Fairchild, 151 N. Y., 359.

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and customs," "rules and regulations" of the party is final. Those "regularly constituted authorities" of the party are the State Committee and the State Convention.

If there are factional contests in a party, the State Committee and State Convention will necessarily be in control of one faction or another. The majority faction creates and modifies the rules and regulations of a political party. It may make and unmake them, and, from time to time, change and modify them. Its interpretation of its own rules and regulations must be followed by the courts. In view of this decision, the determination of a controlling faction on all questions affecting the rights of the other faction will be sustained by the courts and be final. While the law, as interpreted by this decision, remains unchanged, an appeal to voters to "attend the primaries" is a delusion and a snare. Any number of voters at a primary might find their choice declared "irregular," and the defeated opponent declared the "regular" nominee by the State Committee. His name would then appear on the official ballot in the regular party column. The majority of voters who had attended the primaries would have no redress before the courts.

The power conferred by this decision was exercised in at least two instances in the last election for Members of the Assembly in New York. The faction which was defeated at the primaries in certain towns trumped up alleged contests and held a fraudulent convention. The State Committee intervened, and declared the candidate of the minority faction the "regular" candidate. The court before which the matter was taken held that the decision of the State Committee was final. All efforts to establish rights in the courts, under this law of New York, may as well be abandoned. The State Committee of each party is supreme; it can make and unmake nominations at will; and the only redress lies in an appeal to the Legislature for a change in the statute.

To eradicate this evil, one and the same remedy is always suggested. It is, to provide severe penalties for violations of the rights of the members of a party at caucuses, primaries, and conventions. This seems simple and effective. Those who make it have overlooked the fact that there has been for many years a most stringent section of the Penal Code making almost every imaginable wrong committed at a caucus, primary, or convention, a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment. The penalties of this section apply to any person who votes, or attempts to vote, at a political caucus, primary, or convention without being entitled to do so; who by bribery, menace, or other corrupt means, directly or indirectly attempts to influence the vote of any person entitled

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to vote at such caucus, primary, or convention; who obstructs such person in voting, or prevents him from voting thereat; who fraudulently or wrongfully does any act tending to affect the result of an election at such caucus, primary, or convention; or who induces, or attempts to induce, any officer, teller, or canvasser of such caucus, primary, or convention to do any act in violation of his duty. They also apply to any officer, teller, or canvasser who wilfully omits, refuses, or neglects to do any act required by the Election law, or refuses to permit any person to do any act authorized thereby, or makes, or attempts to make, any false canvass of the ballots cast at such caucus, primary, or convention, or makes, or attempts to make, any false statement of the result of a canvass of the ballots cast.

This section of the Penal Code has been practically a dead letter. It has been found impossible to make cases under it. No person could be punished for violating the rights of another person at a caucus, primary, or convention, when that other person had no rights recognized by law, which anyone was bound to respect. The decision of the Court of Appeals in the Matter of Fairchild has emphasized this difficulty. If the officers of the party organizations, their subordinates, or followers, commit any acts which deprive members of the party of their rights, they can easily escape punishment if the regularly constituted party authorities come forward and assert that the things which have been done are regular and in accordance with the usages and customs, rules and regulations of the political party. The regularly constituted party authorities are usually the same persons who have planned or instigated the unlawful acts which they have power to declare regular. No increase in the severity of penalties will remove this difficulty.

There can be no remedy for existing evils until the rights of every member of a party at a caucus, primary, or convention shall be legally fixed beyond question. Violations of these rights may be grouped in three classes: (1) Those affecting the right to membership in the party; (2) those affecting the exercise of the franchise at a primary; and (3) those affecting the rights of delegates in a convention.

Where the rules and regulations of a political party require an enrolment of its members as a prerequisite to the right to vote at a caucus or primary, the following are the prevailing offences of the first class: Concealing the time and place of enrolment; refusal to permit enrolment; striking names off the rolls; and padding the rolls, either by leaving on them the names of persons who have removed or died, or by putting upon them the names of fictitious persons—or persons of

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another political party—and having someone impersonate and vote for them.

In open caucuses and primaries, where a previous enrolment is not required, the same sort of evil is perpetrated by persons actually belonging to another political party, who make application to vote and, if challenged, swear in their votes by taking an oath that they are members of the political party holding the primary.

Under the second class, the most common offences are: Concealing the time and place of holding the primary; shortening and lengthening the time of holding the primary; holding the primary outside of the proper district; making false poll-lists; failing to permit an inspection of the ballot-box at the opening of the primary, to canvass the ballots in public, and to give a certificate of election to the persons elected.

Under the third class, the violations are mainly perpetrated in connection with the organization of the convention. The committee, or party officer, who makes up the temporary roll of members of the convention places upon it the names of contestants who are favorable to his faction. Contests are planned and instituted for the express purpose of providing contestants whose names can be thus placed upon the temporary roll. The number of such contests is limited only by the necessity of creating a temporary majority. These temporary delegates vote upon the choice of the temporary presiding officer. He, in turn, appoints a committee on credentials, which "hears the contests" and reports in favor of the temporary delegates already seated. The report is confirmed; and they become permanent members of the convention. A convention so organized is one of the "regularly constituted authorities of the party."

The ordinary rules of parliamentary procedure for the temporary organization of representative bodies have entirely failed to protect the rights of delegates to conventions. A statutory provision for the organization of conventions, fixing the procedure step by step, could be readily devised. It should be observed, however, that the work of a convention is the final act in the nomination of party candidates. Any improvement in the methods of conventions would be substantial only when supplemented by explicit provisions of law for the protection of caucuses and primaries at which delegates to the conventions are elected.

No legislation to reform the caucuses and primaries will be effective which does not begin at the bottom. The right to membership in a party is the foundation of all party allegiance. This right should first be defined and protected; and all legislation for safeguarding the

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further steps of political action should be based on this foundation. No substantial superstructure can be built until this right is firmly secured. Violations of this right can never be cured while the membership of a party is fixed by its own rules and regulations, as interpreted by the decisions of the men who may be temporarily in control of the regularly constituted party authorities.

The rule has been generally accepted, that political organizations should determine the qualifications of their own members. The proposal to fix by law the basis of membership in a political party strikes men with astonishment. Yet the State has gone so far in the recognition of parties that this step becomes less significant. In some States it has already been taken. That it is absolutely essential as the first step in any real progress, becomes more and more apparent. It is commonly known as the "Kentucky Plan," and provides for the official enrolment of all members of every political party who desire to take part in the caucuses and primaries of that party.

Each person who applies to be registered to vote at a general election will be asked the question, "Do you desire to register for the purpose of participating in the primaries of the political party with which you affiliate?" He is not required to answer, nor does his failure to do so in any way affect his right to register for the purpose of voting at any election. If he answer this question in the affirmative, he will be asked the further question, "With what party do you wish to affiliate?" The name of the political party given in answer to the latter question must be recorded in the column of the registration-book provided for the purpose. These registers are filed in the proper public office, and become public records open to inspection and copying by any elector. Provision is made for the "special registration" of any elector who may have removed from the election district in which he registered, who may have attained his majority after Election Day, or who by reason of sickness or necessary absence from his residence at the time of registration, may have failed to register. By filing a verified statement of the facts with the same public officer with whom the registers of electors are filed, every such elector may have his name recorded in a book provided for the purpose and known as a "Special Register for Primaries." Those whose party affiliation has been so stated, and recorded in the registers of electors, or in such Special Registers for Primaries, and only those, shall be entitled to participate in the caucuses and primaries of their respective political parties for the period of one year next following such registration.

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The plan does not violate the constitutional provision for secrecy in voting. It contains no statement as to how a man will vote, nor does it imply any further inference than actual participation in party work. It fixes by law the status of each elector, so far as the question of his membership in a party is concerned. It defines his right to the franchise at a primary. Supplemented by other provisions for the protection of the actual exercise of the franchise at a caucus or primary, it must eradicate or materially reduce the present evils which bring party management into such disrepute. General adoption of some form of official registration of the members of parties is a certainty of the near future in political legislation.

A more radical suggestion has been, to abolish conventions and have direct voting at primaries for nominations. This plan is not unknown in the South and West. The proposition is an innovation on existing systems of party government in the East. It is sometimes styled the "Record Plan," from its earnest advocate, Mr. George L. Record, of New Jersey. The plan, as drawn by him, was annexed to the Inaugural Message of Governor Werts in 1893. It may be briefly described as the application of the Australian ballot system to caucuses and primaries. It abolishes all conventions, and provides that nominations shall be made by direct vote of the people. A plurality nominates.

The first day of registration is made a primary or nominating day. The board of inspectors at the several places of registry acts not only as a board of registry, as at present, but also as a board of primary inspectors for all political parties. Only official ballots can be used. Each ballot contains all the names, alphabetically arranged, which have been filed with the City Clerk by certificate. Any fifty voters belonging to any political party can sign a certificate requesting the proper officer to print upon an official primary ballot the name of the person mentioned in the certificate as a candidate of their party for any particular office.

The voter, on the day of registration, goes to his place of registry, registers, announces his party affiliation, receives from the board an official ballot of his political party, enters the booth, erases all names except that of his chosen candidate for each nomination, and deposits this ballot in the box. The candidate having the plurality on each party ticket is declared to be the nominee of that party for the office in question; and his name is printed on the official ballot of that party prepared for the general election.

The advantages claimed for this plan are:

(1) *General and public notice of the time and place of holding caucuses*

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and primaries. Many voters do not know when and where their party primary is to be held: but everyone knows when and where to register; and most voters do register.

(2) *Greater interest in caucuses and primaries.* Many voters do not care to attend primaries now because they can only vote for a delegate to a convention, whose action at such convention is uncertain, and is often exactly contrary to the wishes of the voters at the primary. Under the new plan, every man can express directly his preference for party candidates at a convenient time and place.

(3) *The selection of better men as candidates for office, or rather, the selection of men under better conditions.* The present system limits the selection to a little coterie of politicians. The proposed plan throws the selection open to the whole people; and the successful candidate owes nothing to any machine or set of politicians.

(4) *This system sets apart a day for the selection of candidates.* The sole question of their relative fitness is then passed upon by the voters. This choice is not complicated by public questions.

(5) *The corruption of the primaries would probably disappear.* The great improvement in the practices of Election Day since the introduction of the Australian ballot law sustains this hope.

This is the problem, and these are some of the proposed solutions. No one may possess all the remedial virtue claimed by its advocates; but all should be granted earnest consideration and fair judgment. The widespread interest in the subject is the best test of its gravity in our political life. Every advance will be resisted by the combined force of the managing politicians of every party and the nonpartisan independents. One seeks to control, the other to destroy, all party action. One is vicious, the other mistaken, in its opposition. The fibres of American political life are closely intertwined with the framework of great political parties. The one cannot be destroyed without cutting down the other to its very roots. This fact must be recognized and not decried. The State must protect these great engines of political action from internal decay or external destruction. They must no longer be the tools or toys of the political bosses. The right of every member of every political party to the full use and enjoyment of every piece of the party machinery must be protected. The State must assume the task of this protection and perform the duty to the fullest extent.

FRANK D. PAVEY.

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RECENT ASTRONOMICAL PROGRESS.

THE vigor and success with which the oldest and greatest of the sciences is now cultivated must be reckoned among the noteworthy features of our times. It is not alone that new and great observatories have been founded, and that telescopes more powerful than ever before known have been pointed at the heavens, but also that new methods and new instruments have been so combined in astronomical research as to lead to knowledge of a kind which, not long ago, would have seemed impossible of attainment.

Though important from a purely scientific point of view, many of the conclusions arrived at involve necessarily so much mathematics in a description of them that it would prove dry and uninteresting to the general reader. But there are other classes of astronomical work the results of which cannot fail to be of interest to all.

No thinking man can learn that the planets are other worlds, in shape and size like this on which we dwell, without aspiring to know whether they are peopled like our own. The hope of being able to find some indication of intelligence on the planets has kindled the zeal of observers, and excited public curiosity in what they have seen, ever since the invention of the telescope. And yet, it must be sorrowfully confessed that little hope can be entertained of learning anything definite on the subject, unless some new and undreamed-of test of the question shall be discovered,—something as little suspected by us as spectrum analysis was by our great-grandfathers. Increase of telescopic power will not alone suffice, because—if for no other reason—our atmosphere so disturbs rays of light passing through it that little can be gained by carrying telescopic power beyond its present limits.

What important additions have been recently made to our knowledge of the surfaces of the planets? If we confine our answer to features the existence of which is conceded by all astronomers, it will not be very long. To describe everything that good observers believe they have seen, including the substance of all that is current in scientific literature, would need a book. The studies of Mars and other planets under very favorable conditions at Mr. Percival Lowell's observatory

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at Flagstaff, Arizona, alone fill a small volume. Assuming that the reader desires mainly to know what is actually established, we may begin with Mars,—the planet best situated for study, and about which most has been learned.

Mars has little or no atmosphere. Campbell, at the Lick Observatory, by the comparison of its spectrum with that of the moon, found that the atmosphere of Mars exerted no appreciable absorption on the rays of light passing through it. This conclusion is confirmed in other ways by Lowell, who, nevertheless, finds evidence of a very rare atmosphere.

There are few or no clouds on Mars. The same markings are nearly always visible, and, therefore, can seldom be obscured by vapors. Appearances, which may be due to local clouds or vapor, are occasionally remarked; but the best observers are in doubt on the subject.

It has been confirmed that the polar ice-caps, which have been well known since the time of Herschel, do really, as Herschel supposed, melt under the sun's rays during the Martian summer, to reappear during the following winter. Mr. Douglas, at the Lowell Observatory, found that during the melting a dark border was visible around the polar ice-cap, which might be the result of water produced by the melted snow. This, however, is by no means certain; and it cannot be regarded as impossible that the polar ice-caps may be due to some other substance—solid carbonic acid for example. Indeed, from the point of view of the most advanced physicists of the present day, it would seem hardly possible that the sun's rays would suffice to melt more than a few inches of ice or snow on the pole of Mars. The whiteness, however, may be produced by a layer no thicker than hoar-frost.

It has long been known that Mars has permanent markings of various colors on its surface,—especially dark regions, which have been very generally considered as seas. Fairly accurate maps showing these features have been drawn by various observers. But when we come to the minuter details, differences of opinion arise which cannot, as yet, be satisfactorily reconciled. Our readers are all familiar with the so-called "canals," first discovered by Schiaparelli in 1877. The word "canal" is an unfortunate misnomer, arising from a mistranslation of the Italian word "canále," used by Schiaparelli. This does not primarily mean a canal, but simply a channel or watercourse. It conveys no idea of artificiality. The word "channel" should, therefore, have been used, and not "canal." The markings thus designated are represented in Lowell's drawings of the planet by dark lines passing from

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point to point on its surface. They have been seen, or supposed to have been seen, by many good observers in Europe and America. And yet, conservative astronomers are sceptical as to the correctness of the descriptions and drawings. Schiaparelli represented the channels as rather indistinct and hazy streaks. At the Lick Observatory, the planet was, from time to time, observed by Barnard, one of the best observers, with the most powerful telescope then in existence. Under the most favorable circumstances he saw many details not given by Schiaparelli or any other observer; but they were so hazy and indistinct in outline as not to admit of representation by a diagram. The channels were not seen as the sharp, dark lines drawn on Lowell's maps, nor even as the strong features drawn by Schiaparelli, but only as irregular streaks, not strikingly different from the other markings.

Additional interest is given to this question by an extraordinary extension of the channel feature to other planets. As the result of long practice, the observers of the so-called canals of Mars are able to distinguish similar lines on Mercury, Venus, and even on the satellites of Jupiter. Barnard, who has better instrumental power than any other observer, sees features on the satellites of Jupiter which the observers of the marks do not see. On the other hand, he does not see anything like the sharp lines which the observers of the marks depict. It must be left to the reader to judge whether this wonderful system of channels is a reality which, through long practice, certain eyes have succeeded in being able to distinguish, or whether it is, in great part, illusory,— a misinterpretation of faint and shadowy appearances. The views of cautious and conservative astronomers differ. One incredulous observer caustically remarked that, in order to see the canals of Mars well at night, an observer should spend the preceding day with his eyes fixed on Schiaparelli's map.

Inside the orbit of the earth lies that of Venus. When between us and the sun, this planet is nearer to us than Mars ever comes; but then its dark hemisphere is turned toward us, so that observation is not possible. We cannot see even one-half the illuminated hemisphere until it is nearly as far away as the sun. The difficulty of observation is increased by the absence of well-defined features on the surface of the planet. To all ordinary telescopic vision, the impression given by Venus is that of a burnished globe, of which all parts of the surface are similar; the great differences of illumination being due to the different angles at which the sun's light is reflected to us. The outcome of all this is such a divergence of opinion among observers that

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there is no basis for a positive statement, either as to the time of rotation of Venus or the nature of its surface. Schiaparelli, ten years ago, reached the remarkable conclusion that the planet always presents the same face to the sun, just as the moon always presents the same hemisphere to the earth. Mr. Lowell's observers have reached a similar conclusion, and express themselves with entire confidence on the subject. Dissenting views are, however, still afloat; and the question cannot be settled until Venus shall have been carefully observed under circumstances more favorable than a majority of observers has yet enjoyed.

In the case of Jupiter, the evidence is more satisfactory, notwithstanding the greater distance of that planet. The variations in the belts show clearly that what we see is not, for the most part, a solid surface,—as in the case of Mars,—but a cloud-laden atmosphere. Differences in the times of rotation of the clouds, similar to those in the case of the solar spots, have given rise to the impression that this planet may be, like the sun, a compressed gaseous body, perhaps incandescent, without any solid nucleus. This view would seem to be negatived by the persistence of a noted red spot, which was first seen about 1878. It continued plainly visible for ten years or more, and then faded away, but in so gradual and intermittent a manner that traces of it are supposed still to be seen. No such permanence as this could be expected, unless Jupiter had a solid nucleus of considerable size.

In the case of Saturn, the most interesting recent observation is that of Keeler with the spectroscope. He has shown, by direct observation, that the outer portions of the rings of Saturn revolve round the planet more slowly than the inner portions. New confirmation is thus given to a view long held, that these rings are not composed of coherent matter either solid or liquid, but of a cloud of minute particles, perhaps of a vaporous character, each moving in its own orbit.

The discovery of the last ten years which has most occupied the attention of the professional astronomer is that of the variation of latitudes everywhere on the surface of the earth, the law of which has been worked out by Chandler. The variation does not involve any change in the actual distance of points on the surface of our globe from each other, but only in the position of the axis of rotation. If an observer could station himself at the north pole, and erect a stick at the precise point around which the earth was at any moment rotating, he would find this point to remain nearly in the same position all day, or, perhaps, for a few days. But, in the course of weeks, he would find it to change its position; and, by continuing his observations through a period of

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several years, he would find it to move round a central point in a somewhat varying and irregular curve, making a complete revolution in about fourteen months. The greatest distance from the central point might be twenty-five to thirty feet; but the radius of the circle in which the pole moves ranges between this distance and almost nothing. An observer in 1883-84, or seven years later, in 1891-92, would have found the distance about thirty feet. But, during the following revolution, the pole, while keeping up its rotation, would have approached very near the central point; so that during the years 1887-88 and 1894-95 the amount of change was very small. If Chandler's prediction be verified, the variation is now again approaching its largest value, and during 1898 will be as large as it ever was. The probable cause of the deviation is found in the annual changes undergone by the motion of the great masses of air on the earth's surface, combined with the deviation of the earth itself from a perfect sphere.

It is most singular that these changes were not observed before. In 1841-45, observations were made at the newly founded Pulkowa Observatory with instruments of such precision that, if continuously pursued, the changes of latitude could not have escaped detection. But, by a singular fatality, the observers seem to have taken their vacations at the times when the changes were large enough to be perceptible. As a consequence, they are not shown by these delicate determinations.

The writer's experience in this direction is yet more unfortunate. In 1862 and 1863, Hubbard and himself were perplexed by small but unaccountable discordances in observations of α Lyræ made with the prime vertical transit instrument. Hubbard died before working out the observations, and, doubtless, entertained the same impression of them that the author did, namely, that they were due to some unaccountable defect in the instrument or in the method of observation. Press of other work and unfavorable conditions prevented a more thorough investigation of the subject. It now turns out that the difficulty was due to the cause above mentioned, and not to any fault of the instrument.

Indications of the change were next noted at the Pulkowa Observatory about 1880, and at Berlin a few years later. The astronomers of the latter city inaugurated a systematic course of observations for the purpose of bringing out the law of the inequality; and these observations have been continued to the present time. Berlin, Pulkowa, Strasburg, and Prague have taken part in this work. In this country, Rees, at Columbia University, Doolittle, first at Lehigh, and more recently at Philadelphia, as well as Hill, at the Naval Observatory, are also

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keeping up fairly continuous observations for the same purpose. To settle the matter beyond doubt, the Germans sent an observer to Honolulu in 1891, to continue observations for more than a year, in order to compare the results with those derived in Europe. To give still further certainty to the conclusions, an assistant of the Coast Survey, Mr. E. D. Preston, also occupied a station in Honolulu, and made observations simultaneously with the German observer. The results left no doubt of the motion of the pole.

From a philosophic standpoint, the most important advances in our astronomical knowledge relate to the fixed stars. Here we are likely to have a case not unfamiliar in the history of scientific progress, where researches seemingly unfruitful have ultimately yielded a rich harvest, which could never have been anticipated by those who commenced them. When, a few years ago, spectrum analysis was first applied to the fixed stars, the results seemed a matter of pure curiosity, as did the experiments in electricity of Franklin, Volta, and Galvani to men of the last century. It was doubtless interesting to know, in a general way, that the most distant bodies showed the existence of elements with which we were familiar on the surface of our planet. But what interest could attach to a description of the spectra of hundreds of thousands of stars? Of what scientific value is it to know that hydrogen predominates in one star and magnesium in another, or that one is surrounded by an absorbing atmosphere and that another consists of glowing gas?

Star catalogues have been made ever since the time of Hipparchus. The thousand stars described by him have grown into hundreds of thousands. That the immense catalogues now being made by astronomers can fairly be classed under the head of useful knowledge, no one will deny. But, from a philosophic point of view, of what importance is it to know the exact positions of a hundred thousand stars, or the exact direction in which each seems to be moving? The results must apparently terminate with themselves. They go into big books, where observers of comets may look for them when they want to use them; but no one else cares to know anything about them. Now, however, there is a good prospect that two such dissimilar things as the spectroscope and the telescope will combine their forces, and show us relations likely to reward the investigator with results of universal interest.

One conclusion which is being reached is, that dark, and therefore invisible, bodies abound in the stellar spaces. Evidence is being gathered which makes it probable that a great number of stars have planets revolving around them. This fact has been brought to light by obser-

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vations of a class of variable stars, now known as Algol-variables. Readers who have interested themselves in astronomy are well aware that the star Algol, in the constellation Perseus, is ordinarily of the second magnitude; but, once in a little less than three days, it sinks to nearly the fourth magnitude for an hour or two, and then gradually regains its original brightness. The whole change takes place in five or six hours.

Careful watchers of the heavens have found a large number of stars of this same class. Their distinguishing feature is that their brightness remains constant the greater part of the time, but suffers a partial eclipse—never lasting more than a few hours—at regular intervals. That this change was due to the revolution of a dark body around the star was long ago suspected in the case of Algol, and was fairly well proved by Vogel's measurement of the motion of that star in the line of sight. The conclusion, that the variation of light in most stars of this class is due to an eclipse arising in a similar manner, seems a very natural one. Granting this, the number of stars which have planets nearly as large as themselves must be very great. A very little consideration will show that a planet cannot be seen to eclipse the star unless our system lies near the plane of the orbit. In any other case, the planet will pass above or below the star, as Mercury and Venus generally pass above or below the sun in inferior conjunction. Another obvious conclusion is, that the eclipse will not be visible to us unless the planet is much larger in proportion to the star than any of our planets are in proportion to the sun. An observer so far away that even our giant planet, Jupiter, would be invisible, would never know, by a diminution in the sun's light, that Jupiter was passing across the sun's disk, because the sun is so much larger than Jupiter that the portion of light cut off by the latter would be imperceptible to the observer.

Another consideration in this connection adds to the interest of the conclusion. Of all variable stars, these so-called Algol-variables are the hardest to detect, because, in order to recognize them, an observation must be made during the partial eclipse, and compared with observations made at other times. An observer might record the magnitude of such a star on a dozen occasions and yet never happen to strike the period of obscuration. He would, therefore, set down the star as invariable, though, in fact, a variable one. It is very largely due to the skill and industry of special observers that the number of known stars of this class has recently been considerably increased.

This combination of discovery and research makes it difficult to set

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any limit to the knowledge that we may yet acquire of the stars. Thirty—even fifteen—years ago, no project seemed more hopeless than that of detecting an invisible planet revolving round a distant star. Now, there is a fair prospect that this will be a much-cultivated branch of astronomy. If Prof. Keeler be induced to use the unrivalled outfit of the Yerkes Observatory in this direction, an epoch may be made in stellar astronomy.

The recent discovery of the companion of Procyon by Schaeberle, of the Lick Observatory, which has been confirmed by Barnard, of the Yerkes Observatory, is another remarkable step in the same direction. There are two stars of the first magnitude which were long since inferred to have companions revolving around them, because of a revolution of the visible star around an invisible centre, shown by the most refined observations of position. The time of revolution of each companion was predicted in advance from this observed motion,—that of Sirius being about fifty years, and that of Procyon about forty. The companion which caused the motion of Sirius was discovered by Alvan G. Clark as far back as 1860. Now, Schaeberle finds the satellite of Procyon also. What is noteworthy in each case is, that the mass of the satellite is out of all proportion to its brightness. In the case of Procyon, it must be about one-half that of the bright star; in the case of Sirius, perhaps one-third. Yet each satellite shines with so faint a light that it is almost obscured by the brilliancy of its primary.

Altogether it seems quite likely that systems of planets moving round the stars are the rule rather than the exception. But it does not follow that most of them have the symmetry of our solar system. The general rule seems to be that the orbits of revolving stars are much more eccentric than those of our planets. This is certainly the case with the large majority of the known double stars; and, while we cannot yet be quite sure in the case of absolutely invisible planets of distant stars, the inference is very strong that their orbits are mostly like those of the binary stars. Thus, in the case of Algol, there is a marked difference between the rate at which it loses light during an eclipse, and the rate at which the light is recovered; showing that the orbit of the eclipsing body is probably eccentric.

Yet another seemingly insoluble problem, which now seems in a fair way of solution, is that of the form and extent of the visible universe. Curious coincidences are being brought to light which lead to the hope that the question of the limits of the universe may yet be answered by the astronomer. Some of these have reference to the

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Milky Way. From the time that Galileo, pointing his telescope to the cloud-forms of the galaxy, saw that they were made up of star-dust, it has been evident that these clouds form, so to speak, the base on which the universe is constructed, and by which it must be sounded. Of the many millions of telescopic stars the large majority are in or near the Milky Way. As new methods, especially photographic ones, enable us to detect fainter and fainter stars, few stars are added in directions far away from the galaxy, while great numbers are added in the region of the galaxy. Does this mean that the universe of stars extends to infinity in the circle of the galaxy, though limited in other directions? We cannot yet answer this question with certainty; but the probabilities seem against it. We can only say that the galactic stars seem to be more distant than the others. When the photographic chart of the heavens, now being made by an association of observatories in various parts of the world, is complete, and the stars are all counted, we shall have more light on the subject.

One of the latest discoveries of the Harvard Observatory is of interest, as showing a hitherto unsuspected relation of the same sort. It is found that some sixty fixed stars show a spectrum composed of bright lines, and must therefore consist really of transparent gas, like a nebula. Of these stars all but one are not only situated in the Milky Way, but very near its central plane. The latest discovery, however, is that a number of them are found near the Magellanic Clouds, lying some thirty degrees from the Milky Way, and visible only in the southern hemisphere. These stars were observed by the Harvard Observatory branch at Arequipa, Peru.

There is a fair prospect of our being able, during the present generation, to gauge the heavens, in part at least, by a new combination of methods. It is a familiar fact to all interested in astronomical literature, that our solar system—the sun, and all the planets that course around it—is in rapid motion toward the constellation Lyra. The result is that those stars which have no proper motion of their own seem, to us, to be moving in the opposite direction. If we determine the amount of the solar motion in miles per second, we shall be able to determine the distance of any such star by the amount of its apparent motion. The best way of doing this—in fact, the only way which, in the near future, can lead to any certain result—is by spectroscopic measurement in the line of sight. The measurements of this sort on which reliance can be placed have been mostly made by a single investigator, Vogel, of Potsdam. As yet, however, they are too few in num-

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ber to lead to a very certain result. The conclusion—approximate and somewhat doubtful—so far reached is, that a large majority of the stars visible to the naked eye are situated within a sphere whose radius is twenty million times the distance of the sun, a distance which light would traverse in about three hundred years.

Great interest is felt by the intelligent public in the remarkable increase of telescopic power during the last half-century. The largest refracting telescope that had been made up to 1850 is to-day a comparatively small instrument, with which no great observatory would be satisfied. The part taken in this advance by the famous firm and family of Alvan Clark & Sons cannot be overestimated. The death, a year since, of the last male member of this family would have been an irreparable loss to science, if others had not learned the art. Their last and greatest work, the Yerkes telescope of the University of Chicago, is not likely to be surpassed in our time. It may be of interest to recall the steps which have led up to this result.

When, about 1840, the observatory at Pulkowa was inaugurated, and that of Harvard College, some four years later, the twin telescopes with which they were supplied—each nearly 15 inches in aperture—so far exceeded any others of the kind previously made that they might well have been thought to reach the attainable limit of power. Great, therefore, was the surprise when, twenty years later, the modest portrait painter of Cambridge completed one of 18 inches, which ultimately found its home in Chicago.

The first formidable rival of the Clarks appeared in the person of Thomas Cooke, of York, England, who, about 1870, completed the great Newall instrument of 25 inches. This is now in use, by the son of the original owner, at the University of Cambridge. The Clarks next undertook the twin telescopes of 26 inches aperture for the Naval Observatory, Washington, and the University of Virginia. The success of these instruments led the Russian government, in 1879, to contract with the Clarks for a yet greater glass of 30 inches diameter; Director Struve visiting this country to arrange the terms of the contract. This glass was completed in 1883, and mounted by the Repsold firm at the Pulkowa Observatory. About the same time, the Henry Brothers of Paris made a glass of the same size for the observatory presented by Mr. Bischoffsheim to the city of Nice. In 1887, the great Lick objective was completed by the Clarks for the Lick Observatory. This was the last glass worked under the direction of Alvan Clark, Sr., who died the same year. A rare touch of human interest is given to the close of his life

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by his surviving to celebrate his diamond wedding, and praying only that he might live to see the completion of the Lick glass, after which, he declared himself ready to depart in peace. Nine years later, his son and namesake completed the Yerkes glass, and died immediately after successfully installing it at the observatory on Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

In justice to others, it must be pointed out that the art of the optician is not the only difficult one to be invoked in the making of a great telescope. Before the optician can begin his work, he must have disks of glass, both flint and crown, of the necessary size and quality. The art of making such disks is even rarer than that of polishing them into proper shape; a single succession of men having enjoyed almost a monopoly in this line since the beginning of the century. Mantois, of Paris, is the present possessor of the art, which he has carried far beyond the dreams of his predecessors.

Yet a third profession which must come into play, before the telescope is complete, is that of the engineer, who is to make the tube, the axis on which it is to turn, and the apparatus by which it may be pointed in any direction and that direction accurately determined.

It must not be supposed that the importance of the work done by a telescope is proportional to its size. Freedom of the air from currents is an essential requirement. The skill of the observer is also an element of even more importance than the size of the telescope. It was the men whom Holden gathered around him at Mount Hamilton that made the great Lick telescope really effective.

It is now becoming a question whether, by the still more sensitive retina of the photographic plate, the eye of the observer will not be reduced to a position of secondary importance. With our modern chemicals, a telescope properly constructed for the purpose will photograph what the eye cannot see. The greatest astronomical work now going on is the construction of the international photographic chart of the heavens, for which the plans were outlined at a conference held in Paris in 1887. A dozen observatories, perhaps, in the southern as well as the northern hemisphere, have engaged in the work; and several of them are rapidly pushing their task toward completion. When this work is done, all the stars bright enough to impress a negative will be depicted on some twenty-five thousand photographic plates; each star, for certainty, being taken on two plates. The total number will be many millions, quite likely a hundred millions or more. A rich field for research will thus be opened, the cultivation of which may well occupy the next two generations of astronomers. S. NEWCOMB.

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THE NEO-ROMANTIC NOVEL.

If some antiquary of the future should conceive the innocent idea of solemnly investigating the popular novels of the present era in the United States and England, it would be his duty to chronicle the fact that in the early eighties there was a marked wave of interest in novels of romantic adventure in strange lands,—those of Mr. Haggard, for example. He would also be obliged to state that a decade later, just as this interest was waning somewhat, there was a distinct revival of the thorough-going old historical romance,—the species of which Scott was the first patentee. It is the popular fondness for novels of this second sort that I propose to discuss—for the solace of my own conscience and the information of antiquaries a generation hence.

It is only a few months since Prof. Brander Matthews' dissection,[1] in The Forum, of the historical romance set many serious people to inquiring into the ethics of their personal tastes in light literature. The historical romance, he declares,—as Mr. Howells had already, in substance, declared,—is an invertebrate literary genus of a low order. It originated only in this century, when our grandfathers suddenly began to take a violent emotional interest in the hitherto despised Middle Ages. It won, for a season, a wide popularity, until it was supplanted in the esteem of the wiser public by the growth of a more sensible sort of literature,—that which, in the hands of Thackeray, Flaubert, Zola, Mr. James, Mr. Howells, and Mr. Matthews himself, deals with life as it is. Masquerading in the guise of history, this mischievous and primitive imp of romance spread mistaken conceptions of ages gone by, and encouraged a mistaken enthusiasm for ideals of conduct that have justly perished in the course of our struggle for existence. Silly notions about personal honor, a conventional, chivalric code of love, a complacently Quixotic Order of alleged nobility, before whom weak peasants and despised merchants cringed,—such injustice and folly have slowly disappeared. Mankind has cast behind it these outworn ideals, replacing them with others more just, more useful, more unselfish. Theories of cause and effect, as to the events of the past, may interest or instruct

[1] "The Historical Novel," in The Forum for September, 1897 (p. 79).

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us; but no man—save Cagliostro—has ever seen this wicked past live. How can we then hope to portray it? One may rob the grave of its bones, and give to resuscitated skeletons the semblance of life; but this mock life is really that of the present. It is, therefore, with the present—the present of actual knowledge and experience—that artists and sculptors and novelists should deal. No man can step off his own shadow, as Mr. Matthews justly remarks. The historical romance is mere mummery.

If all this be true, it would at first seem that those of us who still delight in our old favorites and our new fancies among historical romances can scarcely acquit ourselves of the charge of folly. And yet one may acknowledge every point made by Mr. Matthews and Mr. Howells, in their praiseworthy love for the new and the true, without in the least changing his literary tastes. The fact is that any sort of theory about what art or literature should do is of very slight importance in comparison with a knowledge of what it does do. Theoretical criticism is useful in the analysis of actual pleasure; but it is as nothing when weighed in the balance against what we really love. The painters are forever telling us that we are geese to like pictures with a story in them; the dramatists are forever insisting that a play which is merely good to read is no play at all; the poets, that all real sonnets must follow the Petrarchan model; the grammarians and the rhetoricians, that this or that familiar expression is incorrect. Even our histories of literature disdain the favorite reading of the people, and discuss only what appeals to the cultured classes. The attitude of all is, at bottom, dictatorial: they attempt to prescribe what we shall like,—which is as useless as to prescribe what we shall eat. Let these painters and dramatists and poets—so the simple-minded people has always said in its heart—offer us what they choose that is beautiful and interesting. So much is the privilege of the maker, the seller. But we are free to enjoy what we choose: that is the privilege of the consumer. If there is beauty we cannot see, we are glad to be reminded of it. If what we like is ugly, explain us that also, and we will look carefully to our preferences. But we, not you, are the judges of our own emotions; and by us, in the last resort, must your fine theories be tested. Art is your work; but it is our play. We have our work also, which is judged sternly by the laws of supply and demand: in our scant hours of leisure we must play as our nature bids us.

It is, then, first, as one of the rights of a citizen, that we hard-working people defend our hearty interest in the historical romance. Our

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hours of labor are filled with dull details: our tasks themselves are undiversified, special, ruled by a monotonous routine. We cannot be denied such fiction as may give us access to the stirring life of great epochs long past, when kingdoms hung on the prowess of a few; when love, honor, and fortune depended on quickness of wit and strength of arm. Those who could bring back to us something like that dead world—Scott and Dumas, and even Bulwer-Lytton and Kingsley—have not failed, through all these changing years, to hold our affections; and recent, if less permanent, successes show that the historical romance is in no danger of dying out. Theory or no theory, mankind cherishes the novel of romantic adventure in a romantic past.

In the second place, we may fairly claim something for the historical romance on the ground of the ideals and ambitions it awakens in us. The ideals of the Middle Ages, after all, were those from which modern ideals have been slowly evolved; and it is unbecoming and unnecessary to be ashamed of them. Fidelity to kinsman and friend and mistress, sensitiveness to honor, courage in the face of danger, the obstinate determination and intelligent craft that triumphed over physical odds, —these qualities have changed, in some degree, their semblance; but their substance is as precious as in the days of knightly brotherhood, of tournaments and duels. The noble friendship of the *Guardsmen* and their unconquerable strength, the constancy of *Bussy d'Amboise*, the fine craft of Henry IV,—to choose examples from Dumas only—have nerved more than one man for the dubious battle of modern life; revealing to him modern virtues through antique models, and teaching him, as if by parable, the permanent laws of the great human struggle.

Assuming, then, without further pleading, that the historical romance, however weak an instrument it may be in theory, makes in actuality a special and perhaps an abiding appeal to human intelligence and emotion, refreshing and restoring the weary spirit, I beg leave to examine some ten or a dozen of the recent romances of the sort. My intention is merely to inquire how far they satisfy our natural cravings for books of the kind I have indicated, and to hazard a guess as to whether their authors are taking the surest path to our gratitude and affection.

These novels fall at once into several classes, corresponding to the sort of effect that they produce upon us. First, the swarm of tales which depend for their interest entirely upon a clever or intricate plot,— the lowest structural form in which the historical romance can appear. Take, for example, Mr. Bloundelle-Burton's "Clash of Arms." It has no possible interest outside of its sensational plot, which is almost

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too slight to be remembered. As readers who know history through Dumas will recall, Louis XIV, at the very end of the "Vicomte de Bragelonne," sent *Madame* to England with *Louise de Querouaille;* intending the latter as a bait for Charles II. There Mr. Bloundelle-Burton takes up the story. When the French damsel determines to remain in England, a certain rascally *Vicomte de Bois-Vallée*, her lover, exasperated at her loss, kidnaps an English lady in her place, and makes off with her to his wild castle in Lorraine. The English lady's lover dies of grief; but his brother, a more valiant soul, starts on the quest of the villain and the girl. The wicked *Vicomte* escapes the avenger's hand again and again; but the invincible Englishman storms single-handed the ogre's castle, wrests from him his prize, and leaves him to die a ghastly death in a secret passage. All this smacks a trifle of the "Castle of Otranto," and serves no better purpose than to cheer one's despondency in a gloomy hour, as the veriest dime novel might.

Mr. Anthony Hope does no better in his "Simon Dale," though he treats the same period and tails even more closely after Dumas. According to his yarn, it was Louis himself who missed the maid of honor and claimed an English lady in exchange for her. He himself came to England in disguise, to complete secretly certain projects of political alliance with Charles, and, incidentally, to fetch the bartered damsel. The whole plot, however, is penetrated by an English *D'Artagnan*, who, of course, worships the lady in question, and is already marvellously deep in the intrigue of the English court. At the proper moment the hero seizes the French monarch by the throat, and rescues his beloved by force and guile. There are other personages in the play,—Charles and Nell Gwynne and the great figures of the court; there are clever situations, some fighting, not a little love-making, and much lucky stumbling on state secrets. But all this is nothing more than a mere network of adventure and intrigue, frankly imitated from the great French master.

The weak point of this whole group of novels is that, though much happens, nothing really comes of it. What if these lost maidens are heroically recovered and gratefully espouse their rescuers? Nothing but their own fortunes has been in doubt. The fate of a kingdom has not hung on a hazardous venture, as when *Athos* sought the gold in the vaults of Newcastle; or when *D'Artagnan* caged the astonished *Monk* and deposited him at Charles's feet in Holland; or when the four bold companions plotted to rescue Charles I and were thwarted only by the devilish ingenuity of *Milady's* son and avenger. What matters it whether

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some chance English girl is lost or found? The stake is nothing in comparison with that involved when the same four gentlemen match themselves against all the force and guile of the Cardinal and the King, and bring back the Queen's diamonds from Buckingham. These trivial plots do not appeal even to the intelligence: the characters have not even a personal charm. The ladies are dolls: the knights, manikins. Such novels, in which all interest is centred on the plot, cannot, in the long run, compete successfully with tales of adventure in modern times. The authors show no practical knowledge of life in the periods with which they deal, and seem to have put their stories in one century or another by sheer accident. Mr. Rider Haggard and his African tales are worth a whole library of such slipshod pseudo-mediæval fiction. The successful writer of historical romance must have seized the very heart of the epoch he treats. If through ignorance or indolence he have failed to do this, he should confine himself to the life of to-day, where, as "Soldiers of Fortune" plainly shows, there is romance enough to be found by the clever imagination.

The second class, the next higher grade, into which these novels fall so readily, is that which appeals more strongly to the emotions. Take, for instance, Mr. Crockett's "Lochinvar." The plot is simple. Again we have a kidnapped maiden and a pursuing lover. *Wat Gordon of Lochinvar*, outlawed in three kingdoms, follows his Scottish love over land and sea; rescuing her from her proud and wicked oppressor, the *Lord of Barra*, only to find her again betrayed into the designing villain's hands, until at last, as in the ballad, he gallops daringly away with her on her wedding-day. Such an artless tale scarcely commends itself to the intelligence: a child could catch the drift of it and foretell the outcome. Still, like Scott's own romantic poems, it touches the emotions. *Wat* escapes, in the most obvious fashion, from monstrous perils by land and sea. He is a mighty swordsman; and there are grim combats in strange places, by the flicker of candles in a lonely Dutch inn, in the glare of the sun on desolate dunes, desperate flights, hairbreadth escapes from whirlpools and ambuscades, and forlorn hopes by the dozen. These rash adventures lack anything like rational connection; but the very mass of them acts cumulatively on the feelings. There is no side of modern life that could possibly give us the romantic thrill that Mr. Crockett gains so easily by the trivial device of putting his story back into fighting times and among fighting people. We must be thankful for what crude pleasure he gives us; but it is necessary to stint somewhat our praise. Are we barbarians, that we

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should be fed only on slaughter? Are threats and groans and blows all that will move us? We crave some touch of romantic adventure, but this is sheer melodrama. Can we imagine ourselves laughing or crying over such child's play? It is not in this thoughtless fashion that we follow the grim pursuit of *D'Artagnan* by *Milady* and her diabolical son. It is not with grave faces that we watch *Chicot* make his perilous journeys, nor with dry eyes that we witness the death of *Porthos* or of *Bussy d'Amboise*. Dumas gives the essential elements of adventurous life in great epochs—its joy and its sorrow, its comedy and its tragedy. What Mr. Crockett offers is the mere bravado of theatrical sensationalism, steeped in schoolgirl sentiment.

We pass to a still higher type, the historical romance of character,—a natural modern outgrowth on the hoary trunk of exciting narrative. Of this we have several good recent examples. In Mr. Weyman's "Shrewsbury," a certain pitiful coward, ex-schoolmaster, and thief falls into the hands of conspirators against William III. A spy, a weak instrument for sinful ends, he sees in his dazed, craven way the stream of history flow by him, even as, a few years later, *Henry Esmond* saw a similar world with the eyes of a courageous gentleman. In Mr. McClennan's "Spanish John," a young and fiery Highlander, returned from service in foreign armies, tells in his mock memoirs of his private quarrels and of the disastrous attempt of the young Pretender,—memoirs which owe their main interest to the character of *Father O'Rourke*, an Irish priest and soldier, who took life merrily, but lived it nobly, and bravely met a gallant death. In Mr. Mason's "Lawrence Clavering," we are again "in the forty-five"; seeing history through the eyes of a silly young heir, who gets into an incomprehensible muddle with an enigmatic and hysterical lady, and blunderingly brings love and politics alike to grief,—memoirs redeemed from utter dulness only by a charming *Miss Dorothy Curwen* ("*Cherry-cheeks*"), who is all that a brave English lass should be. In Mr. Pemberton's "Queen of the Jesters," a collection of tales on a Stevensonian model, we are told of the freaks of a handful of whimsical people in the Paris of Louis XV. Finally, in Stevenson's "St. Ives," the last work of one who was, in his way, a master, we are thrust into the intimate confidences of a roistering young blade of a French count, an escaped prisoner, a woful braggart, hunted down on a charge of brutal murder, which, even by his own explanation, was not so very far from true. He falls headlong into an irrational love for a Scottish girl, and, after surprising adventures with a whole menagerie of eccentric characters, is safely ex-

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tricated from the toils of his enemies by a balloon. In all this typical group of romances the plot is trivial: it is character that plays the chief part. Like modern realists, the authors force us to contemplate the universe through the experiences of a single given temperament. But what is the value or interest of all these data? There are queer people in our own times; and if it be a close study of accidental personages that we must have, I think we should prefer to taste this dubious pleasure through the life of to-day, where we can test the analysis by comparing it with our own experience. There is nothing romantic in this minute portrayal of antique characters. We do not sigh for the jokes and whims of long ago, nor can we enjoy the mock memoirs of a coward or a fool.

Here again it is Dumas who can point to the only safe road for the romancer. His canvas is a large one. In each of his three great series he accounts for the life of an epoch as completely as Balzac might have done. But of this throng of characters all the great figures are heroic —as men and women of action always are. In romance, life must be brave and earnest: that is one of the conditions of the game. For the intimate study of whimsical individuals there is room enough in other kinds of literature: romance can never tolerate it. In that wonderful set of romances beginning with "La Reine Margot" and stopping abruptly with "Les Quarante-Cinque," Dumas introduces us to a full score of characters, almost all of whom play important parts in the narrative; but, though they are of many kinds, not a single one is inert or despicable. Each is indelibly impressed on the memory, and takes there its honorable place.

Such are some of the historical romances of the present season, as seen by one who loves those of the olden sort. It is hardly to be supposed that the product of another season or another year will be in any marked degree better or worse. These novels are, as has been shown, careless in plot, or violent in tone, or largely given over to character study. Modern realism and modern habits of analysis, on the one hand, and modern love of sensationalism, on the other, have forced authors into new habits and perhaps begotten in the public new tastes. At any rate, whatever the causes may be, two traits of modern work of this sort are especially prominent. First, it has distinctly the air of the market. These books are, as a rule, obviously made to sell. It is this that gives them their hurried air, like that of hastily built tenements. Second, even when, as is sometimes the case, they are carefully constructed, it usually appears that they are deliberately in-

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tended to suit the taste of the most important factor in the reading public of to-day—the girls and women. Scarcely one of them is free from tawdry sentimentality. They must be love stories: they must end happily. With this careless workmanship and this sentimentality, the tone and method of the best older works may be strongly contrasted. Scott and Dumas both, to be sure, wrote in breathless haste, and wrote, at times, avowedly for money. But their hearts were in their art; and their finest works seem to have been the fruit of ample leisure and unhindered fancy and meditation. At its best their workmanship was flawless. In spite of the rapidity with which incident follows incident, Dumas developed his plot slowly, with abundant illustration of character. He was not preoccupied with mere love sentiment, the girl-and-boy love of our later romancers. That finds its proper place; but there are elements far more essential to the tale of romantic adventure. The multiform aspects of man's affection for woman; the still more stirring possibilities of man's friendship, rivalry, and competition with man; the relations of political and military life,—all these he wove into the mighty web. As Shakespeare, in his historical plays, Dumas had always his eye on greater objects than the mere fortunes of a single man. In his first great series, that beginning with "La Reine Margot," it may seem at first that his object was to treat, from various points of view, the overwhelming love of man and woman—the loves of *De la Mole* and *Marguerite*, of *Henry* and *Madame de Sauve*, of *Coconnas* and the *Duchesse de Nevers*, of *Bussy d'Amboise* and *Diane de Monsoreau*, the despairing admiration of *Henri de Joyeuse* for the same unhappy lady. But, at a second or third reading, the truth stands out more clearly. What this group of volumes really treats is Henry the Fourth's long struggle for the throne. Similarly, in the series beginning with "The Three Guardsmen," the point lies, in the last analysis, in Louis the Fourteenth's mastery of his rebellious France rather than in the ever-memorable friendship of *D'Artagnan* with *Athos*, *Porthos*, and *Aramis*. Finally, in the long series beginning with "Joseph Balsamo," we are plainly following not the fortunes of any private man, but the death of the old France and the birth of the new. In all three, individuals are but signs of the many diverse forces that make up a great current of national life. How different is this sound and noble handling of great human interests from the episodic treatment of merely personal adventure!

Two recent books that may fairly be included in a group of typical historical romances I have reserved for a final paragraph, because they

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indicate material from which it is to be hoped that romancers will draw more frequently. The first is Mr. Merriman's "In the Tents of Kedar": the second is Mr. Sienkiewicz's "Hania." Mr. Merriman's plot is laid in the revolutionary Spain of sixty years ago, when a chivalrous young Irishman, fond of a fight, finds himself thrust into the very midst of Spanish political intrigue. "Hania" is a bundle of tales and sketches, not particularly remarkable in themselves, but with a strong claim on the attention of anyone who has read "Fire and Sword," the "Deluge," and "Pan Michael," the greatest historical romances of the last third of the century—perhaps the greatest of the whole century. Both books deal with comparatively new material: the one with a romantic period that has scarcely escaped from the memory of living men; the other with the yet untold struggles of chivalrous Poland against the Swedish usurpers of the north and the Tartar scourge of the south. The Englishman's choice and his success should be examples to Americans, who, since Cooper, have practically done nothing with an abundance of romantic material. We have had dozens of historical novels; but, especially of recent years, they have been too much of the "Henry Esmond" type,—novels of character rather than novels of adventure. The Polish novelist's choice and his extraordinary performance should serve as models for others—Europeans of many sorts and kinds—who find themselves in special sympathy with a past of which history has failed to give a sufficiently inspiring account.

For a century the whole civilized world has shown an extraordinary interest in the novel of adventure in a romantic past. There are no signs of a great decrease in that interest. We appreciate the subtlety, the complexity, the richness, of novels of the newer school; but we retain our affection for the works of Scott, Dumas, and the most worthy of their followers. Antiquarianism will not satisfy us, nor mere sentiment, nor sensationalism; but whoever can tell a manly tale of noble struggle in a noble cause can still find his way to our hearts.

G. R. CARPENTER.

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The Forum

APRIL, 1898.

THE DANGEROUS DEMANDS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

THE Interstate Commerce Commission is making strenuous efforts to obtain radical changes in the Act to Regulate Commerce that will practically revolutionize the character of the Commission and invest it with attributes which, hitherto, Congress has always declined to confer.

The amendments which are proposed in the Commission's last report, and which are substantially embodied in Senate Bill 3354, introduced by Senator Cullom on January 22, 1898, are quite elaborate; but their vital features may be briefly summarized. By these amendments, the Commission is given the power to bring before it at all times, upon complaint or without complaint, any number of interstate carriers; to fix for them maximum rates for the transportation of freight and passengers; to fix minimum rates, when necessary to give effect to the Commission's ideas as to the comparative advantages which localities ought to enjoy; to establish through routes and to fix through rates and to prescribe the divisions thereof; to change classifications of freight; to prescribe the rules and regulations under which traffic shall move; and to determine what privileges and facilities the carrier shall afford. Every such order of the Commission may be as general, and may bind as many carriers, and relate to as many hundreds or thousands of rates, subjects, or details, as the Commission's wishes may dictate. It is difficult to imagine any sort of traffic regulation or control which these extensive powers would not embrace. Indeed, the proposition is nothing less in effect than to make the Interstate Commerce Commission the traffic

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manager for each of the hundreds of interstate railroads in the United States, and for each mile of its 180,000 miles of railroad.

A complete reversal of the method of enforcing the Commission's orders is also proposed. Instead of the present plan, whereby the courts enforce the orders of the Commission after a judicial determination that they are lawful, it is now proposed that all the orders of the Commission, made in the exercise of the sweeping powers partially enumerated above, shall be self-executing, that is, shall take effect simply by virtue of the Commission's decree, without consideration by any court; and, if anybody violates them, penalties will be imposed, just as fines are imposed for violating Acts of Congress. The only way to obtain any review of these self-executing orders will be for the *carrier*, within a very limited time, to take the matter into court; and, except in extraordinary cases, even the adoption of this course will not prevent the orders from being effective while the judicial review is in progress. The court, in reviewing the Commission's orders, is not to be allowed to take additional evidence, but must content itself with the record made up by the Commission. If not satisfied with that, the court can obtain additional evidence only by allowing the Commission to take and report it. No provision at all seems to be made for any appeal to the courts for relief by a person or a locality whose interests may be injuriously affected by the Commission's self-executing decrees.

In other words, the proposition is to give the Commission the power to regulate, in the most complete and extensive manner imaginable, every detail of interstate railroad traffic; all such regulations to take effect without any resort to judicial tribunals for their enforcement, and, ordinarily, in spite of the pendency of proceedings of review in court. Relief from the regulations can be obtained only when the carriers go into court and there show that the regulations are unlawful; whereas the intention of Congress in creating the Interstate Commerce Commission was simply to confer upon it such powers as would enable it to ascertain violations of the law, and to proceed in the courts for their correction. The purpose is to change the Commission from a mere auxiliary tribunal, assisting the courts in their lawful work, into a tribunal with vast original powers far greater than any court can exercise, and which can be made effective without any resort to the courts.

What reasons are given for this proposition to revolutionize the character of the Act to Regulate Commerce, and the character of the Commission? One reason that has been frequently urged, and much more artfully than honestly urged, has been that it is absolutely neces-

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sary to give these sweeping powers to the Commission in order to protect the public against the evils of pooling, in the event of Congress giving interstate carriers the right to pool their traffic. This argument proceeds on the erroneous theory that pooling contracts destroy the competition that regulates rates, and that, if such competition be destroyed, the regulation of rates must be given to the Commission. But the effective competition in the regulation of rates is not so much a competition between railroads, which would or could pool their traffic, as a competition with water-ways and between markets, which cannot be destroyed or controlled either by pooling contracts or otherwise. If railroads be permitted to pool their traffic, these kinds of competition will still remain, and will still effectually control rates.

The conclusive evidence, however, that this reason is not urged in good faith is the fact, that the Foraker Bill—which is the bill proposing to give the railroads the right to pool their traffic—gives the Commission the most complete power over the pooling contracts and the rates maintained under them. That bill authorizes the Commission to disapprove at the outset, or to annul at any time, any such contracts as the Commission may believe will lead to unreasonable rates or unlawful practices; and a contract so disapproved or annulled remains unlawful and non-enforceable pending any review by the courts of the Commission's action. Such a sweeping power as this ought certainly to be an ample protection against unreasonable rates under pooling contracts, even if pooling contracts would otherwise cause unreasonable rates. In addition to this, however, the Foraker Bill gives the Commission express and unequivocal authority to change any and all rates maintained under pooling contracts, when the Commission deems such rates unreasonable or illegal. Yet, the advocates of the Commission's demands are not content with these ample powers, nor will those advocates be satisfied with any powers to make rates which are restricted to the rates maintained under pooling contracts. What the Commission wants is the right to fix all rates on all interstate traffic, and, in addition, the right to make minimum rates, to establish through routes, to change classifications, to establish rules and regulations, to prescribe privileges and facilities, whether pooling affects those matters or not,—indeed, regardless of whether pooling contracts are authorized or not. Clearly, therefore, it is an imposition on the public to assert, in support of these all-embracing demands, the plea as to the dangers of pooling.

Another reason that has been urged from time to time is that corresponding powers exist in England. It is said that the English Railway

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Commission possesses the powers of a court, and that, therefore, the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission ought to be similarly effective without resort to the courts. But the English Commission is in fact a court. Three of its members are judges of the superior courts; and of the other two one must be experienced in railway matters. The Commission is declared to be a court of record. A still more valuable guarantee of impartiality in the English Commission is, that it has no duties to perform which would tend to impair its judicial character. Practically its sole business is to hear and determine complaints which are brought before it by proper complainants, and to determine what, if any, relief the law entitles the complainants to obtain. These facts insure a judicial temperament in the English Commission. But none of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission is a judge of the courts; they hold office for six years merely; none of them is required to be experienced in railway matters; and in fact none of them has ever had such experience.

Moreover, the Interstate Commerce Commission performs functions which are entirely foreign to any duties that could be properly exercised by any impartial court. It is a bureau for gathering railroad statistics and for the supervision of various details in railway management. It is given inquisitorial powers to detect violations of the law on the part of railroad companies, and may cause prosecutions to be instituted to punish violations of the law; and, besides all that, it may institute in its own name complaints before itself, and then proceed to hear and determine them. Thus, the Commission, which, in some respects, is a sort of superintendent of railway management, a detector of violations of the law, a prosecutor of the railways for such violations, and a party-complainant against railways, is also given the judicial power to hear and determine. It can, therefore, be detective, prosecutor, plaintiff, and court, relative to the same matter. It now asks that its determinations, made under such circumstances, shall take effect without being required to resort to any real judicial tribunal for consideration or enforcement. The English system certainly does not afford a precedent for making effective without judicial consideration the decrees of a tribunal charged with such incompatible functions.

Even more obviously does the English system fail to sustain the contention that the Commission should be given the power to prescribe all interstate rates; for the English Commission has nothing whatever to do with these important matters except that it may, under extremely careful restrictions, prescribe through rates. With this single excep-

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tion, all that vast power is retained by Parliament itself. Provision is made for consideration of rates and recommendations as to changes therein by the Board of Trade; but the Board is really one of the executive departments, its president being a member of the Cabinet and, in effect, the Minister of Trade and Commerce. These recommendations are transmitted to Parliament; and only after a bill has been passed by Parliament, confirming them, do they become binding upon the railways. If, therefore, the English system be followed, the Commission would have no power with respect to the general subject of making rates, which is the power it seems to desire above all others; many of its existing powers would be taken from it; and, before it could obtain the coveted authority to promulgate self-executing decrees, it would have to be thoroughly reorganized and reconstituted on a basis widely different from its present one.

The most persistently urged reason for the demands of the Commission is, that the courts have interpreted the law contrarily to the intention of Congress and the understanding of the public; that they have destroyed its efficacy; and that, therefore, these changes must be made in order to conform to what were originally thought to be the provisions of the law. This assumption is wholly false.

From the Act it is plain that the Commission must resort to the courts to enforce its recommendations, and that it cannot issue self-executing edicts. Not even the advocates of the Commission's demands will assert that Congress ever intended to adopt the latter radically different plan. It is equally plain that Congress never intended to confer the ratemaking power now demanded. On January 18, 1886, the Select Committee of the Senate, after a most elaborate investigation, submitted to the Senate a report of two hundred and sixteen printed pages with the bill which, with some amendments, finally became the law. In this report (p. 194) the Committee declared the fixing of rates by legislation impracticable, and added:—

"Those who have asked the adoption of this plan of regulation have suggested 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."

In conclusion, in referring to the bill submitted, the Committee said (p. 215):—

"The provisions of the bill are based upon the theory that the paramount

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evil chargeable against the operation of the transportation system of the United States, as now conducted, is unjust discrimination between persons, places, commodities, or particular descriptions of traffic. The underlying purpose and aim of the measure is the prevention of these discriminations, both by declaring them unlawful and enforcing punishment and also by requiring the greatest practicable degree of publicity as to the rates, financial operations, and methods of management of the carriers."

Clearly the Committee, which prepared the bill after the most elaborate investigation and study, did not regard it as giving the Commission the power to make rates. The Congressional debates, also, wholly refute the Commission's assumption. Although the debates cover over two thousand pages, all that was said, that could be reasonably construed as bearing on the subject of making rates, covers less than thirty pages; and even that bears on the subject only incidentally. This very silence of Congress shows it had no idea that it was conferring upon the Commission the power to make rates, which would have been a provision far more important than any provision actually adopted in the Act. Moreover, Senator Cullom and Representative Reagan, who prepared and had in charge the Senate and House bills respectively, disclaimed any intention to provide for fixing rates; others stated the same thing; and, although many enumerated the advantages of the Commission, none claimed that it would have the power to fix rates. A competent authority, who has carefully read all the debates on the subject, and abstracted all portions relating to the ratemaking power, states his conclusions as follows:—

"I am convinced, from my reading of all the debates, that Congress had no idea that it was conferring upon the Commission the power to fix rates, and that no bill expressly conferring such power could have been passed."

As investigation dispels the claim that Congress intended to give extraordinary powers to the Commission such as it now claims, so a reading of the decisions of the United States courts, including the Supreme Court, ought to convince any unprejudiced mind that the courts, by their interpretation of the Act, have not in the slightest degree impaired its value, but that they have simply interpreted it according to its plain terms, and according to the intention of Congress as shown by the debates. Indeed, in the only important respects wherein the courts have disagreed with the Commission's present views as to the effect of the Act, the Commission, strange to say, originally took substantially the ground which the courts have now taken. For example, in the case of Thatcher *vs.* Delaware & Hudson Canal Company,[1] decided a

[1] Interstate Commerce Commission Reports 152 and 156.

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few months after the Commission was organized, it declined, for lack of evidence, to fix certain 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 power in respect to rates is to determine whether those which the roads impose are, for any reason, in conflict with the statute."

Yet, when in the Chicago and Cincinnati Freight Bureau Case the Commission undertook to "make rates generally," by prescribing maximum rates on over two thousand articles of commerce from Chicago and Cincinnati to Knoxville, Chattanooga, Rome, Atlanta, Meridian, Birmingham, Anniston, and Selma,—whereby the rates not only from all points in the Northwest, but from all points in the East to all points in the South, would have been affected,—the Commission complained most bitterly and disrespectfully because the Supreme Court held that it had not the power to fix those rates, although the Supreme Court simply took the position which the Commission had itself at first taken.

While the advocates of the Commission's demands before Congress are strongly insisting that the Interstate Commerce Act, as it stands, is utterly worthless, and that the Commission can do nothing, even in the courts, to enforce the Act or protect the public, the Commission is vigorously contending in the courts, in a number of cases, that valuable provisions of the Act are being violated; and it calls on the courts to approve and enforce its findings to that effect. Indeed, in the last few weeks, Judge Severens, in the United States Circuit Court at Chattanooga, has upheld and enforced an order of the Commission designed to prevent what the Commission regarded as an undue preference of the city of Nashville over the city of Chattanooga. While, on the facts, the railroads did not believe that the preference was undue or unlawful, but considered that it was fully justified by the circumstances, and will, no doubt, appeal the case, yet the fact of the decision wholly disproves the unfounded claim that the Act to Regulate Commerce is worthless. On the contrary, it shows that whenever the courts are satisfied that, by a supposed improper adjustment of rates, any place or person is put to an undue disadvantage, they have the power—and will exercise it—to enforce compliance with the Act as it now stands.

The Commission also urges that it should be allowed to fix rates all over the country, because, it says, otherwise there is no adequate remedy for extortionate rates, and the only remedy now existing is a suit, after the rate has been paid, to recover the excess over a reason-

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able rate. With great elaboration it is pointed out that the expense and difficulty incident to such suits would deter parties from bringing them, and, moreover, that the consignor, or consignee, who would have the right to recover, is not the party who really stands the loss. These same considerations, however, have existed from the beginning, and were just as patent when Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act as they are to-day. Still they have never heretofore been deemed an argument for giving the Interstate Commerce Commission practically absolute control over the commerce of the country.

Moreover, the argument proceeds solely upon the absolutely false assumption that rates in general in this country are extortionate; whereas, in fact, they are admitted to be remarkably low and, generally, to have decreased rapidly in the past few years. If any rates are too high, such rates are out of line with the general adjustment, and, for that reason, are in conflict with the present law and can be readily corrected under it. Since rates in general are admittedly not extortionate; since, if any particular rates are too high, ample opportunity for correction now exists; and since all other reasons urged by the Commission for radical changes in the law are utterly groundless, the public now has ample protection, and there is not the slightest excuse for such sweeping legislation. The public has infinitely more protection for the really vital commercial interests involved than it could possibly have if the commercial destinies of the country were confided to the Commission, as they would be if the latter's demands were acceded to.

It is impossible to exaggerate the tremendous power which the Commission will wield if it obtain the amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act that it desires. Practically it will have the absolute power of determining what communities shall flourish and where trade and commerce shall be successfully conducted.

There exists a much closer community of interest between a railroad and the localities and industries upon it than is ordinarily realized in discussion of these matters. The only way a railroad can make money is to perform transportation service, and obtain the revenue therefor; but it cannot perform the transportation service unless there are passengers and property to be transported. Passengers and property will not be transported to or from a particular locality unless the state of business at that locality warrants the transportation. The greater the business, the greater the demand for transportation service, and consequently the greater the railroad's revenue. It is to the railroad's interest to develop as far as possible the productive enterprises of every

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locality upon its route. The greater this development, the more outbound traffic the railroad secures. The greater the demand for the section's products, the more prosperous its people and the more they consume; hence the greater the inbound traffic. The railroad is, therefore, united in interest with the localities along its line. Moreover, under the transportation conditions now existing in the United States, there is scarcely an article of commerce which in some section does not enjoy extremely low rates of transportation to the great markets of the country, by reason of water-ways or other considerations. The low rates enjoyed by an article from any one section in a great degree affect and control the rates on that article from every other section. A railroad traffic manager will not stand by and see some section not on his line of road build up a profitable monopoly in any article of commerce, when that article of commerce can be produced on his line. On the contrary, he will gladly coöperate with prospective producers on his line, to the end that the article may there be produced and profitably marketed. In this way the products of any section are brought into competition with the products of every other section in the markets of the country. Thus, the obvious interest of the railroad to develop such traffic is the best possible guarantee that every locality will have its interests protected, and that rates will be kept low enough to encourage all practicable development. It is also the best guarantee of a strong and healthy competition.

To give the Commission the powers demanded would deprive every locality of the opportunity, with the coöperation of the railroads, to develop new enterprises or maintain those already in operation, in order to compete with establishments on other railroads, except with the sanction of the Commission. In other words, the Commission would, throughout the United States, direct and distribute local prosperity in accordance with its views; which views have always been extremely unfavorable to the salutary policy of development in which the railroads, in their own interest, have always so actively coöperated with the localities along their lines.

In its last annual report the Commission refers to the case of Eau Claire Board of Trade *vs.* C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co. *et al.*, as an instance wherein it desires to have the power to fix a minimum rate so as to enforce its ideas of the relative advantages which localities should enjoy. It seems that Winona, La Crosse, and Eau Claire are rival lumber markets, and that the railroads extending westwardly from Winona and La Crosse, but not reaching Eau Claire, had, in the in-

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terest of Winona and La Crosse, and in their own interest, established such rates on lumber to the West as would encourage and develop the lumber trade at Winona and La Crosse. Eau Claire, which had the more favorable natural location, objected seriously to the favorable rates given to Winona and La Crosse. The Commission sustained the objection, and held that a railroad had no right to develop the territory on its line by so adjusting its rates as to enable the points on its line to get a fair share of business in competition with points off its line having a more favorable natural location; pronouncing such a principle as "radically unsound." The Commission's purpose, therefore, would be to give Eau Claire the full benefit of this natural advantage, even though it might drive Winona and La Crosse wholly out of the lumber trade, might practically destroy them, and might establish a virtual monopoly at Eau Claire.

The inevitable tendency of any such policy would be toward centralization, as the point having the greatest natural advantage in any industry would dominate that industry; for the Commission would not allow railroads from other points so to adjust their rates as to compensate natural disadvantages, in order to develop the same industry on their lines. The general sentiment is that the wider the dissemination of industry and capital, and the greater the consequent competition, the better it is for the public. Railroads have done much to encourage this salutary system, in striving to develop on their own lines industries which, in the absence of such encouragement, would probably be centralized elsewhere at some point possessing extraordinary natural advantages. The localities on every railroad have been given the opportunity to open up industries in competition with localities on other lines where there has been any reasonable ground to expect successful operation; and the results have been eminently satisfactory and beneficial to the public. It would be a backward step to assert the doctrine that only natural advantages must be viewed, and that other places must not be enabled, by favorable rates, to compete with the place having the greatest natural advantages. It would be a most dangerous step to confide to the Commission the delicate task of selecting the place regarded by it as having the greatest natural advantages, and of putting up rates to and from all other localities so as to give such place the full benefit to which the Commission might think it entitled.

This emphasizes the very great importance of this question to the localities and industries of the country. Are they willing to give up the effective means which they now enjoy of securing a position in the

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markets of the country, and to receive, in place thereof, whatever the Interstate Commerce Commission, in its wisdom, may choose to give them as its idea of their due proportion of the commerce of the country?

It is not contended that a railroad ought to be allowed to pick out one place on its line and encourage its development, at the expense of any other place on its line; and the present Act to Regulate Commerce would prohibit such favoritism. It is contended, however, that a railroad has the right to build up and develop the prosperity of the whole section of country through which it runs, and to put every section on its line on the most favorable terms possible in the markets of the country, and that, in its own interest, every railroad will, if allowed to do so, adopt that course. The powers demanded would make the Commission the supreme arbiter of the commerce of the country; whereas, at present, the Act to Regulate Commerce protects localities and industries from every act of partiality and favoritism, thereby induces reasonable rates, and at the same time affords the fullest opportunity for the enlightened coöperation of every railroad with the localities on its line, with the result of disseminating, in the widest possible manner, the benefits of industrial enterprise, and of increasing that competition which is the life of trade.

In the administration of the long-and-short-haul section in recent years, the Commission has evinced a strong disposition to restrict, without good reason, the markets of the country. It has endeavored to prevent railroads from making greater charges for shorter hauls than for longer ones, when the only result would be to force the railroads out of participation in the long-haul traffic, and thereby, without the slightest benefit in any direction, to deprive sections of the country of markets which they had theretofore enjoyed. For example, the railroads in the South transport coal from Alabama mines to points on the Mississippi River at rates considerably less than those to intermediate points, in order to meet the competition of Pennsylvania coal, brought down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers in barges, which is the cheapest transportation known. The railroads could not reduce their local rates to the basis of these low rates to the Mississippi River; and, if compelled to charge no more to the intermediate points than to the Mississippi River, they would simply have to withdraw from the traffic to Mississippi River points. The result would be that the Alabama mines would be deprived of the opportunity to market their coal along the Mississippi River; the points on the Mississippi River would be deprived of a choice between Alabama coal and Pennsylvania coal;

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Pennsylvania coal would be given a virtual monopoly of the market at those points; points between the Mississippi River and the coal-mines would gain absolutely nothing; and the railroad would lose the little that might be made out of the traffic to Mississippi River points.

It certainly ought to be regarded as unwise to confer on a commission, dominated by such ideas, the unlimited power of decreeing in what channels commerce shall flow; for the result must be restriction of commerce, and interference with competition which now exists to the decided benefit of the public. The courts have declared unequivocally that the practice of charging less for longer than for shorter hauls, under the circumstances indicated, is not unlawful; and this is in strict accordance with the principle recently laid down by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Commission now characteristically insists, however, that the courts have destroyed the long-and-short-haul section, and asks Congress to repeal that section, and, instead, to authorize the Commission to prohibit any carrier from charging more for a short haul than for a long haul, whenever it may see fit; that is, to make a law to apply to one part of the country and not to another, or to one railroad and not to another. The Congress which passed the Interstate Commerce Act very reluctantly gave the Commission power to relieve the railroads from the operation of the long-and-short-haul section in special cases; but it would not for a moment have thought of giving to the Commission the power to make the law itself, to change that law at will, and to omit the law altogether at its pleasure, which is what the amendment now proposed amounts to. This serves as an additional illustration of the Commission's radical departure from the original ideas of Congress and of the unlimited powers which the Commission now so complacently demands.

The making of rates, to which the Commission aspires, is an extremely delicate and difficult task. A change in one rate may create a wide disturbance of other rates and of commercial conditions. Rates depend upon innumerable, ever-changing circumstances, as widely different as the various sections of the country. Every railroad employs men of marked ability and life-long training, whose sole duty it is to study these conditions as they arise and change, and to adjust rates in conformity with them. The Commission's proposition is to confer on five men, who have had no such training with respect to any railroad or any section, the power to make rates for every railroad and every section throughout a vast area embracing a railroad mileage of over 180,000 miles. It must be perfectly apparent that it will be a

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physical impossibility for them to use the power with that knowledge of all the infinite details existing throughout this great country which the importance and intricacy of the subject imperatively demand for its proper exercise.

Extremely interesting, in this connection, are some remarks of the Commission itself shortly after its organization. In discussing the impracticability of determining in advance when railroads should and should not charge more for a short than for a long haul, it said, speaking through Judge Cooley :—

"The Commission would, in effect, be required to act as ratemakers for all the roads, and compelled to adjust the tariffs so as to meet the exigencies of business, while at the same time endeavoring to protect the relative rights and equities of rival carriers and rival localities. This in any considerable State would be an enormous task. In a country so large as ours, and with so vast a mileage of roads, it would be superhuman. A construction of the statute which should require its performance would render the due administration of the law altogether impracticable; and that fact tends strongly to show that such a construction could not have been intended." (*In re* L. &. N. Co., 1 Int. Com. Com. Rep. 56.)

The Commission now wishes to assume far greater duties than those it so aptly described as superhuman.

To meet this objection and others, the Commission insists that it does not propose to make rates in general, or in the first instance, but simply when, upon investigation, it finds a rate to be unreasonable, to prescribe a reasonable rate and to enforce the rate so fixed. No limit, however, is proposed, and none can be devised, upon the exercise of such a power; neither can there be any guarantee that the Commission will fully investigate each case. Up to this time, the Commission has had no such power; but several years ago it assumed to exercise it, and started out by fixing, after a most elaborate investigation, a rate on a single commodity between two specified points. A few years later, admittedly without thorough investigation, it materially reduced the rate upon several hundreds of articles from Cincinnati to Atlanta, and reduced that rate to a point slightly below what even the testimony of the only witness examined would have authorized. Somewhat later, it went still further, and reduced the rates on more than two thousand articles from Chicago and Cincinnati to eight cities in four Southern States; affecting the rate from all points North, East, and Northwest to all points in the South. Its course in the past, therefore, is an unerring indication that, if it should get the power it wants, it would exercise it on the broadest scale, and not merely in certain instances after full investigation.

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Of course, the same observations apply to its power to make changes in classifications, and to prescribe facilities, privileges, rules, and regulations. In other words, the Commission will have powers which it can and will exercise in a most sweeping manner; although by reason of the extent of the country, of the countless circumstances affecting rates, and of the constantly changing conditions, it will be a physical impossibility for it to exercise them otherwise than by guesswork.

The one thing seriously needed to improve the rate situation in this country is the enforcement of the law against unjust discrimination by secret concessions, rebates, and other devices. The Commission is charged with the power of enforcing these provisions; and it is made unlawful not only for the railroads to make unjust discriminations, but for shippers to induce or aid in them. Yet, one rarely hears of any attempt to punish the railroads, and never hears of any attempt to punish shippers, although the Commission itself announces that this species of illegality is wide-spread in many sections of the country. So long as rate-cutting is not stopped, large establishments, willing to violate the law, have it in their power to secure from railroads—which, in order to get business, are ready to assist in such violation—better rates than small establishments can get. The result is an unjust discrimination; building up one person and prejudicing another, and at the same time entailing a loss of revenue on the railroad,—all which would be prevented if the Commission would enforce the law, as it is its duty to do. I take it, the Commission would have the cheerful coöperation of the carriers in any practical propositions to strengthen the law so as to facilitate the prevention of these unlawful practices. The passage of a pooling law would, no doubt, aid in putting an end to rate-cutting; and if accompanied with ample power in the Commission over pooling contracts, and over the rates maintained under those contracts, there ought to be no possible objection, even on the part of those who imagine that such contracts, if unrestrained, would lead to unreasonable rates.

To give the Commission the ratemaking power, to declare its orders effective without resort to the courts, and to grant all the rest of its radical demands, will not, either singly or collectively, even tend to prevent rate-cutting. It cannot possibly be more unlawful or less easy to cut rates decreed by the most autocratic commission than it is now to cut the rates published by the carriers as required by law. So that the demands of the Commission, if granted, cannot possibly assist in correcting the only general or serious evil which now exists with respect to interstate rates of transportation. In the matter of inequalities

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or preferences in the published rates of carriers, the present law affords ample opportunity for redress, which the courts will promptly give when the existence of the wrong is established. The correction of these inequalities is a complete protection against unreasonable rates; for thereby any objectionable rates can be undoubtedly brought into line with the general adjustment of rates in this country, which are admitted to be remarkably low.

Therefore the Commission's radical demands will not correct the evil which requires correction; and all other evils are sufficiently guarded against by the Act as it stands. The far-reaching legislation begged for by the Commission is consequently unwarranted by actual conditions. It is unsupported by any of the reasons urged for it, such as the pretext of the danger from pooling, or the mistaken citation of England's example, or the false assumption that Congress ever intended to confer such powers, or the misrepresentation that the courts have deprived the Act of its effect or shorn the Commission of its usefulness. There is thus an utter failure to show any reasons or arguments in favor of such radical innovations. These considerations, coupled with the fact that compliance with such ambitious aims would make the Commission the absolute arbiter and distributor of commercial and industrial prosperity, with almost unlimited powers of detrimental interference with legitimate commercial enterprise in every locality,—now safely regulated by that great corrective, Competition,—will surely condemn the dangerous demands of the Commission, and result in their emphatic refusal.

MILTON H. SMITH.

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ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN WEST AFRICA.

FROM the earliest times Africa has attracted the interest of the historian, whetted the curiosity of the geographer, and challenged the attention of the statesman; yet only, as it long seemed, the more completely to defeat every effort to pierce the impenetrable, though always fascinating, mystery that surrounded this marvellous continent. It seemed everywhere given to man to touch the fringe of things African, but nowhere to get beyond that fringe. Though the very beginnings of history were on the banks of the Nile, yet the source of that river itself remained up to our own day covered with a veil so close as to have passed into a proverb. Though the Pyramids are the oldest known buildings in the world, their very origin and meaning, their plan and purpose, have yet to be explained; and the many successive generations of men who have stripped them of their outer casing and therewith have builded themselves towns and cities, have still left the main fabric untouched, unknown, and uncomprehended.

So has it been with Africa as a whole. Its Red Sea shores were apparently known to the ancient Egyptians two thousand years before the Christian era; its Mediterranean shores, early explored by the untiring Phœnicians, bore such cities as Alexandria, Cyrene, and Carthage; but neither Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, nor Roman has left a trace of ever having penetrated into the great interior of the continent. Nor did those Northern barbarian Vandals, who, in their turn, came and went; neither had any people, up to the beginning of this century, ever taken a hold on internal Africa, saving only those Arabian invaders who in the seventh century swept the Moslem arms across its northern and northeastern borders, merged themselves into the peoples they had subdued, taught them some order, introduced among them some commerce (including the commerce of slaves), firmly established the faith of Islam over broad bands of territory, and set up centres of civilization here and there from the Pillars of Hercules to the great Equatorial lakes. In these centres are found to this day the only organized active forces with which the European invader has to count: outside them is nothing but naked savagery and the most debasing forms of Paganism.

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The interior of Africa has remained as wholly unknown to the modern civilized world as it seems to have been to the ancients. In the fifteenth century, it is true, the Portuguese Prince Henry, "the Navigator," turned his attention to the west coast of Africa, with the resulting discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. Still it was to the coast alone that any attention was given, or that it seemed worth while to give any attention. For the coast furnished gold and slaves, and offered resting-places on the way to those East Indies which were then every seaman's goal. Besides, the coast was so uninviting in itself, both on account of its climate (Africa, be it remarked, is *par excellence* the tropical continent) and the almost entire absence of good harbors and navigable rivers giving easy access to the interior, that the seaman who had once had experience of its difficulties and dangers desired only to come to trade, or to refresh, and to go. Little by little the coast became better known, and at last completely so: but the interior of the continent still remained untouched; and it remained unexplored to our own day. Certainly Bruce, Mungo Park, and others made timid, inadequate, and ineffectual attempts at exploration from time to time; but so little success attended every effort that, up to fifty years ago, the greater part of the interior of Africa was still a blank, and the modern geographer, like Ptolemy, had to mark off millions of square miles with the succinct description "Libya Deserta." Nor was it till Mr. H. M. Stanley began to make public the results of his wonderful expeditions that astonished Europe began to realize that there was any interior to Africa at all; that what had been set down as African desert was in many parts a splendid country teeming with people; and that behind the low-lying and often pestiferous fourteen thousand miles of coast-line so deadly, so inhospitable, and so difficult of access, there lay twelve million square miles of healthy and often splendid upland plateau with a population estimated at a hundred and fifty millions. Here then, at the very gates of Europe, lay a country as large as three Europes, waiting, as it were, to be parcelled out and appropriated, and with a population half as large as that of Europe itself, waiting to be "civilized" and traded with.

The discovery came at the psychological moment. The ambitious states of Europe had long come to the conclusion that England owed all her riches and power to commerce and to colonies, and that if they too could, like her, establish the colonies, the commerce must follow, and therewith the riches and the power which had so long made them look longingly and greedily, yet fearfully, on the envied and hated

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island of the North Sea. Russia indeed had other plans; but Germany, with her poor and industrious people who had so long and so continuously contributed emigrants to the United States, held that the time had come when she should provide colonies of her own, to which such emigrants might be diverted. France, unable seriously to contemplate as an immediate purpose that war of revenge against Germany for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine, of which every Frenchman still dreams and which no Frenchman is ever allowed to forget, felt herself specially invited to the continent which lay so near to her, where she already possessed Algeria, and where she might occupy her people, and please her colonial party by easy and large territorial conquests which would not be disputed by the hated and dreaded Teuton, but only at most by a long-suffering if not effete and incapable England. Finally Belgium—whose capable King Leopold was indeed the first pioneer in the partition—came upon the scene with the largest ambitions, covering the very heart of Africa; and it was at Brussels that the first meeting was called of that conference of European nations, which met to begin and agree upon the partition of the great continent.

This was in September, 1876. The scramble for Africa had begun; and from that time till the Act of the Berlin Conference of February, 1885, which finally laid down the rules of the game, each of the countries interested was engaged in sending out missions, explorers, and expeditions to stake out its claims.

During the last ten years well-nigh the whole interior of Africa has been mapped out, colored, and appropriated—on paper. The measure of claim in each case has varied remarkably, and has even given rise to new kinds of limited sovereignty the nature of which it would have puzzled Grotius and Vattel to define. There is the full sovereignty, including the "high domain" of the publicists, when a state is in actual and complete possession of the territory; there is the more limited sovereignty, known as "suzerainty"; there is the sovereignty yet again more limited, called a "protectorate"; and, finally, there is the purely modern invention of a "sphere of influence." This last is the most shadowy of all, as it neither gives any sovereignty nor embodies nor defines any rights whatever, as between the state to which it is attributed and the territory over which it extends, but only marks out, as between one European state and another, the limits within which each state may establish a measure of sovereignty if it can, and outside which it undertakes to respect any sovereignty the others may succeed in establishing. The sphere of influence is the mere rough, tentative sketch, which may

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fail altogether, but which, if followed out, may become the subject successively of a protectorate, of a suzerainty, and of that full and complete sovereignty which is the finished picture. It is naturally in respect of the various unfinished stages that the disputes and differences have mainly arisen; and the especial danger lies in the fact that, in Africa, there is scarcely a single one of the new pictures that has reached the finished stage.

For our present purpose we may dismiss South Africa, which, as being farthest removed from the tropics, is perhaps the most promising part of the continent, as well as, in many respects, by far the most interesting. We may also dismiss German Southwest Africa, German East Africa, and the Congo Free State.

Here a word of description becomes necessary, in order to convey an idea of the conditions of the restricted, yet still tremendous, problems of West Africa with which we are now concerned. The region in which these problems have arisen is that shoulder of Africa the coast whereof bulges out westwardly into the Atlantic; running, roughly speaking, to the southward and westward from Gibraltar, then southward and eastward, and, finally, eastward along the fifth parallel of north latitude as far as Fernando Po. The whole region may be roughly taken to be included in a semicircle, starting from Tunis on the north, passing by Algiers, Cape Spartel, Cape Blanco, and Cape Verd, and ending at the Cameroons, not far from Fernando Po (which lies up in the very bight or corner of the Gulf of Guinea), and having as its diameter a line running along the tenth meridian of East longitude from Greenwich, which line, starting close to the coast of the Cameroons, runs north for more than thirty-two degrees of latitude, or some two thousand miles, and issues upon the Mediterranean hard by Tunis. In dealing with the matter in hand, it is necessary, as will be seen, to have regard to the whole of this semicircular region, and even so far outside it as to Lake Tchad, lying some five degrees of longitude to the east of the meridian which we have taken for our semi-diameter, and at about one-fourth its length from the Cameroons to Tunis.

Starting now along our semicircle westward from Tunis, we have, first, some eight hundred miles of coast of Tunis and Algeria, French possessions; next, about a thousand miles of the coast of Morocco, taking it to extend to Cape Juby; next, some six hundred miles occupied by Moorish tribes,—enjoying a certain independence, but over which Spain claims some shadowy kind of control,—beginning at its northern end at least at Cape Bojador, and ending at Cape Blanco, which lies

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about half-way round our semicircle. Here France comes in again, and claims, as part of her territory of Senegambia, the coast from Cape Blanco for nigh upon six hundred miles round and beyond Cape Verd, the westernmost point of Africa, lying in latitude 15° N., up to the British possession of the Gambia, which is a mere strip of territory lying on both banks of the river of that name, closed in at its end by French Senegambia. Next British Gambia lies a small and unimportant strip of coast territory belonging to Portugal; and beyond this again French Senegambia returns round the British and Portuguese territories—both of which it thus cuts off from the interior—to the coast-line, which it follows for some two hundred miles up to the frontier of Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone, the second British possession, has a coast-line of over two hundred miles, and runs about as far inland, where, however, like the Gambia, it is cut off from the interior on its northern and northeastern frontiers by French Senegambia, and is closed upon its eastern side by the independent Republic of Liberia, with a coast-line of three hundred miles, ending at Cape Palmas. Here again the French come in along three hundred miles of coast, extending to the Gold Coast and Ashantee, which form the third strip of British territory, and the coast-line whereof is about three hundred and fifty miles. Then follows the German strip of Togoland; next, the French territory of Dahomey; and east of this we come, at Porto Novo, to the western boundary of the fourth stretch of British territory consisting of Lagos and the Niger Protectorate, which together extend over some five hundred miles of coast and end at the frontier of the German Cameroons at Rio del Rey, a little to the north of the island of Fernando Po.

This last is the territory in connection with which the major part and the most recently developed—though not all—of the difficulties with France have arisen; and it is at once the largest and the most important of all the four tracts which England claims on the coast of Guinea. It spreads out like a fan from the coast to the interior. Its frontier, marching with the Cameroons and exactly defined with Germany by an agreement made in November, 1893, runs from Rio del Rey northeastward for seven hundred miles past Yola on the Benue River to the southern shore of Lake Tchad in 14° East longitude. Its northern frontier, agreed upon in general terms with France, but not precisely determined, is the Say-Barruwa line, some thousand miles long, drawn—or rather to be drawn—from Say on the Niger, in latitude 13° North, to Barruwa, in latitude 14° North, on the northwestern shore of Lake Tchad. It is here to be observed that, although the convention with

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France of August 5, 1890, which embodied the agreement upon the Say-Barruwa line, provided that it should be "drawn in such manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto," it also provided that the line itself was to be "determined" by "commissioners to be appointed"; that, for some reason, no such commissioners have in fact been appointed during the period of nearly eight years that has elapsed since the convention was signed; and that, consequently, the line itself, though generally and loosely indicated, is still undetermined, and is, in fact, a matter of disagreement between French and English geographers, the former of whom make it curve to the south, while the latter make it curve to the north, as it approaches the Niger. Nevertheless, there is here an agreement, such as it is; and there is also an even better, because an exact and determined, frontier on the western side of the Lagos and Niger territories running north from Porto Novo up to the ninth parallel of latitude. But between the point, latitude 9° North, longitude 2° 18′ East, where that frontier ends, and Say, in latitude 13° North, where the Say-Barruwa line begins, there is no frontier fixed; and no agreement with France respecting it exists at all.

The claim, indeed, is made on behalf of England that, in order to mark off the English "hinterland" of Nigeria, at the very least the Porto Novo line must be prolonged to the north till it reaches Say, which lies nearly on the same meridian. This claim is fairly in accord with the somewhat lax and licentious, yet generally adopted, views that prevail with regard to "hinterland" in Africa, and is undoubtedly more defensible than any claim in virtue whereof the French can pretend to advance thus far toward the south-flowing Niger, either eastward from Senegambia or northeastward from Dahomey. In the absence of any agreement, however, there remains an undefined gap in the frontier for three hundred miles between the end of the Porto Novo line at the ninth parallel and the town of Say. It is through this gap that the French have steadily and persistently pushed in—mainly, if not entirely, from the northeastern corner of Dahomey—upon the English outposts; occupying town after town, and gradually squeezing the English to the eastward and southward, toward the Niger on the one side, and toward the sea on the other. Thus they have occupied, on the Niger itself, Ilo and Bussa (the latter being three hundred miles below Say, and on the tenth parallel of latitude), Kiama, to the southwest of Bussa, and Nikki, west of Kiama; and quite recently they have sought to occupy Borea, to the south of Nikki, in spite of the actual presence

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there of a British force. All these places are east of the line claimed by England, all of them are places in which treaties had been signed with the native chiefs by the British Niger Company before the French appeared upon the scene, and all of them are in territory over which a British protectorate was, so long ago as in 1887, and again in 1895, proclaimed and notified by the British to the French government without the latter thereupon either making any objection thereto or taking any steps, such as were contemplated in a case of the kind by the thirty-fourth article of the Act of the Berlin Conference of 1885, to "make good any claim of their own." All this indeed the French admit. They admit the hinterland theory in general; they admit the treaties; they do not dispute the protectorate: but they override all with a theory of "effectual occupation," such as they say they alone have carried and are carrying into effect; and so, while the words of amity are spoken and the methods of delay increased in Paris, the Niger Protectorate has seen its territories slowly, but surely, gnawed away, and itself thrust off from and down the lower reaches of the very river whence its name is derived.

A word here as to the Niger itself. It rises at the back of Sierra Leone in latitude 9° North, longitude 11° West, runs northeast past Segu, in latitude 13° North, to Timbuctoo in latitude 17° North, and then makes the great bend which carries it past Say in its long southern course to its many-mouthed delta and the Gulf of Guinea on the coast of British Nigeria. In the territory enclosed by the great northern bend of the river, from the parallel of Segu to that of Timbuctoo and thence to Say, the French claim a supremacy, which has never been disputed. But, on any ground that justifies the French in claiming supremacy in the bend of the middle Niger, England is equally justified in claiming that there should be left to her the lower Niger territory from Say to the sea; and this is what the French cannot be made to understand.

The region in respect of which the dispute has arisen is the great right-angled triangle of country formed by the Niger, from Say to the ninth parallel of latitude, by the ninth parallel itself, and by the line from that parallel to Say along the meridian of the latter town; the length of these lines being respectively some four hundred, two hundred and fifty, and three hundred miles. England claims the triangle as part of her hinterland, and, as such, subject to the authority of the Niger Company; first, by virtue of the general doctrine applied to lands at the back of coast possessions, the identical doctrine upon which France claims her own hinterlands at the back of Senegambia and Dahomey;

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secondly, by virtue of the actual treaty with France in 1890; thirdly, by virtue of numerous treaties made by the Niger Company with the chiefs in the triangle before the French appeared there; and, fourthly, by virtue of the protectorate declared by the British government in 1887 and 1891, notified to France, and not objected to by her. The French, on the other hand, claim the triangle on the ground that they were beforehand with the English in "effectual occupation" there; that they too have made treaties there as good as the English and even better, though subsequent, because made with stronger chiefs; and finally that they are actually there in preponderating strength, at various little stations. And they base their claim, equitably, largely on their right, under the Berlin Act, to a free navigation of the lower Niger, which they fear the English, if left there alone, would deny to them. Such denial has, however, never been made nor threatened nor suggested, and would be as contrary to British policy in the Niger as in the Thames; and the Niger navigation law has long been communicated to the French and, it must be assumed, has been accepted as adequate by them, inasmuch as they have never made the least objection to its provisions.

The matter, it must be remembered, is not a trifling one. Of all the unappropriated internal parts of Africa, the Niger region is held to be probably the most promising, and certainly the most thickly peopled; having, it is computed, seventy inhabitants to the square mile, while the continent in general has but ten, and in some parts but one, to the square mile. Between the River and Lake Tchad lies the great and populous kingdom of Sokoto, whereof the capital of the same name, lying near the Say-Barruwa line, is said to be a great entrepot for trade and centre of trade routes, and whose ruler styles himself "Umoru, King of the Mussulmans of the Soudan." On the other, the western, side of the river, below Say, is Borgu, lying to the east of the line from Porto Novo to Say. These are the countries with which it is expected that the great trade may in course of time arise which alone can make Nigeria prosperous and profitable; and if Nigeria is now to be shut off from them by a French barrier, as the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast are already shut off from the interior adjacent to them, then Nigeria may as well be abandoned altogether.

That the rights of both England and France in these interior regions, where actual and complete possession is not attempted, and where all that is claimed either on one side or the other is the vague protectorate or the shadowy sphere of influence—that these rights are uncertain and undefined, cannot be contested. But, as between England and

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France, it is none the less essential that there should be clearly laid down the limit where one set of rights ends and the other begins. What has been taking place is a haggling over that limit, in which process the pushing of France has at last exhausted the patience of England, who sees herself menaced with being elbowed out of the interior altogether. That she should indefinitely continue to submit to this process, and to acquiesce, as so long she has done, in the steady and ceaseless pushing of the limit farther and farther into the region she claims as her own, could hardly be expected. On the coast-line of Guinea, England has long been firmly established without question, in absolute sovereignty and complete possession of notable territories,—territories which she made great and long-continued efforts and sacrifices to gain and to keep, and in which she was firmly established long before the French were ever heard of in those parts. The first charter to trade to the Senegal and Gambia Rivers was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1588; and the English settlements on the Gambia and the Gold Coast date from 1618. The settlement of Sierra Leone dates from 1787; Lagos and the Niger territories, dating from 1861 and 1884 respectively, being the only recent settlements. The French, on the other hand, though they established a station at Assinee in 1701, were driven from it in three years by the Dutch, and did not return there till 1843, when they reëstablished a languishing station, which they barely maintained, but which, when they started in 1879 on their ambitious West African projects, they found of much use against the English, as they did the kingdom of Dahomey, a still more recent acquisition dating from their defeat of the King of Dahomey in 1893. Even Senegambia, the oldest of the French possessions on the coast, and the chief base of all French operations in these parts, was only finally confirmed to France by the treaties of 1815; St. Louis and Goree, its principal posts, having been then for several years in the hands of the English, who had captured them during the wars with Napoleon, and who at the Peace gave them back, together with other similar captures.

Seeing that England made such early, such continuous, and such successful efforts to acquire and retain territories on the coast, which has one of the worst climates in the world, and which to this day can boast scarcely any trade beyond that in palm-oil, rubber, and nuts, it was manifestly not to be expected that she should or could stand aside when the internal regions behind the coast came, as it were, first into view, and proved to be of fairly good climate and of fairly good prospects for a considerable trade. Whether indeed the prospects of that

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trade are so good as is represented, may still be doubted; and since the major part of the inhabitants are naked savages,—excepting only in those countries where is established the Mussulman power, and therewith the habit of wearing clothes,—no such trade can be expected as might be looked for in a corresponding region in such a country, for instance, as China, with its ancient civilization and well-to-do people.

There are some indications that the possibilities of internal trade have been altogether overestimated. Captain Mockler Ferryman, who, with Sir Claude Macdonald, ascended the Niger and the Benue in 1889, while he gives in his book, "Up the Niger," a gruesome account of the peoples on the coast,—whom he describes as cannibals, slaves, and fetish worshippers of the most loathsome kind,—seems also to be of opinion that the whole trade of the entire region of the interior is scarcely worth having. He says:—

"Modern writers on Central Africa, carried away by their theme, hold forth at length on the marvellous wealth locked up in the 'Dark Continent'—its mines, its forests, its ivory, and its magnificent crops. They proclaim it to be a very Eldorado,—the land whence Solomon obtained his riches—which in future, they tell us, is to yield a wealth second only to that of India. Yet, if we are to take the countries of West-Central Africa lying between the fifth parallel of south latitude and the fifteenth north, and search the writings of the explorers of them, we find little to lead us to believe that any extraordinary wealth exists in those lands. . . . Rubber, gum, gutta-percha, and a few medicinal seeds are the only exports at present known which can increase with the opening up of the interior. It is not probable that a trade in these natural products alone can pay; therefore, when ivory has failed (which it must do, and that at no very distant date), if minerals worth the working be not discovered, or if the low lands near the rivers and the table-lands of the interior be not cultivated, and do not yield forth fruit in abundance, then West-Central Africa from a commercial point of view must prove a failure. . . . As a field for colonization by Europeans, the interior of Africa is altogether out of the question."

Still the trade with the interior cannot but be better than that with the coast alone; and England, who during centuries has fought and toiled for the latter, could not tamely see herself elbowed, by newcomers, out of the former.

The aims of the French colonial party are, in truth, most ambitious and far-reaching. They dream of a French Empire extending over the whole of northern Africa, from the Mediterranean to the Congo, and from Senegambia to the Red Sea; and so high do their fantastic fancies run, that they seriously affect to look to the day when St. Louis on the Senegal, connected with Algeria by railway, shall become the one great entrepot and port for all the sea-borne produce, destined for

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Europe, of South America and the Pacific. These are the unbridled exaggerations of the enthusiasts; but there is solid ground for the belief that even practical statesmen in France have conceived and are even now attempting to carry out, plans scarcely less ambitious,—plans which aim at nothing less than the extension of French dominion from the southwestern limits of Algeria in a direct line of a thousand miles to Cape Blanco, and a similar extension from Senegambia eastward, by Timbuctoo and the northern and eastern shores of Lake Tchad, to join up with the French Congo, a vast region on the northern and western banks of the river bearing that name. The effect of this stupendous movement, were it to be carried out, would be to enclose between French territory and the sea, Morocco, upon which France has long been believed to have designs, and on the other side, to enclose similarly between French territory and the sea, the possessions of all other countries on the Guinea Coast.

The scheme is one well fitted to strike the French imagination; but it could not be carried out, could scarce indeed be attempted, without an intolerable strain upon the resources of France such as could hardly for long be endured. For it is to be remembered that, in all but a few cases, the so-called colonies of France are not profitable colonies, or indeed colonies at all, but only costly and unprofitable chains of military stations. Their plan and purpose is not commercial, but political; their end and object is less gain than glory; and their immediate use and importance lie in this rather than in aught else, viz., that they tend to amuse and satisfy the French people at home, who otherwise might become discontented or might even look too keenly toward that Rhine by which their lost provinces lie, but which it is a condition of the so-called Russian Alliance that they must not at present so much as think about. Nor could it well be different. With a stationary, if not diminishing, population—largely the effect of the Code Napoleon acting upon a thrifty, saving, calculating people—France has no spare sons to send out to form colonies and inhabit them. The Frenchmen in her colonies are not sturdy pioneers who intend to make their home in the country and whose fortunes are bound up with it, but mainly salaried officials and soldiers, together with a few sad, enforced exiles, whose one thought is regret for their dear Paris, and whose one ambition is to return as soon as may be to the unmatched delights of the Boulevard des Capucines. Such trade as there is is due to the artificial fostering of a severely exclusive tariff; and such navigation as exists is carried on by lines of vessels barely kept afloat by extravagant subsidies. Yet, how-

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ever disappointing the balance-sheet of the colony, however palpable its unprofitable character, however costly in men and money its maintenance, the belief is general in France that a great material result has been attained if only the nefarious foreigner and his poisonous merchandise can be kept out,—most especially the particularly poisonous merchandise of the particularly nefarious English. And even if there were no material gain, the moral gain is still believed to be immense, when the tricolor has been planted in some remote swamp lying across the road of those same English, who, but for that glorious flag, would certainly in a short time be making vast fortunes out of the country without so much as an official, a soldier, or a subsidy to help them.

With France, it is the government that comes first into a colony; the colonist and the trader last, if ever. With England, it is precisely the reverse. With her, it is always the trader and the colonist who come first; and when—always without, and generally against, the orders of their government—English individuals or companies have secured a footing in some new land, then, and then only, the government tardily steps in to make their lives and their trading the harder for them, and to reap the fruits of their pioneering labors. But, at any rate, in each of the stages of the colony, there is no exclusion, no barrier nor discriminating tariffs against the foreigner, but that equal freedom and equal treatment for all which is at once the most generous and the surest sign of a consciousness of ability in the English trader to hold his own on equal terms against the world. There is and has been no single instance of English attempt to occupy or to establish influence in any territory lying within or behind French possessions; there has been no attempt on the part of the English to interfere with the course of French ambitions in any part of the great country stretching across Central Africa from Senegambia to the Red Sea, and known as the Soudan: the aggressions and attempts at aggression have, one and all, come from the French.

So, again, there has never been an attempt by the English to exclude French trade from English territories or from territories claimed by England; whereas the French make severe exclusion of English trade the rule of every acre of land they occupy. "Wherever," wrote Lord Salisbury in his despatch of March 30, 1892, "in West Africa, Great Britain has undertaken the task of developing and civilizing the interior, French trade profits equally with that of this country; but the tendency of French arrangements with the natives is to obtain exclusive commercial privileges for French commerce."

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With such a state of mind on the one side and the other, and with such territories in question, it is no wonder that the Commission of Four, established in Paris by the treaty of 1890, should have sat up to now without succeeding in fixing the boundaries between France and England in the Niger regions. It was, however, hardly in the nature of things to be expected, that, while the negotiations were going on, the French military posts should have been gradually advanced toward and into the great triangle of territory which remains in dispute, and that, as the French advanced, the English of the Niger Company should have temporized, protested, submitted, and ultimately receded far within the limits of the territory they held themselves to be entitled to. Yet this is what has happened. The irritation felt at the encroachments of the French has indeed been great and growing; and both Manchester and Liverpool, with whom no British minister can trifle, have now and again spoken out in protest. But the government has continued to preach patience; and patience has been exercised. Nor would there, perhaps, ever have been a stand made had it not been for events in other parts of the world far more morally wounding and far more materially injurious than any that have occurred in West Africa.

In three countries widely removed from each other, France and England have recently come into a conflict which has in each case issued to the advantage of France, and under circumstances only too clearly suggesting not merely unfair and unfriendly treatment, but direct breaches of faith on the part of the French government. The case of Tunis was bad; the case of Siam was worse; but the last and worst case of all was that of Madagascar. As to this, it is only necessary to say that, in 1890, England made the great concession of recognizing a French protectorate over Madagascar on the express condition that England should have guaranteed to her all her treaty rights and immunities arising out of existing conventions with the then government of Madagascar, including most-favored-nation treatment and a maximum rate of Customs duties of 10 per cent; that in 1894 the French sent out a military expedition and took complete possession of the island; and that, besides treating British subjects with great severity, they forthwith proceeded wholly to repudiate the stipulations of 1890, and to levy duties on English commerce of such a nature as practically to exclude that commerce from the country altogether. Lord Salisbury, in a despatch dated August 4, 1896, but only published last December, protested against this action as "an evident violation of the rights which Great Britain has acquired," and as "a proceeding for

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which no countenance can be found in the practice of international law"; while in a further despatch of May 9, 1897, he renewed his protest and declared that "Her Majesty's Government must reserve all the rights and immunities of British subjects which may be affected." But there the matter stood and still stands. Lord Salisbury, having protested and reserved, did no more—not because he apparently held that no more should be done, but (if the suggestion made by Mr. Curzon in a debate on the subject be accepted) because he doubted whether Parliament would support him in case he proceeded to extremities with France. Nevertheless, when Parliament met last February, he reaffirmed the British grievances and repeated his own views thereon.

These incidents have undoubtedly had a considerable share in rendering Englishmen in general less disposed toward a yielding mood with regard to the French encroachments in the Niger region. It is felt that we have yielded too much in too many different directions already, that step, by step, we are being everywhere elbowed off and pushed out, and that it is now absolutely necessary to make a stand. Nor can there be much doubt that such a stand will now be made on the Niger. The man in the street has never quite rid himself either of his old hatred or his old contempt for the French. He believes that the French are a very dangerous people to run away from, that we have already run too far and too often, and that we must now turn and hold fast; while he still further believes that, if Lord Salisbury be, as some pretend, a weak man, Mr. Chamberlain, at all events, is a strong man, who may be followed with confidence; and he remarks that, while the failures in Siam, in Tunis, and in Madagascar were all failures of the Foreign Office, this affair of the Niger concerns the Colonial Office, which has no such failures in its recent record. Under such circumstances the man in the street will be found ready to support any steps that the government may think necessary for the maintenance of the English claims on the Niger, even if such steps should involve a war with France.

A war with France, however, would and must mean, not a war in West Africa only, but also a war in Europe; a war not on the coast of Guinea and the waters of the Niger, but also in the British Channel and the mouth of the Seine,—possibly even in the mouth of the Thames. And, however lightly or even jubilantly the man in the street may face such a prospect, the man out of the street—the man of statecraft and council—cannot but look to it with sorrow and sadness. "Il faut être bon Européen," said Talleyrand; and no good European could regard

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with equanimity the probable consequences of a serious conflict in which the two central nations of Europe might so damage each other as to materially impair if not to break down altogether the barrier which they alone afford against the secular pressure of the outer barbarians. If there be anything in the teachings of history, from the sack of Rome downward, England and France will yet want each other, and Europe will yet want both. A war between them would be a European misfortune and probably the opening of floodgates which even now are straining under the pressure put upon them. Nor would the event be so certain or decisive as it was in the last war, when England had not yet parted with the power—still retained, be it remarked, by the United States—of acting upon her enemy's trade at sea, which she retained until she agreed that the neutral flag should cover the cargo of the belligerent.

These considerations, and others—considerations, for instance, of kindly and neighborly feeling toward the always admirable and delightful, though always exasperating, people of France—must make all but the most thoughtless hope that a way will yet be found out of the difficulty. Nor should this be impossible. England has recently given up much to France; and it is but little that France is now asked to give up in return. The existing French government has perhaps, indeed, desired—may possibly still desire—to postpone a final decision involving concessions, and giving, therefore, a handle to the Opposition, till after the April general elections, which will, if made while it is still in office and in command of all those influences which act so potently in France, confirm it in power for another and longer period than it has yet enjoyed, though it is already the longest-lived administration known in France since 1870. It may, therefore, seek still further to postpone the decision which has already been postponed from month to month and from year to year since 1890. But the danger now lies in delay. Passions are becoming dangerously aroused; and the sense of injustice too long endured is increasing in intensity in England; while any moment may bring the news of an armed conflict on the Niger itself between French and English forces.

The time is fully ripe, therefore, for a settlement; and with frankness, fairness, and a conciliatory disposition, the end of the matter should now be reached without delay, and the serious dangers be disposed of which do now most certainly and most seriously menace the continuance of friendly and even of peaceable relations between the two countries.

THOMAS GIBSON BOWLES.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE AND THE EAST.

THE political situation now existing in Asiatic countries may be fraught with consequences unprecedented in history. The act of Alexander II, by means of which forty-five million human beings were emancipated from serfdom, was undoubtedly far-reaching in its effects; but the questions pressing for solution to-day in the Far East, or, more correctly speaking, our Near West, are of still greater import, both as regards the magnitude of the area affected and the numbers whose welfare is involved.

It is a familiar saying, that "history repeats itself." The statement is, however, only partially true: it is true only as regards certain general features. The political situation of Europe in its bearing upon the Eastern Problem is without a precedent in modern times. The compact between Alexander I of Russia and Napoleon, the partition of Poland, the conquest and absorption of India, the occupation of Africa by mutual consent of the great Powers, and the attitude of these Powers in the recent Turco-Grecian war, were all phases of a movement which is now gradually approaching a climax.

The only approximate parallel to this movement may be found in the history of the Roman Republic at the zenith of its development. Rome was then mistress of the civilized world, whose kings and princes were either her actual subjects or, at least, subservient to her policy, just as Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and some other nations are dependent upon the decree of the great Powers to-day. The Republic ruled the civilized world until three soldier-statesmen became its masters. The first of these to attain power and fame was Crassus; Pompey, greater as a soldier, statesman, and orator, came next; and, last of all, appeared Cæsar, who had gained distinction first as a student, then as an orator, and, when he had attained middle life, as a still greater soldier and statesman. All three aspired to the dictatorship of the destinies of the world through supreme influence in the affairs of the Roman Republic. The last to acquire power was the craftiest of the three; and he succeeded in forming, with the others, what is known as the First Triumvirate. No one of the three was strong enough to grasp the supreme

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dictatorship so long as the other two were united. The tragic death of Crassus, however, left the dominion of the world in the hands of two rulers; and the question of supremacy between these two was at last decided on the field of Pharsala,—the same field on which was fought one of the most important battles of the Turco-Grecian war last year. Pompey was beaten; and Cæsar remained absolute master of the Republic—still so called—until he met his tragic death before the statue of Pompey in the Senate.

A brief and bloody war followed between the patriots, bent on restoring the actual Republic, and the avengers of the fallen Cæsar. The patriots were defeated, and their leaders killed, at the battle of Philippi, where the cause of the Republic received its death-blow; and a second triumvirate was formed by the victors, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius. This triumvirate, also, was soon dissolved by the death of one of its members—Lepidus. Again the civilized world was ruled by the Roman Republic, and the Roman Republic by two men (one now the husband of the other's sister), both ambitious for supreme mastery. By means of that wife and sister, the struggle between them was averted for more than a dozen years; but it came at last, and at Actium Antony became a fugitive to Egypt, as Pompey had been before him, and there, too, like Pompey, he paid the penalty of his ambition with his life. Octavius was now master of the world, as his uncle had been. He assumed the title of Emperor, a title conveying all the attributes of absolute personal government. His rule was long and peaceful; and at his death the term "Cæsar" implied absolutism, just as it does to-day in its modernized form of "Czar" or "Kaiser."

Then, as now, commerce, foreign and domestic, was the ruling cause of dominion. The cities of the Roman Empire were connected with each other and with the capital by public highways,—lines of commerce and communication, which, centring at the Forum at Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and terminated only at the frontiers of the Empire. Mountains were perforated and the broadest and most rapid streams spanned by viaducts. So solid was the construction of these roads that many of them still exist. Throughout the entire Empire posts of communication were established. At distances of from five to six miles along the Roman roads relays were stationed, by means of which communication was easy; enabling detachments to be sent one hundred miles a day. While the primary object was to facilitate marches of the legions, these roads were also utilized for commercial purposes.

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Maritime communication also was thoroughly organized. An artificial port was constructed at Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the capital, from which a favorable breeze would carry a vessel in seven days to the Pillars of Hercules, and in nine or ten days to Egypt. A vast and profitable commerce grew up with Egypt and Asia. Many of the flowers, herbs, and fruits that now grow so abundantly in Europe were introduced at that time from the far-distant East. The cultivation of flax was transferred from Egypt to the Roman provinces, and enriched the whole country; and the use of artificial grasses, originating in Media or the East, became familiar to the farmers of Italy and the provinces. The assured supply of wholesome and plentiful food resulted in an increased number of flocks and herds; while great attention was given to mining and fisheries,—pursuits which furnished employment to thousands, and greatly contributed to the wealth of the Empire.

Many remote countries of the Ancient World were ransacked, to cater to the pomp and refinement of Rome. Every year, at a certain season, a fleet of more than a hundred vessels sailed from a port of Egypt on the Red Sea to take advantage of the periodical monsoons, which enabled them to traverse the ocean in about forty days to Ceylon and the coast of Asia. The fleet usually returned to Egypt during December or January; and as soon as its rich cargo had been unloaded it was transported on the backs of camels to the Nile, and down that river to Alexandria, whence it was shipped to the capital of the Empire. By means of this Oriental traffic, the Roman homes were supplied with silks, precious stones, ornaments, etc.; and the labor and risk of the voyage were rewarded with enormous profits. Such was the commercial influence exerted by a government established by the triumvirates, and controlled by them and their successors.

The Roman Republic—now such in name only—controlled the civilized world; commanding its lines of communication, and its commerce. For hundreds of years, the supremacy of the Cæsars remained unquestioned; and the wealth of the world was poured into Rome, the capital of the Cæsarian Empire. During this period there were kings and princes innumerable; but they all acknowledged the sovereignty of the Cæsar of Rome, and paid tribute to him. Never before or since, until the present century, were commerce and industry, science and art developed to so high a degree as at that time. Moreover, Rome was mistress of the seas; and it is a noteworthy fact that maritime supremacy has usually gone hand in hand with political

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ascendency, as the history of Rome, Holland, Spain, and England will attest.

What is the prospect to-day? The two young Cæsars, one controlling one hundred and twenty-seven millions of his own people, the other supported by the Triple Alliance, together exert a mighty influence over the nations of Europe; and these rulers are practically masters of the situation throughout at least two-thirds of the civilized world. A third nation, the head of which is related by the closest ties with those already mentioned, practically controls another third of the globe,—omitting, of course, in both cases the continent of America. Why may we not look upon these three nations in the light of a third triumvirate? Is the future fraught with harmony or hostility, peace or war? Together these monarchs would be masters of the destinies of the world, commercial and otherwise. The parallel, if not complete, is in many respects strikingly close. It is true that gunpowder and electricity, the general use of steam-power, and other inventions of genius have rendered the methods of warfare entirely different from those of two thousand years ago; but human nature and man's ambition remain the same. The Kaiser of Germany and the Czar of Russia to-day are vastly better equipped to control the destinies of the rest of the world than was the Cæsar of two thousand years ago.

Imposing as was the commerce of that day by ship and caravan, how insignificant does it become when compared with our present systems of transportation and intercommunication! What was the speed of those relays when compared with that of the giants of the rail, or with the rapid communication by means of telegraph and telephone? Our ocean-steamships ignore trade-winds, and bid defiance to those former elements of terror, the tornado and the hurricane. Freighted with human life and the products of the farm, the factory, and the mine, they plough the seas of every zone; travelling with the greatest economy of expenditure, and departing from and arriving at their various destinations with the strictest regularity. One of these leviathans of the deep, guided by electricity and propelled by steam-power, could transport the whole annual tonnage of the ancient flotilla.

At no previous period of the world's history have there been so many men engaged in military and naval preparations as to-day; nor has there ever existed a body of men so well clad, equipped, and armed, so thoroughly schooled, disciplined, and prepared for war. There are now on the continent of Europe nearly four million men whose lives are devoted to military preparations. At least one hundred thousand

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of these are employing all the modern appliances of machinery, steam-power, and electricity in the construction of the latest military implements; ranging from the enormous armor-piercing, high-power cannon which throw a distance of twelve miles a projectile weighing 2,000 pounds, capable of puncturing twenty inches of solid steel, down to the rifle of smallest calibre, throwing a bullet with such energy as to penetrate six feet of solid wood.

Why all this preparation, if not for the dominion of the world and the control of its commerce? What was the object of the famous Triple Alliance if not the control of the political affairs of Europe; and what would be the action or influence of this Alliance, should one of its members become involved in some question of great magnitude? This Alliance was never more powerful than at the present time; for the last Turco-Grecian war has resulted in making Turkey, with her million of hardy troops, a strong ally of Germany and the Kaiser.

It is idle to believe that these vast armies and navies, each of which has cost from one hundred to five hundred million dollars, are to remain permanently inactive. Is it to be supposed (however sincerely we may wish it) that Russia will maintain in idleness twenty-five battleships, thirteen cruisers, twenty-three armored vessels, and two hundred and four smaller craft of war? Or that Great Britain will so maintain sixty-six battleships, one hundred and two cruisers, sixty-seven armored vessels, and two hundred and seventy-eight smaller craft, besides an enormous merchant marine, built with a view to the exigencies of war? Great Britain to-day owns one-half the shipping of the world; and within forty-eight hours a great part of this could be utilized for purposes of war.

There are two ways of influencing a people or a country commercially. One is by methods of mutual intercourse: the other is by the dominion of territory. Influence is exerted to a much greater degree where commercial relations are supported by the absolute political and military control of one country over another. Commercial, military, or political conquests are, however, rarely attempted where the countries or people to be controlled are either impoverished or physically strong. The temptation to avarice and ambition is far greater where the people destined to subjugation are both rich and powerless. The condition of China to-day may serve as a proof of this statement. This vast empire, endowed with greater natural resources than India or Africa and possessing a greater population than either,—yet physically weak and financially bankrupt,—was conquered and placed under

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an enormous indemnity by a nation one-twelfth its size, in a brief war which involved a loss to the victor of but 644 killed.

Here is a tempting field for the ambitious, both in a political and a commercial sense. And this field will be thoroughly explored with one of two results: (1) A combination of the great Powers of Europe, resulting in a division of the Chinese Empire—the strongest seizing the lion's share; or (2) a disagreement—much to be desired—among the Powers as to this division, in which case the Celestial Kingdom will be allowed to work out its own salvation. In the latter event, the Empire, stimulated to greater efforts, may eventually reach a high standard of civilization and development.

So far as the effects of the situation upon the people of Europe are concerned, it may be said that the more the governments can extend their dominion and control, the greater will be their commercial facilities; and these facilities again will result in a greater revenue and an increased demand upon the home markets for goods of every description. But to maintain such influence and power, the statecraft, patriotism, strength, and resources of the nation must at times be taxed to their utmost limit. Great Britain has spent about $500,000,000 upon her present navy; and she is still increasing her service in order to maintain her supremacy. The present Emperor of Germany has for years appealed to his government to add to the naval armament; and recent reports show that $200,000,000 has been granted for this purpose. The little kingdom of Japan, which, from a comparatively insignificant position among the nations, has recently risen to great prominence, has provided for additions to her navy which, when completed, will place it third among the navies of the world.

We are fortunate in being isolated from other countries. We are blessed with a virgin soil and great natural resources. At the same time, however, there are questions of vast importance which will require the attention of our ablest statesmen, in order that the prosperity and enterprise of the country may be preserved, and the comfort and welfare of its millions of toilers guarded. For this reason, it will be necessary to build up our commerce wherever it has declined, so that we may successfully compete in the markets of the world. During the last thirty years our people have spread a steel network over our great Western empire. The hardy soldiers, pioneers, miners, and home-builders have transformed the wild prairies and mountain-wastes of the great West into civilized, prosperous, and progressive communities and States. Yet, while this transformation has been going on, other countries have

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been making progress, which may in time rival that of our own country. Great changes have been made in India, Egypt, South America, Australia, and Africa, as well as in the vast region of Siberia; and we should not be unmindful of these changes, as they may affect our own interests and commercial welfare in the future. The events now transpiring simultaneously in Europe and the Far East are very ominous. The trade of China, if not her existence as an independent nation, is involved. Whether the territorial dismemberment of the Empire is contemplated time alone will determine. As regards the economic phase of the struggle, however, our country cannot be a disinterested spectator. What active form our interest shall take, is a problem which must be solved by our statesmen.

While we view with great interest and some concern the position of the great Powers in their relations to the question to be solved in the Far East, it is impossible to foretell what movements will be made in the near future upon the world's chess-board,—whether there shall be a concert of action, or whether rivalry, jealousy, avarice, and ambition shall involve the principal nations in the most serious war of modern times. As important events are following each other with such rapidity, it cannot be long before we shall be able to judge of the extent to which our own political and commercial interests, and those of our neighbors along the line of the republics of South America, will be affected.

NELSON A. MILES.

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CENTRAL AMERICA: ITS RESOURCES AND COMMERCE.

THE chief reason for the failure of the Central American republics to keep pace with the progress of the rest of the world lies in the ambition and avarice of their political leaders. Misgovernment is the great obstacle to their development and prosperity; and it obstructs, more or less, the advancement of all the other Latin American states. There is no lack of patriotism; but, in some of the countries, the practice of seeking pecuniary profit from the exercise of political power has become almost habitual. The progress in internal improvements, in industry, commerce, education, and wealth, that a nation may make under a liberal, intelligent, and honest government, finds a striking example in Mexico, where the finances have been managed with the strictest integrity since Gen. Diaz has been President. The fact is also illustrated by the lively "spurts" in civilization which have been made by some of the other countries of Latin America where the people have had peace, freedom from excessive taxation, and an assurance that the public moneys were properly expended for the general welfare. The prosperity of Costa Rica to-day indicates what the conditions might be if such blessings were permanent throughout the hemisphere. But a lust for power and riches has possessed the rulers of the Spanish colonies in America ever since they were discovered; and it still exists, in a greater or less degree, in the tropical countries.

Public opinion in the Latin states is tolerant toward official peculation: perhaps this is due to habit. It is too often the case in Central America for a new president, when he first comes into power, to invest in New York, London, or Paris, as soon as possible, a sum sufficient to keep himself and his family in luxury for the rest of their lives. When that is accomplished, his next effort is to provide for his reëlection by the ordinary means known to politicians in those countries, which involve liberal allowances and sinecures for his supporters, the appointment of unnecessary officials, unwarranted liberality in granting contracts and concessions, and the maintenance of an army to preserve order and protect the palace. Though such efforts, when directed by a brave and skilful man, usually prove successful, rivals are apt to spring up;

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and factions and feuds are numerous. Whenever a revolution occurs, it means that some president is endeavoring to perpetuate his authority against someone who desires to succeed him, or that some ambitious statesman is so eager for political promotion that he cannot wait for an election. If let alone, the people never rebel. They are patient, patriotic, loyal, and long-suffering; and, while their partisanship finds expression in fiercer emotions than are often displayed in the political contests of North America, they will submit to almost any kind of government until their indignation is aroused by some unusual act.

This peculiarity of the Central American republics keeps them poor. It prevents the development of their natural resources, the construction of internal improvements, and the establishment of mechanical industries. It frightens capital from making investments, and keeps immigrants away. There is practically no immigration. Money raised by taxation or by the sale of bonds for educational purposes or public works is too often used to pay an army and to buy ammunition for the suppression of a revolution. In one country four loans have been made for one and the same purpose during the last twenty years; and every dollar has been diverted. The roads are neglected, schools and public institutions are unsupported, and citizens who are fortunate enough to have a surplus invest it abroad, because they dare not engage in enterprises that may be interrupted by political disturbances.

GUATEMALA.

The Guatemaltecos, as the people of the peasant caste in the Republic of Guatemala are called, are descendants of the aborigines who occupied the country when the Spaniards invaded it. They are bright, witty, and cheerful; and three hundred and fifty years of oppression have not deprived them of a happy-go-lucky disposition and a love of fun. Of all the native races of America they probably have the highest degree of humor and the most melodious songs. A form of peonage still exists in the Central American countries; and the law requires that a man who owes money must work out the debt if the creditor insists upon it. Even death doth not release the debt; for the obligation rests upon his children until the money is paid. Thus the *haciendados*, or planters, who are of Spanish origin, hold their laborers with as strong a grip as was possible in the days when slavery was lawful.

But the peons are contented, and seldom make an effort to escape from bondage. Their masters live at the capital or in Paris or in New York; occasionally visiting their farms, which are committed to the

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care of overseers. The peons come and go at will. They are of a restless disposition. They are sometimes in the city, sometimes in distant parts of the country, and often for a year or two in the army. But wherever the peon goes, and however long he remains away, the *hacienda* upon which he was born is his home, and the owner is always acknowledged as his master. Occasionally some peon with a brilliant intellect, strong character, and far-reaching ambition breaks through the restrictions that surround him, and acquires wealth, learning, and power.

There is but little independent farming among the common people, although each family has a garden-plot, on which the women raise vegetables for market. There are lying idle in Guatemala millions of acres of excellent soil that might be bought for a song. But it is not customary for the laboring classes to own their homes. They are contented to remain as their fathers and grandfathers were; contributing to the prosperity of the grandees into whose pockets the profits of their labors go. When, twenty years ago, Gen. Barrios established free schools and made education compulsory, the peasants rebelled at the innovation. But Barrios demonstrated the advantages of education by imposing a tax upon every child that did not attend school. If the parents would not pay it, his soldiers seized what little property could be found at their homes; so that they were soon forced to submit. An order requiring the people to wear clothing was resisted with the same stubbornness. Guatemala has a warm climate; and the peons—women as well as men—were accustomed to go almost naked, except on holidays, when they put on their gay national costume. Barrios compelled the men to wear shirts and cotton trousers, and the women, "guipils" and skirts. At first they refused to do so; but the police were ordered to arrest and imprison every man and woman who appeared on the streets in a condition that was inconsistent with modern ideas of propriety. The guipil is a chemise or tunic of white cotton, made like a *poncho*, with an opening large enough to go over the head. The ends are tucked under skirts that are wound tightly around the hips and secured at the waist with a girdle. They are artistically embroidered in bright colors, and make a costume that is gay and picturesque.

The men, who are small and muscular, have dark skins like mulattoes, and bright, intelligent faces. They are naturally gentle, deferential, generous, honest, and obliging, and seldom quarrel except when they happen to drink too much of the native brandy, called *aguardiente*. As a rule, however, they are temperate, industrious, and obe-

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dient. The women are pretty, graceful, and coquettish. They have transparent olive complexions, abundant black hair,—which is worn in neat braids,—delicate features, lustrous black eyes that beam with intelligence and humor, small hands and feet, and slight figures. The women work in the fields with the men; for they have few household duties to detain them, and come to market every morning, bearing upon their heads large baskets filled with vegetables and delicious fruits. The mothers carry their babies in netted slings upon their backs; and the little ones contemplate this wonderful world with as much curiosity and even greater contentment than the children of luxury who lie in cradles of down and lace.

The natives of Guatemala are fond of amusements, music, and dancing, and their songs are gleeful. They have none of the melancholy reticence of their neighbors across the Mexican line, although they are superstitious and religiously inclined.

The middle or mercantile classes consist mostly of foreigners, many of whom have intermarried with Spaniards. The planters, politicians, and professional men are generally of pure Spanish blood and aristocratic lineage, highly educated, of refined manners, attractive personnel, and hospitable disposition, and have luxurious homes. They are intensely patriotic, and exhibit a pride of race and country which cannot be appreciated by the more selfish and less sentimental people of the colder zones. In many respects they resemble the planter aristocracy of our Southern States before the War, whose happiness and prosperity depended upon cotton as those of Guatemala are dependent upon coffee. If the crop is large and prices are high, everybody is rich, and enjoys his money to the utmost: if the crop is small and prices are low, everybody is poor. As a rule, the rich people are improvident, and do not exemplify the thrift, economy, and business sagacity of the European races. In politics they are such partisans, and so eager for the success of their leaders, that a defeat at the ballot-box is too often followed by an appeal to arms. Officials who have once enjoyed power are not apt to surrender it peacefully.

Guatemala is further advanced in modern improvements than any of the other Central American states. This is due largely to the progressive ideas of the late Justo Rufino Barrios, who was alternately dictator and president for twelve years until, in 1886, he was shot from an ambush while leading an army to coerce Salvador into a confederation. Although Barrios would not be considered an ideal magistrate for an enlightened republic; while his policy was despotic, and there was, so to

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speak, only one man in Guatemala as long as he was president; while he failed to observe the conventional distinction between public and private property, and accumulated a fortune of several millions during his presidency,—which he invested in New York and Paris for the benefit of his family,—he had high aspirations for the welfare of his people. Under his administration the country made considerable advance. Until the history of Central America comes to be written years hence, when the mind can reflect calmly and impartially upon his acts and motives, when public benefits can be accurately measured with individual errors without prejudice, the true character of Gen. Barrios will not be understood nor appreciated even by his own people. Ten more years of the progress that Guatemala made under his leadership would have placed her upon a par with several European states.

Since Barrios died, the country has made progress under the impetus he gave to it; but the progress has not been rapid. The public works he planned have been only partially carried out; and some of them have been abandoned. The railway across the Republic, which has been under construction for many years,—and is absolutely necessary to its material development and as a channel for trade to the northern coast,—has of late, grown shorter instead of longer, although enough money has been raised for this single enterprise to provide a transportation system sufficient for the whole country. At present, 90 per cent of the commerce is on the Pacific Coast; and passengers from Guatemala to New Orleans or New York must go by way of the Isthmus of Panama or San Francisco. The mileage of the private railways—which are owned by Mr. C. P. Huntington, of New York, and his associates—has been extended considerably of late years, to furnish outlets for the coffee crop on the Pacific slope of the country. But, until the long-promised public works are completed, the country will not realize the wealth and prosperity to which it is entitled. Most of the revenue goes to the support of the army, which has been required to protect and defend the president in power against his rivals; for that is of the first importance.

The late President Reina Barrios, who was assassinated only a short time ago, was a nephew of the great Barrios, and a type of the best class of Guatemaltecos. He had marked ability, was educated in San Francisco and at a German university, married a young lady from New Orleans, and was credited with a higher degree of integrity than most of his predecessors and with a genuine ambition to promote the development and prosperity of his country. But all these advantages did not

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enable him to overcome the hereditary tendency; and he fell a victim to his love of power. An attempt to prolong his administration beyond the constitutional period provoked a revolution, which he suppressed with great difficulty; and a servant of a merchant who had been executed without process of law found an opportunity for swift and fatal revenge. At the time of this writing, the excitement that attended the episode has not fully subsided: but the lawful successor of the late president has been permitted to assume power; and he is a man of excellent abilities and patriotic motives.

The resources of Guatemala are varied and abundant. Coffee is the chief staple; and the berry is as good as the best the world provides. Corn and beans are the chief food of the people. Sugar, tobacco, and other tropical plants can be raised, to an unlimited extent, on the hot lands along the coast; while wheat and other cereals yield rich harvests in the higher and more temperate districts of the interior. The revocation by the United States of the reciprocity treaties made under the Harrison Administration with several of the Latin-American republics was a serious blow to Guatemala; for her government and people had reason to suppose that we were acting in good faith, and desired a free exchange of natural products with that country. Upon this assumption, large sums of money were invested in the production of sugar, for which the United States furnished the only market. But, without notice, or the observance of the usual diplomatic formalities, the arrangement was revoked by the enactment of the Wilson–Gorman Tariff Law; and the plantations and sugar-mills of Guatemala have since lain idle. While the policy of the United States toward its less populous neighbors has doubtless been inspired by friendly motives, these neighbors have learned, through a somewhat rough experience, that when our interests conflict with theirs we do not consider the consequences.

Guatemala might easily sustain ten times its present population. The soil is rich and easily cultivated; and, unlike the other Central American republics, there is plenty of labor. Some parts of the country are quite thickly populated; but the others are covered with dense forests and a variety of timber, which might be easily made marketable if means of transportation were provided. But, although Guatemala is much further advanced than the rest of Central America, her railway system does not exceed two hundred and fifty miles; there is no internal navigation; and the wagon-roads are in a deplorable condition. The mineral wealth of the country is supposed to be large; but it is only slightly developed. The mines are inaccessible, and, in

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the absence of modern machinery, which at present cannot be conveyed to them, cannot be worked with profit. The government offers generous inducements to immigrants. The land laws are liberal; and efforts have been made from time to time to secure the establishment of colonies and the preëmption of public lands by private settlers. But all the accessible area is at present occupied; and no foreigner can expect to prosper in Guatemala unless he has abundant capital which will enable him to purchase at high prices plantations already developed. If peace could be assured, if railways and wagon-roads could be extended into the interior,—so that the timber regions, the mineral deposits, and the wild agricultural lands could be reached as conveniently as the new portions of our own country,—Guatemala would offer great advantages to the immigrant, and would enjoy a rapid development. But railway communication with the northern coast is absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the country; and political peace is the first requisite.

The most profitable industry is coffee-growing, although it would undoubtedly contribute to the prosperity of the country if the crops were more diversified. There is always a good market for coffee, however; and the Guatemala berry brings the best prices. The volume of the crops in Brazil and Java determines the quotations in London; and the profits of the Central American planter are larger or less accordingly. The best coffee lands lie upon the southern slope of the mountains from eight hundred to twenty-five hundred feet above the sea.

After clearing the ground, young shoots of nine months' growth, about fifteen or eighteen inches high, raised in nurseries, are set in rows eight to ten feet apart; and the quick-growing banana plants are placed between them to shield the delicate trees from the sun. In the lower altitudes it is customary to plant forest trees to furnish a permanent shade. The grove begins to bear when three years old. Three years later the trees reach maturity; and thenceforth for a quarter of a century they will yield full crops annually if properly cultivated. Comparatively little labor is required. The ground must be ploughed, so that a crust of clay will not form upon the surface and carry off the moisture; the weeds must be kept down, because they extract the strength from the soil; and the trees must be pruned each year. But all this labor is not so great as that required in the ordinary peach orchard or orange grove of California.

Each tree at maturity will yield about two pounds of berries. Computing six hundred and fifty trees to the acre, the crop would be thirteen hundred pounds. The cost of cultivation and the expense of deliver-

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ing the crop at the nearest market will average five cents a pound. The export price varies from ten to twenty-five cents per pound, with an average of twenty cents, which, under ordinary circumstances, would leave a profit of at least two hundred dollars per acre. The original cost of a plantation will average twenty-five cents to the tree, so that two hundred dollars to the acre is a most liberal estimate; but the capital is idle for fully four years, until the trees have commenced to bear. In favorable localities, however, the planters reimburse themselves for this outlay by the sale of bananas, which mature in four months after the shoot is placed in the ground; and on the north coast of Central America, near ports visited by American steamers, there is an active demand for bananas throughout the year.

The foreign commerce of Guatemala varies with the volume and the value of coffee. The exports have reached $26,000,000 in silver, and average $15,000,000. The imports vary from $7,000,000 to $10,000,000 in silver, according to the purchasing power of the people. Although the United States is so near, it has but a small share of the commerce of Guatemala. The greater part of the coffee goes to Europe, and is there exchanged for manufactured goods of every variety. The largest item of imports is wearing apparel, mostly cotton fabrics; but nearly every article of merchandise known to the wants of men is mentioned in the invoices.

SALVADOR.

Although the smallest in area of the group of Central American republics, Salvador is by far the richest, the most prosperous, the most enterprising, and the most densely populated. It is about the size of New Jersey, and has 803,130 inhabitants, or an average of 95 to the square mile. Almost every acre is under cultivation. About twenty thousand only of the people are white. They are the landlord class,—rich, proud, and autocratic. They own the land, fill the professions, and fight for the control of the government; while the 880,000 mestizos or mixed-blood Indians follow their fortunes with unquestioning fidelity and with an enthusiasm that is worthy of a better cause. The resources of the country are fully developed. The industrial arts are further advanced than in any other of the Central American countries; and the commerce *per capita* exceeds that of every European country except England. The people are more energetic and industrious than their neighbors; they have a greater degree of ingenuity; and the density of the population permits a cohesion in political as well as social and in-

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dustrial affairs that is not found in more sparsely settled communities. The rich live in luxury, and spend their money freely. They are highly educated, accomplished in the polite arts, and fond of foreign travel and social enjoyment. The peons live in a primitive manner. They are uneducated, and lack most of the comforts of civilization; but they are devoted to their employers and to the interests of the Catholic Church. The percentage of illiteracy in Salvador is greater than in any other part of America. According to the latest reports only 3 per cent of the population attend school. Although there is a free-school and compulsory-education law upon the statute-books, the only privileges of education are offered by the priests, who seem to be indifferent to everything except the spiritual welfare of their parishes.

There is probably more politics in Salvador in proportion to the population than in any other country in the world; and while it appears in the geographies as a republic, it is really an absolute monarchy, ruled by a small group of politicians who maintain their power by military force and are overthrown as often as the opposition can form and carry out a conspiracy. There has not been a "constitutional" president in Salvador for many years. The presidents have always been *pronunciamentos;* that is, they have come into power by self-proclamation rather than through an election by the people according to law. This is so common that the people expect nothing else. I happened to land at La Libertad shortly after President Cleveland had been inaugurated, and was much surprised when the Governor asked me whether he was a constitutional or a *pronunciamento* president.

The constitution of Salvador is a model document, although it is practically ignored. It provides that the President shall be elected for four years, the Senate for three years, and the House of Deputies for one year,—in each case by a direct vote of the people. There is a senator for every thirty thousand of the people, and a deputy for every fifteen thousand. Only property owners are eligible to office; none but taxpayers have the right to vote; and every citizen must show receipts for the payment of his taxes when he offers his ballot at the polls. Bankrupts are disfranchised, as are also persons engaged in domestic service, and those without stated occupations. Those who owe money to the government, those who have accepted pay or reward for any service to a foreign government, and those who have been convicted of felony are deprived of the right of suffrage. Unmarried men must own property and be able to read and write before they are recognized as citizens. But these admirable provisions are purely theoretical; and

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there has not been a free election in Salvador during the present generation. The President is generally a soldier; and the commander-in-chief of the army usually steps into that office when a vacancy occurs. There is a law prohibiting the conscription of soldiers; but it has never deterred the government from raising as many troops as were required. A story is told of a recruiting officer who sent a detachment of recruits to headquarters with a note which read: "I forward herewith one hundred volunteers. Please return immediately the ropes with which they are tied."

The Congress of Salvador on December 2, 1822, passed an act annexing that country to the United States, and calling for the appointment of commissioners to visit Washington advocating its incorporation in the great republic. Before the commissioners could leave the country, however, the other Central American states invited Salvador to join a confederacy; and the resolution of annexation was never officially presented to the United States Government. Personal jealousies and conflicting ambitions did not permit that confederacy to endure; and, although the advantages of consolidation under a central government have been admitted from the beginning, the amalgamation of the Central American republics has been found impossible, chiefly because of the superior strength of Guatemala, whose population equals, if it does not exceed, all the rest combined. The proposition has provoked several wars, with an enormous cost in lives and money; and it does not seem likely to be adopted until the arrival of that political millennium when all ambitious men shall sink their selfish aspirations and do unto others as they would others should do unto them.

Two years ago the three republics of Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, joined in a confederation called The Greater Republic of Central America, which has endured until now, but is not likely to continue much longer. The chief motive of the alliance was mutual protection against the aggressive policy of Guatemala, under the late President Barrios, who began to show signs of imitating his greater uncle in an attempt to coerce a union of all the republics. Other objects and interests were involved, of which it is not necessary to speak, except perhaps by way of allusion to a suspicion that Nicaragua desired to use the amalgamation as an excuse to decline to extend the concession to the Nicaragua Canal Company. That concession continues until 1899, with the privilege of an extension for a hundred years; and it had been expected that when the time for renewal came, the government of Nicaragua would explain that the assent of its allies was nec-

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essary. But the United States Government checked that move in advance. When permission was asked for the Walker Commission to make a new survey, the President of Nicaragua replied that the question would be submitted to the Diet of The Greater Republic of Central America; whereupon he was promptly informed that the Government of the United States firmly held the opinion that the Diet of Central America had nothing whatever to do with it. This unique alliance has no precedent. The three states named, by uniform treaties with each other, committed the conduct of their foreign affairs to a Diet of nine delegates, three to be chosen each year by the legislature of each state, to sit permanently by turns at their respective capitals. Each republic preserved its independence, so far as internal affairs were concerned. The United States has refused to recognize the existence of The Greater Republic of Central America; although it has received the minister accredited by the Diet as the representative of the individual states.

History is made rapidly in the Latin-American countries; and the handbooks need frequent revision. The Greater Republic of Central America is regarded among diplomatists as a transitory affair; and its existence may be terminated before these lines appear in print. On the other hand, it may continue indefinitely. There is considerable irritation just now between the members of the organization, which may result in a dissolution.

The products of Salvador are among the most profitable of the world. The soil is rich, deep, and easily cultivated. The chief staples are coffee, sugar, indigo, tobacco, and balsam, with several by-products which obtain high prices in foreign markets. The exports are very large. In 1895 they reached the sum of $13,847,625 in silver, of which the greater part came to the United States. The imports usually average $2,000,000, and comprise cotton goods, silks, woollens, boots, shoes, wearing apparel, wines, fancy food-products, hardware, railway supplies and other manufactures of iron, furniture, jewelry and other articles required by the luxurious tastes of the white inhabitants.

Nature was neglectful of Salvador in furnishing facilities for commerce; for, although the little republic stretches like a ribbon along the shores of the Pacific, there is not a harbor upon its coast. Vessels have to anchor outside the tremendous surf in deep water without protection from the weather; and when the barometer indicates a storm they are compelled to hoist their anchors and put out to sea. Sometimes the regular steamers are unable to stop at the ports of the country on their voyages up and down, because of the heavy seas. On such

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occasions they land their passengers and freight at the nearest port of safety to be transshipped as soon as circumstances will allow. All freight and passengers arriving at and leaving Salvador are transferred between the shore and the ships by lighters, which are moored to iron piers that extend beyond the surf. Passengers are hoisted in iron cages; cattle, by ropes attached to their horns; and dead freight, in enormous bags made of netted ropes. Horses are lifted and lowered with greater care by means of a strong harness of wide leather straps. The process is entertaining to bystanders; but it is not congenial to the timid and nervous passengers, who sometimes have hysterics or faint from fright. It is asserted, however, that no one has ever been injured in the course of this novel method of embarkation.

The mining industry has been carried on in Salvador with profit ever since the conquest of the country; and, although there have never been any rich strikes, some of the mines have paid dividends for centuries. Silver, gold, iron, copper, and quicksilver are found in abundance; and the stone-quarries are the best in Central America. There are several short railways connecting the coffee districts with the sea. The highways are better than those of the neighboring countries; every town and settlement is connected by telegraph; and there are telephones in all the offices, counting-houses, and principal residences.

One great drawback to the prosperity and contentment of Salvador is the frequency of destructive earthquakes. The city of San Salvador, which is the seat of government, has been repeatedly destroyed; and nearly every town has suffered more or less from subterranean convulsions. It is, therefore, impossible to make any architectural display. The houses are never more than one story in height, with massive walls, roofs of tiles that rest upon heavy rafters, and ceilings of cotton cloth. The latter are concealed by paper or fresco painting. But people can get used to nearly everything; and the Salvadoreans are so accustomed to a shaking up that, when a city is destroyed, the inhabitants at once begin cheerfully to clear away the rubbish and rebuild.

There is a remarkable volcano, called Izalco, not far from the capital, which suddenly burst out in 1770, and ever since, at intervals of seven minutes, from year's end to year's end, has spouted vast quantities of fire, lava, and ashes, which fall in a shower, enwrapping the mountain for a thousand feet below the summit with a blanket of fire. Izalco is called "El Faro de Salvador" (the lighthouse of Salvador); and, as far as the mountain can be seen, the vessels on the coast need no other beacon.

WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS.

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THE ECONOMICS OF GENIUS.

In the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," for May, 1897, Prof. C. H. Cooley, of the University of Michigan, works out an able and successful refutation of a prevalent theory—of which the typical exponent is Sir Francis Galton—concerning the distribution and emergence of genius in human affairs. Theory is perhaps too strong a name for what is really the statement of a common empirical assumption; but as Galton supports his view of the matter by a certain process of statistics, it may fitly be allowed the status of a scientific contention. Briefly, this theory is, that although conditions count for something, genius in general is sure to work its way to the front; that fame, or the consensus of educated opinion, is a sufficiently sure test of genius; and that a prevailing preponderance of genius *per capita* in any society is to be taken as proving *pro tanto* a superiority in the race. These positions Mr. Cooley examines, in his essay on "Genius, Fame and the Comparison of Races," with great candor and acumen; exposing their collective unsoundness, in my judgment, with convincing clearness.

So far as my reading goes, Mr. Cooley is entitled to claim that, while his position is not new,[1] no one has so fully maintained it in this particular connection; although the research of M. de Candolle in his "Histoire des Sciences et des Savants" handles the general problem perhaps more comprehensively. It is with some diffidence, therefore, that I venture to suggest that the argument may be carried further, not only as against Galton, but as against more circumspect attacks from Galton's point of view. The practical importance of the question, however, may excuse an attempt—made in entire sympathy with Mr. Cooley—thus to develop the discussion.

What Mr. Cooley has shown, as against the optimistic assumption that genius will always work its way to the front, is that, in view of the relatively very large number of cases in which admitted genius is found to have had distinctly favoring conditions, and of the number in which

[1] See, for instance, the discussion in Prof. William James's essay on "Great Men, Great Thoughts and the Environment," reprinted in his recent volume, "The Will to Believe."

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it could not conceivably have developed without either special cherishing or special stimulus, we are bound to conclude that much genius normally runs to waste,—fame giving no account of it,—and that race has practically nothing to do with the explanation. It is true that Galton has in a measure safeguarded his theory by the question-begging definition of genius[1] as "those qualities of intellect and disposition which *urge* and *qualify* a man to perform acts that lead to reputation. . . . I mean a nature which, when left to itself, *will*, urged by an inherent stimulus, climb the path that leads to eminence, *and has strength to reach the summit*." As he justly observes, "it is almost a contradiction in terms, to doubt that such men will generally become eminent." A man who "will climb" and "has strength to reach the summit" seems pretty sure to get there; and if such men only are to be credited with the highest "natural ability," why then those who do not reach the summit are defined as deficient.

But the rest of the exposition shows that Galton's doctrine must be susceptible of a more courageous definition. He recognizes as geniuses a number of celebrities of the past who would be generally so classed without dispute; and he implies that these would under any circumstances have succeeded. Noting, too, that "culture is far more widely spread in America than with us [in England], and the education of their middle and lower classes far more advanced," without producing a proportionate amount of first-class intellectual work, he argues that, "if the hindrances to the rise of genius were removed from English society as completely as they have been removed from that of America, we should not become materially richer in highly eminent men." The hindrances here assumed are, by implication, those set up by lack of elementary schooling and of facilities for acquiring ordinary culture. But, if the argument holds good to that extent, it should follow that any other social hindrance to the development of genius is equally ineffective, and that society at all times gets the benefit of practically all the genius there is.

The disproof of this opinion, as put by Mr. Cooley, may be condensed in two lines of statement. First, on an examination of the list of names classed as preëminent in European literature in Prof. Nichol's

[1] In the current edition of "Hereditary Genius" (1892, p. 33) Galton uses the term "natural ability," instead of "genius," in this connection; but the use of "genius," which is so much more convenient, does not in any way pervert his argument. Reputation he defines as "the opinion of contemporaries, revised by posterity." This will do equally well for fame.

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synoptical "Tables,"—a manual compiled for strictly historical purposes,—it is found that out of seventy-one specified in a period of six hundred years (1265-1865), only two are those of sons of poor men; while forty-five may be classed as born in the upper or upper-middle class, and twenty-four in the lower-middle. Allowing some readjustment of the latter two classifications, the fact remains that two only of the seventy-one men of genius in question were sons of poor men; to wit, Bunyan and Burns.[1] Now, the parents of Bunyan, though very poor, were at the then unusual pains to have him taught reading and writing; so that he was thus put on the same average level of intellectual opportunity with the lower-middle class of his day. In the case of Burns, again, though boys of his class in Scotland were often taught reading and writing, we find special conditions set up by the uncommon devotion of the father to the education of his children.

I have compared Mr. Cooley's list of seventy-one celebrities with Prof. Nichol's "Tables," and noted its omissions. He has dealt with the great majority of the most famous writers; but, in addition to his list, the following thirty-nine names, are, by analogy, entitled to be included:—Bayle, Beaumont, Berkeley, Björnson, Bolingbroke, Buffon, Butler, Calvin, Chateaubriand, Comines, Diderot, Emerson, Flaubert, Fletcher, Franklin, Hawthorne, Herder, Herrick, Hood, Ibsen, Joubert, Lamb, Le Sage, Marmontel, Marvell, Meredith, More, Poe, Sachs, Schopenhauer, Smollett, Sterne, Jeremy Taylor, De Tocqueville, Turgéneff, Vauvenargues, Villon, Webster, and Wieland. Not a single name in the list, however, can fairly be added to the category of poor men's sons; nor can I find in all the "Tables" a single literary man of eminence who made his way from unschooled poverty by force of genius.

Thus far, then, it is ascertained that the only two (or three) sons of poor men, who, out of one hundred and ten celebrities during six centuries, attained the highest degree of fame in European literature, really had advantages quite abnormal in their class. Yet we are implicitly asked to believe that, had the cultural advantages been the same for all classes, the division which is broadly marked as "poor," and which has at all times been twice or thrice as numerous as the remainder, would

[1] Luther might perhaps be taken from the category of the lower-middle class, in which Mr. Cooley places him, and included in that of the poor. But his parents, like those of Bunyan and Burns, were able to send him to school, and he had his further education gratis; so that, in any view, his case strongly supports the principle contended for.

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have yielded no larger proportion of eminent intellectual achievement than it has done. A proposition so unreasonable can have been advanced only through lack of due reflection. In order to justify it, it would be necessary to show, by critical tests, that the composite masses classed as "poor" are actually deficient, number for number, in congenital brain-power, as compared with those born in better circumstances; and that, say, a given million of poor children, educated in the same conditions with a given million of the upper and middle classes, would yield less than one-hundredth part of the number of cases of first-rate literary ability supplied by the latter. No such evidence exists. The assumption under notice is an uncritical, empirical inference from statistics, the very nature of which suggests another explanation.

The strongest argument for any part of the Galtonian view seems to be that based on the relative infrequency of ostensible genius in the population of the United States as compared with that of England, where the elementary schooling is still less complete, and was for a long time much more scanty. It is at this point that the argument from the presence or absence of such conditions in the case of British men of letters must be followed up by an examination of the conditions of intellectual success in a community where the poorer masses are secured a measure of schooling, and where mere class prejudice puts little or no hindrance in the way of a poor youth's reaching intellectual eminence.

Galton argues, by implication, that if genius be socially suppressible by adverse conditions, and if favorable conditions be capable of developing a larger proportion of genius, the population of the United States ought to yield more great writers, thinkers, poets, artists, and men of science than the British. At the first glance, this assumption is plausible; especially when we have been arguing that the illiteracy of the mass of the English population in past ages is the explanation of there being only two poor men's sons among the literary men of genius of six centuries. But it is only at a first glance that the plausibility subsists. A little reflection makes it clear that the emergence of high literary capacity is the outcome of *the totality of intellectual and economic conditions*, and that Galton has given no thought to this totality, which varies greatly from age to age, and which differs widely as between England and the United States. Let us first note a few of the differences in the latter case.

(1) To this day, England has a much larger leisured class, in the sense of a class living on inherited incomes, than the United States. This class has, in the past hundred and fifty years, supplied the following

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writers:—Bentham, Browning, Buckle, Byron, Cowper, Darwin, Disraeli, Finlay, Fitzgerald, the author of "Supernatural Religion," Freeman, Francis Galton, Gibbon, Hallam, P. G. Hamerton, Hamilton, Hume, Keats, Kinglake, Landor, Lecky, Cornewall Lewis, Long, Lytton, Mitford, William Morris, Napier, Palgrave, De Quincey, Ruskin, Senior, Shelley, Stanhope, Swinburne, Symonds, Tennyson (also pensioned), Thackeray (lost income before thirty), Tylor, and Wordsworth. In our own day this class appears to yield a decreasing supply of eminent men—a fact to be dealt with later.

(2) Until quite recently, there was in England a much larger provision for intellectual life than in the United States, in the way of university and other endowments and ecclesiastical semi-sinecures. To such provision may be attributed much of the output of such writers as Austin, Bain, Cairnes, Clifford, Colenso, Gardiner, Gray, T. H. Green, Huxley, Jevons, Maine, Malthus, Mansel, Merivale, Milman, Newman, Owen, Pater, Pattison, Reid, Robertson, Thorold Rogers, Sayce, Seeley, Sidgwick, Stanley, Stubbs, Thirlwall, Warton, Whewell, and others. Now that American university endowments are multiplying, the competent output of serious treatises is seen to be increasing much more rapidly in the United States than in England.

(3) Public appointments which are (*a*) semi-sinecures, or (*b*) so well salaried as to permit of the speedy accumulation of a fortune, or (*c*) so easy as to permit of a great deal of leisure, have always been far more numerous in England than in the States. To the help of such appointments may be attributed much of the production of the following writers:—Matthew Arnold, Hill Burton, Charles Lamb, Macaulay, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Patmore, Scott (whose sheriffalty was an easy post), and Trollope.

(4) Certain business positions, a generation or more ago, if not to-day, permitted a much larger amount of leisure in England than was usually possible in similar positions in the United States. In such positions were: Bagehot (banker), Grote (banker), Lubbock (banker), Hugh Miller (well-schooled quarryman, afterward bank accountant), Ricardo (stockbroker), and Samuel Sharp (banker).

The foregoing heads have reference to the superior directly protective conditions in England. But with these there have concurred certain favorable conditions which may be termed indirectly protective, either absolutely or relatively to the conditions in the States. Such have been:

(5) The presence, in the past, of what may be described as an old

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and relatively rich literary soil and a literary atmosphere. These were jointly supplied by the leisured, the scholarly, and the educated official classes, all built up on old protective foundations. Among the English idle class in particular, despite much frivolity, the conditions of political life for two hundred years have tended to stimulate certain kinds of study. The state clergy, too, by reason of the secure character of the incomes of the better paid and of the social status accorded them for over a century back, have, till recently, been more liberally educated than those of most of the sects in America. There has thus been generated all round an atmosphere much more favorable to specialized culture than that which prevailed in the greater part of the United States till twenty or thirty years ago, when Galton first wrote, and this despite the greater diffusion in the States of elementary education.

(6) Partly by reason of the conditions just specified, American writers were, for a long time, handicapped, as compared with English. Not only did a certain prestige attach, for competent American readers, to English work, but the law as to copyright permitted, till recently, the sale of reprinted English books at prices which often left nothing for the author, and with which native writers could not possibly compete. The United States, indeed, may be said to have protected every native activity that incurred foreign competition, save literature. In consequence, Americans who sought to live by the higher or more laborious sorts of literature had an almost hopeless struggle before them. Poe's life was one of constant, and at times desperate, hardship, and would have been so even if he had been a teetotaller. Hawthorne could hardly have subsisted, but for his political appointments,—appointments which, since his time, are more and more seldom given to men who, like him, can render their party little political service. Emerson's adoption of serious literature as a vocation was the result of his being left, through change of religious opinion, unfitted for any other income-earning pursuit. Lowell had private means apart from his professorship. Longfellow had a good unearned income. Whitman lived as a poor man all his life, and finally had to be supported by donations. On Galton's theory of genius, these were all, or nearly all, the men of high potential literary genius in the States during fifty years. Reason would seem to force us to the conclusion that, on the contrary, there were among the mass of the population at least some hundreds of brains which, with due fostering and opportunity, could have produced first-class intellectual work, whether in the way of *belles lettres*, or science, or philosophy, or historical research.

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Galton himself has affirmed that such commanders as Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal, Cæsar, Cromwell, Marlborough, the Princes of Nassau, Wellington, and Napoleon "would have distinguished themselves under any circumstances." While noting the difficulty of conceiving of Scipio, Marlborough, and Wellington distinguishing themselves as thinkers or writers, we may fairly take this proposition to mean that the men named could have succeeded greatly either as politicians or as men of business in a non-military society. If then that be conceivable, it is equally arguable that men who have succeeded greatly in politics or business in a non-military society might have succeeded no less in the intellectual life had their circumstances been sufficiently favorable to that vocation.

The most pressing necessity for most men being the earning of a livelihood, it stands to reason that some men with the capacity for great things in thought or expression, finding it nearly impossible to earn a fair income by such activity, will turn from that path to one of those where earning is incomparably easier. In many cases, men are forced so to choose by the need to support those dear to or dependent upon them: in other cases, they may rationally so choose for their own sakes.

On Galton's principle, the much larger number of culture-specialists in Germany than in England is a proof of a proportionally greater capacity for such things in the German people. A more considerate induction will show that it is merely the special provision made for such activities by the German university system, concurrently with the contrary influence of the commercial development long ago imposed on England by her natural resources and her political system, that sets up the difference.

Mr. Cooley has well shown, further, the breakdown of the Galtonian principle when applied to such a case as the rise, florescence, and fall of the art of painting in Italy between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the theory of special national faculties, that process is inexplicable. On the theory of the potency of economic and social conditions, it is perfectly intelligible.

As with nations, so with classes. The researches of M. de Candolle have shown that the proportion of successful men of science drawn from the working-class has varied, as between France and other countries, in a way that can be explained only by special evocative influences. Studying the lists of the members and foreign associates of the French Academy of Sciences between 1666 and 1870, he finds that out of ninety

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of the ninety-two foreign associates whose careers he can trace, six only, or 7 per cent, belong to the working-class; thirty-seven, or 41 per cent, belonging to rich or aristocratic families, and forty-seven, or 52 per cent, to the middle class. Making up a list of sixty first-rate French *savants* of the same period, forty of whom had been associates of both the French Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London, he finds that, of this number, fourteen, or 23 per cent, belonged to the multitude, twenty-one, or 35 per cent, to the rich or noble class, and twenty-five, or 42 per cent, to the middle class. In the list of forty eminent Frenchmen honored at London and Berlin, he has traced thirty-six careers; and of these no fewer than nine, or 25 per cent, spring from the working-class.

M. de Candolle does not attempt to explain the difference thus indicated between France and other countries; but, in view of what has gone before, we may provisionally do so by attributing it to the special educative machinery set up in France in the last century by the Jesuit schools,[1] and, since the Revolution, by the republican and Napoleonic provision of a similar kind. When all is said, however, the researches of M. de Candolle yield the outstanding result that, of all social grades, the numerically small upper class has in the past yielded the largest proportion of eminent men of science, from the days when, in Britain, Napier and Bacon, Newton and Boyle were contemporaries till at least the last generation; the middle class yielding proportionally fewer, and the poor class by far the least of all. And as the principle of heredity entirely fails to explain the facts,[2] we are driven back once more to the conclusion that potential genius is probably about as frequent in one class as in another, and that it emerges in the ratio of its total opportunities.

That view, it may be pointed out, is in full harmony with the summing-up of M. de Candolle, who states the conditions which he finally

[1] M. de Candolle notes that while the Catholic Church has produced no great naturalists, and few of any grade, she can claim so large a number of astronomers, physicists, and mathematicians, that "one would say the Church has wished to repel the reproach made against her on the score of Galileo, by cultivating precisely his sciences."

[2] Galton admits ("Hereditary Genius," p. 213) that "Newton's ancestry appears to have been in no way remarkable for intellectual ability." Boyle is the only case of scientific genius in *his* numerous stock. The fact that Napier's father was Master of the Scottish Mint at sixteen, when it is alleged his son was born, proves only court favor. And Galton freely admits that "the fathers of the ablest men in science have frequently been unscientific" (p. 190).

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finds to be favorable to the emergence of high *scientific* capacity thus:—

"1. A considerable proportion of persons belonging to the rich or well-to-do classes of the population, relatively to those who are obliged to work constantly for their living, especially by hand labor.

2. An important proportion, among the rich or well-to-do classes, of persons content with their incomes, having a fortune easy to administer, and consequently content to occupy themselves with intellectual matters which 'do not pay.'

3. An old intellectual culture, directed for several generations back toward real things and true ideas.

4. Immigration of cultured foreign families, with a taste for non-lucrative intellectual tasks.

5. The existence of a number of families with traditions favorable to the sciences and to intellectual occupations of all kinds.

6. Primary and, above all, secondary and superior education, well organized, independent of political and religious parties, tending to stimulate research and to encourage young men and specialists devoted to science.

7. Abundant and well-organized material means for scientific pursuits (libraries, observatories, laboratories, collections).

8. A public interested in things real and true rather than in things imaginary or fictitious.

9. The liberty to announce and publish every opinion, at least on scientific subjects, without suffering inconveniences of any gravity.

10. A public opinion favorable to the sciences and to those who cultivate them.

11. Liberty to follow any profession, to avoid any, to travel, to avoid all personal service other than what is voluntarily undertaken.

12. A religion laying little stress on the principle of authority.

13. A clergy friendly to instruction for its own members and for the public.

14. A clergy not restricted to celibacy.

15. The habitual use of one of the three principal languages, English, German, or French. A well-diffused knowledge of these languages in the educated class.

16. A small independent state or union of small independent states.

17. Geographical position in a temperate or northerly climate.

18. Nearness of civilized countries."

Comprehensive as is this estimate, it is perhaps too specially directed to the case of Switzerland, that being the country where, as M. de Candolle's statistics amply prove, scientific capacity has been developed in the largest proportion relatively to population. But any additions made to his explanation would leave its essentials untouched; and it would need no great readjustment to make it cover the cases of literary, philosophic, and artistic ability. The principal addenda which suggest themselves to me are:—

(*a*) That the special cultivation of the sciences in Switzerland within the past century-and-a-half is, in a measure, due to the conditions left by the old Calvinistic *régime*, which there deliberately crushed all the imaginative arts, as it did in Scotland. Intellectual curiosity played where it could.

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(*b*) That the lack of important philosophers in Switzerland, at a time when such were arising in Britain, France, and Germany, was a result of the strong hold of the orthodox tradition even at a time when men were freely studying the physical sciences. Philosophy in the other countries was developed by the stimulus of scepticism.

(*c*) That smallness of a state is not essential to the abundant development of either science, art, or literature. It was not the smallness of Athens, compared with, say, Rome and Egypt, that determined Attic development. What *is* important is abundance of culture-contacts, which certainly have abounded in the case of Switzerland, in touch at once with France, Germany, and Italy. Holland, again, is a small state; but it has latterly done proportionally less than France in the sciences, the arts, and in fine literature.

(*d*) Relative *lack of opportunity* for commercial expansion, *i.e.*, inducement to seek wealth rather than knowledge, is an important factor in the intellectual differentiation of, say, Switzerland and England. In Newton's day, England was scientifically far ahead of Switzerland. The later enormous expansion of English industry, through abundant coal and iron, made England preëminently a commercial country, where large incomes were the ideal for the middle and upper classes. The narrower industrial conditions in Switzerland[1] counted for more than mere family tradition in maintaining plain living and disinterested study. The conditions in Scotland last century closely resembled those of Switzerland; but commercial development has modified culture-history in Scotland as in England.

Taking these considerations with those adduced by Mr. Cooley and M. de Candolle, we get a pretty general view of the conditions of emergence for some of the most important forms of abnormal intellectual ability, and a pretty general refutation of Galton's teaching.

There remains, however, the criterion of individual cases, as against Galton's assumption that genius is a self-securing force. Mr. Cooley has pointed to two,—Darwin and Thackeray. In the former, there was clearly needed the condition of a private income to permit of due leisure, and, further, the strictest economy of strength. In the latter, it seems to have needed the condition of pecuniary necessity to spur the artistic faculty into strenuous play. In all probability, we should have had

[1] About 1790, the Swiss population was 1,700,000; in 1836 it was 2,177,420; and in 1888, it had only increased to 2,933,334. This is a much slower rate of increase than that in Scotland, where in 1801, the population was 1,608,420, and in 1891, had increased to 4,025,647.

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few or none of Thackeray's novels, had his private fortune remained intact. Then in the case of Thackeray we have, in terms of Galton's formulas, capacity without zeal, and in the case of Darwin, zeal without due physical strength. Darwin could never have done his work without his inherited means; and as a poor man's son he would certainly have remained obscure.

At this rate, then, we should have to strike off the list of geniuses an indefinite number of those who realize for us our notion of the species. Above all, we should be compelled to strike off the name of Shakespeare. Few who have closely studied the life of the latter, the typical man of genius, will dispute the proposition that, had he been able to make a good livelihood in his father's business, he would never have turned actor or playwright. He happened to combine, with a temperament and literary faculty of extraordinary plasticity, a thoroughly business-like attitude toward the main chance; securing his gains and his dues with scrupulous exactitude; writing nothing, save his sonnets, without a clear pecuniary motive; and giving up his literary career as soon as he had made a comfortable fortune. On the other hand, as his sonnets distinctly tell, he suffered enough in his life as an actor to make it impossible that he should have sought the stage had he not been driven by need; and, had he not turned actor, he would never have become a dramatist. In brief, Shakespeare untaught, unschooled, and living where players never came, would probably never have written a line; and Shakespeare well-to-do in Stratford would have felt no compelling necessity for self-expression, save perchance in forms even more factitious than "Venus and Adonis."

It thus begins to appear that the aggressive and inevitable impulse to action or utterance, which Galton identifies with genius, is merely an occasional concomitant thereof. Some such impulse does appear, at the first glance, in the cases of Bacon, Newton, Pope, and many others. But in these cases, in turn, there is not the least reason to suppose that, with an obscure birth, illiterate childhood, and a toilsome youth, the congenital faculty could ever have come to any such development as it actually chanced to attain under favorable conditions. On the contrary, a wide survey of literary biography entitles us to surmise that there have lived and died in toilsome poverty many potential Bacons and some Shakespeares, numerous "mute, inglorious" Miltons, and many a Cromwell "guiltless of his country's blood."

In fine, the individualistic society of the past, so often credited with creating conditions favoring the "survival of the fittest" in the

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intellectual as in the physical life, is seen rather to have fixed conditions which theoretically are almost the least favorable to a maximum (numerical) development of potential mental faculty. It has created conditions under which from a small minority only of the total population at any given moment could its best intellects be drawn; and its conditions have tended, in a degree that seems to be progressive in each civilization after a certain stage, to keep latent even a large part of the capacity of this small minority. Hereditary opportunity of doing well in business keeps dumb, presumptively, the middle-class Shakespeares, no matter how few: the inheritance of fortunes keeps free of due pressure the upper-class Thackerays, a less rare variety.

I have said that, as time goes on, the class with inherited incomes appears to be yielding proportionally less and less intellectual service to society. This seems to hold good in England and the United States alike, since, in both cases, especially the latter, the idle class has increased in number during the past fifty years, while its intellectual output has decreased, at least as regards the higher grades. I do not confidently undertake to explain this in terms of social conditions. M. de Candolle's specification of "family tradition" here suggests itself; the "new rich" being so often differently situated in this respect from the former rich, whose scions in many cases have had to revert to commerce.

Again, some allowance ought, perhaps, to be made for the fact that an enormous amount of knowledge, scientific and historical, has been amassed within the past hundred and fifty years, and that a mind, which fifty years ago might have been moved to write, would to-day decide that enough had been written. But, on the whole, I strongly lean to the conclusion that the main factor at work is the growing power of civilized society, as a sphere of entertainment and enjoyment, to absorb the interests of leisured men. Since railways have so immeasurably facilitated travel; since European peace has so enormously encouraged it; since the opening up of North America, much of Asia, and much of Africa to the ordinary rich traveller has so vastly increased his field; since amusement of every description and physical comfort in every direction have been so extraordinarily developed; and since the literature of enjoyment, from the superior newspaper with its short tale and poem and its anecdotal biography to the masterly social novel and the entertaining history, has been so bewilderingly multiplied, the man of private means has been subjected to an incalculable amount of invitation—not to say temptation—to rest content with enjoying the good

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things of life. Such a process took place in the society of ancient Rome, from 100 B.C. till the end of the Empire; and the modern development of wealth and luxury has far exceeded anything in antiquity. In the Dark and Middle Ages, men turned to war through sheer need of excitement. After the height of the feudal period, in the north as previously in the south, we find the men of the class which of old had been idle or military turning to literature and science,—witness More, Montaigne, Bacon, Worcester, and Napier. When the middle military period of civil wars had led to that of quietude and standing armies, we find aristocrats taking to literature anew,—witness the titled authors of the Restoration, and the generations of De Retz and Saint Simon, Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, followed by those of Montesquieu and Condorcet, Hume and Gibbon, the Humboldts and Alfieri, Chénier and Shelley, De Maistre, De Tocqueville, De Belloguet, Von Ense, and Fustel de Coulanges. But the literary aristocrat promises to disappear, as do the divers types of Bacon, Goethe, Grote, Guizot, and Buckle, and, for different reasons, those of Milman, Thirlwall, and Stubbs. Of all which the moral is that, if society in the strictly industrial period does not deliberately construct an evocative machinery to do well and systematically what the institution of inherited wealth sometime did imperfectly and at random, it will forfeit its birthright in an even further degree than did the military and semi-military societies of the past.

Genius is conditioned economically, morally, and socially. Conditions which are partly favorable to it are seen to disappear by economic evolution even in an age of moral progress; and unless to the achieved moral and scientific progress be added a social science which takes intelligent heed of such changes, there may follow manifold retrogression.

JOHN M. ROBERTSON.

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THE HANDEL REVIVAL IN GERMANY.

AMERICANS and Englishmen may, perhaps, be astonished to hear of a revival of Handel's oratorios in Germany; more particularly as England has apparently never neglected them. The performance of Handel's works at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, which takes place every three years, always assumes the form of a national festival, to which vast audiences flock from every part of the United Kingdom.

What, then, is the reason of the movement, now set on foot in Germany, for a *revival* of Handel's music? This may, perhaps, be best answered by a brief historical survey of Handel's works, and a discussion of the following questions: (1) Are the celebrated Sydenham performances strictly in accordance with Handel's style, and do they adequately represent his musical intuitions? (2) How many of the oratorios of the great master—none of which lacks merit—are performed at these festivals? Even in England are not the majority of them known only by their titles?

In 1784 (one year too early) the centenary of Handel's birth was celebrated in London by a magnificent musical festival. Burney, in "An Account of the Musical Festival in Westminster Abbey" (London, 1785), has given a full description of it, which is of permanent value to the historian of music. The object of the festival was to bring the powerful individuality of Handel, as well as his versatility, once more before the London public. At about the same time, under the patronage of George III, the first complete edition of Handel's works was published. This edition, however, was, unfortunately, very incorrect. That the influence of the great London festival of 1784 was felt in Germany, is apparent from the fact that, soon afterward, "The Messiah" was several times performed in that country.[1] Yet, upon the whole, the German public manifested but a faint interest in Handel's works. During the Napoleonic wars, a number of those oratorios

[1] These performances of "The Messiah" were, until very recently, believed to have been the first on German soil. Kade, the German historian of music, has lately shown, however, that this master-work of Handel had been already performed in Hamburg in 1775; in Mannheim in 1777; and in Schwerin in 1780.

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which have for their subject the liberation of Israel from captivity were given; but the purpose was a political rather than a purely artistic one.

Although some of the foremost men of the nation thoroughly appreciated the genius of Handel, yet nothing further was done for the furtherance of oratorio. Herder and Goethe are known to have admired Handel; while Mozart and Haydn were powerfully inspired by his music. Mozart prepared a new instrumentation of "The Messiah"; and, but for the influence of Handel, Haydn would probably never have written his own celebrated oratorios, "The Seasons" and "The Creation." Beethoven, also, toward the close of his life, became acquainted with Handel's music, and pointed to him as a model for his pupils. In his "Grand Overture," Op. 124, he even adopted a theme conceived in Handel's style.

Vienna was slower than any other city to recognize Handel's merits, as is manifest when we consider that, as late as 1873, the oratorio "Saul" was performed there as a novelty. Throughout Germany, Handel's music found but tardy acceptance. Mendelssohn's oratorios and other works absorbed all the interest; although the composer of "St. Paul" and "Elijah," who had learned so much from Handel, himself zealously endeavored to propagate the music of the latter.

So widespread was the misunderstanding as to Handel's music, that many celebrated musicians went so far as to declare it antiquated and obsolete. Eventually, Handel came to be regarded merely as a composer of church music; although what he has written directly for the church service constitutes but a very small portion of his musical legacy. Indeed, to a great extent, Handel is still so regarded in Germany; and there are many eminent musicians of the present day who are ignorant of the fact that he was the greatest operatic composer prior to the advent of Gluck, and that his oratorios can be understood only when considered as musical dramas founded upon Biblical texts.

In the same way the style of interpretation appropriate to Handel's works is grossly misunderstood. In this respect, it is astonishing how rapidly tradition has died out. Mozart failed to perceive the true spirit of Handel's music; and in his instrumentation of "The Messiah," he furnished a dangerous precedent which has been productive of serious consequences. A proof of this may be found in the skilful and interesting arrangement of the same work by R. Franz, which, however, is not at all in accordance with Handel's style. Mendelssohn, Mosel, Hiller, and others who have revised Handel's works, all follow the same course;

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and it is astonishing that they have not shown an appreciation of even the most important point involved. They confine themselves to the modernization of Handel's orchestra, by augmenting the number of instruments and by enriching the music with tone-colors that Handel neither dreamed of nor desired. How erroneous it is, therefore, to assert, in vindication of such a proceeding, that Handel, were he living, would undoubtedly employ the modern orchestra for the interpretation of his ideas! One might as well advocate a retouching of Raphael's paintings in accordance with the principles of the Impressionist School, or a remodelling of Beethoven's overtures in order to introduce the latest instruments employed by Liszt, Wagner, and Brahms. In this way the proper appreciation of Handel's musical intuitions has been lost entirely, not only in Germany, but in England as well.

Such was the condition of affairs in 1859, the centenary of Handel's death. Both England and Germany united to honor Handel; and the magnificent bust erected to his memory in the market-place of his native city, Halle, bears testimony to the liberality of his English admirers, who had contributed the greater part of the fund necessary to its completion.

But Handel was to receive a still worthier monument, to which Germans alone were to contribute. The centennial anniversary of Bach's death led to the establishment, in 1850, of a "Bach Society." Since Mendelssohn had succeeded, in 1829, in producing "The Passion" of that great master, the fame of the latter, in contradistinction to that of Handel, had spread all over Germany, and his works had met with an ever-increasing appreciation. The "Bach Society" now collected these works, which had been widely scattered, and published them in a sumptuous edition. This task—one of the greatest difficulty—was admirably performed.

When the centenary of Handel's death approached, two of his admirers—who had a profound conviction of the value of his works—decided to pay him a tribute similar to that which Bach had received. These men were the professor of literature, Georg Gottfried Gervinus, and the historian of music, Friedrich Chrysander. The latter, who was then in his thirtieth year, had already published the first volume of his celebrated "Biography of G. F. Handel." This faithful investigator has now passed his seventy-fourth year, and is still engaged in the great task of revealing the true nature of the eminent composer. Thus, for over forty years, his labors in this field have been unremitting.

In 1856, both Chrysander and Gervinus aimed at the establishment

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of a Handel Society, whose object was to be the publication and propagation of Handel's works. Such a society had been already established in London in 1843. The edition which it published was, however, incomplete, and just as incorrect as that of 1786; so that the original London edition of Walsh, Mear, & Cluer was really preferable to it. For this reason an entirely new edition was absolutely essential. Chrysander and Gervinus chose Hauptmann and Dehn to coöperate with them; and these four organized as a board of directors. They solicited subscriptions to further their enterprise; but all their efforts were in vain: the movement was not favored, and languished for lack of support. Dissensions among the managers of the Society also contributed to arrest its progress. Finally, some of the original founders determined to defray the cost of publication out of their own pockets. Even then, however, the enterprise did not prosper. Upon the death of Prof. Dehn, Julius Rietz, the successor and friend of Mendelssohn, became a member of the board of directors. But he was really opposed to the movement; while Hauptmann, one of the original founders, who had now lost heart, flatly declared that he did not consider the works of Handel worthy of a new edition, and suggested their publication in the form of an "Anthology." The publishing firm, Breitkopf & Haertel, now also lost confidence and retired from the undertaking. It was only after Gervinus had pledged himself to pay a considerable part of the expense that the firm decided to publish a few volumes as an experiment.

Nobody at that time believed that the matter would ever prosper; for even Gervinus now declared that he would await further developments before pledging himself to additional financial guarantees. Chrysander was the only one entirely faithful to the movement; but, unfortunately, he possessed no pecuniary means.

All this was changed in 1860, when George V, the last King of Hanover, summoned Chrysander to his capital, in order that he might confer with him on matters relating to church music. This monarch became so greatly interested in the modest musician and scholar that he sought some means of making life easier for him. The topic was one day brought up in conversation. Chrysander never for a moment thought of his personal well-being, but advised the king to further the cause of Handel, to which his own life was so entirely devoted. King George thereupon donated an annual pension of three thousand marks, to be paid for a period of twelve years. Chrysander faithfully forwarded the entire sum to the board of directors—and reaped base ingratitude.

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Dissension among the members continued to characterize the further progress of the Society—which, indeed, had always been such only in name. In 1862, one after another of the original members having dropped out, only Gervinus and Chrysander remained to carry on the work.

Four years later, an event occurred which proved still more calamitous to the undertaking. Prussia annexed Hanover and confiscated the fortune of the king. The interest of this money was used by Prussia for all kinds of political purposes; but no provision was made for the continuance of the Handel fund until some time afterward, when Chrysander unaided, after an incredible amount of trouble, succeeded in obtaining some concession from the government. Chrysander had already become the soul of the movement; and upon the death of Gervinus, in 1871, he was compelled to assume all debts and responsibilities. He did not despair, however, but remained faithfully at his post, making the greatest sacrifices; and to-day he is engaged alone in the stupendous task of publishing Handel's works. Equipped with a single hand-press, and assisted by only one printer and one engraver of music, he has already proceeded so far that but three volumes are now needed to complete the full edition of Handel's works. This great achievement has been due largely to the efforts of a single man.

But, after all, the publication of a musical work is one thing: its adequate performance is another. Of all the arts, music is the most dependent upon correct interpretation; the fate of Handel's works furnishing the strongest proof of this assertion. I have already referred to the arbitrary revision of Handel's orchestration; but this is not the greatest evil to which his works have been subjected. Harmonies have been introduced into them which are utterly at variance with his style. As an example, I would refer to the frequent employment of the chord of the seventh in passages where Handel plainly prefers the simple triad, which is much more beautiful and dignified. The worst feature of this perversion of style, however, will be found in the vocal rendering of Handel's arias and duets,—a rendering which is always based upon the extremely crude sketches of the great master himself.

All of Handel's followers, from Mozart to Franz, have overlooked the necessity of revising and amplifying the vocal score of Handel's works. All performances of Handel in Germany, as well as in other countries, suffer from defects which arise from a misconception of Handel's vocalization. Where the English language is spoken, the consequences are not so serious. But in Germany, where the text of Handel has been subjected to translation, in which the relation of word and tone

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has been entirely ignored, the performance of Handel's works frequently descends to the level of caricature.

It remained, therefore, for Chrysander to elucidate the style of Handel; and this task he has performed admirably in the edition which is now approaching completion. His mode of procedure is extremely simple; his work being based entirely upon the practice of Handel himself and the methods employed by him in his rehearsals. During a period of forty years, Chrysander familiarized himself thoroughly with these matters; and even now, the aged investigator goes annually to England to extend his researches. The improvements which Chrysander has introduced may be classified as follows: (1) A new translation, which is faithful to the original and which emphasizes the relation of word and tone; (2) the concentration of the dramatic element; (3) the restoration of the arias; and (4) the restoration of the original orchestra of Handel.

(1) It is not necessary to dwell here at length upon the matter of translation, as in England and America the works of Handel are performed in the original text. To Germans, however, the question of translation is of the greatest importance. Handel, like Lully, Gluck, and Wagner, took great pains to preserve the relation between word and tone,—between the rhythmical accent of speech and that of music. This is plainly observable in his recitatives. The latter are such masterpieces, and contain a dramatic element so powerful, that Chrysander's work of reformation may be said to be concentrated here. In previous translations the relation of word and tone was disregarded. As a consequence, unaccented syllables frequently fall on emphatic beats of the measure; words are frequently placed under mere embellishments; and these embellishments, which, in the original, serve merely to beautify and enhance the sound of a vowel, in the translation are frequently appended to an unfavorable syllable.

Chrysander has remedied these and many other defects. Minutely attentive to every detail, he has prepared a translation which, while it does not strain the language in the least, is, nevertheless, in exact accordance with the vocalization, and in strict conformity with the sense of the original text.

Where insurmountable difficulties occur, Chrysander alters the musical construction to suit the requirements of the case. This is done entirely in the spirit of Handel himself, who never dwells upon insignificant notes in his recitatives, but invariably emphasizes the importance of the text and the dramatic effect to be produced. The liberty of construc-

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tion of which Chrysander avails himself in this instance, and which, perhaps, may be condemned by timid pedants, finds a still wider application in his concentration of the dramatic content of Handel's works,—an innovation, which has never failed of its effect upon German audiences.

(2) In regard to the concentration of the dramatic element, it is necessary to bear in mind that Handel was, above all, a dramatic composer who, by reason of external influences, had abandoned the field of opera and entered that of the oratorio, in which latter he became preeminent. It is necessary to consider further that, upon special occasions, Handel abridged, amplified, or modified the construction of his oratorios. Indeed, we know that in several instances he incorporated melodies from the works of other composers. In this way some of the productions of Handel assumed a colossal form,—a form, however, in which the composer himself never brought them before the public. He invariably altered them according to the requirements of the occasion. Furthermore, he was largely influenced by the dramatic personnel at his command; sometimes substituting an alto for a tenor, when the latter part could not be adequately filled.

In this connection it may not be out of place to mention that Handel, in his oratorios, at first confined himself entirely to scene and action. It was owing to the mandate of Bishop Gibson, prohibiting the theatrical representation of sacred subjects, that Handel abandoned his original design. His first oratorio, "Esther," which was written in 1720, for the Duke of Chandos, was directly inspired by Racine's play bearing the same title. From all this, it will be seen that Chrysander's work is based upon historical facts.

(3) In order to understand the third great improvement introduced by Chrysander, it is necessary to take a brief historical survey of the development of Handel's aria. This is the so-called *da capo* aria of the old Italian opera. It consists of three parts, the first of which is written in the principal key; the second, which, in many respects, forms a striking contrast to the first, being written in a key related to it; while the third is a repetition of the first, richly embellished and amplified. Cavalli (1599–1676) and Alessandro Scarlatti, the leading genius of the Neapolitan school (1659–1725), have each been regarded as the inventor of this form of the aria. The *da capo* aria was especially well adapted to the needs of the vocal virtuoso, as it afforded ample scope for the display of his own peculiar gifts. The cadenzas, coloratures, and other splendid fireworks of the *bel canto* were, therefore, always carried out according to the individual taste of the performer, whose high de-

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gree of musical culture qualified him for the task. For this reason, Handel wrote only the meagre sketches of his arias; leaving their correct execution and embellishment to the improvisatorial talent of his singers.

Now, in the course of time, the traditional rendering of the *bel canto* was lost; and, as a consequence, the bare sketches of Handel were accepted as the genuine coin and were performed without the necessary additions. This error has been entirely rectified by Chrysander, who, with infinite pains, sought the rules and methods of the *bel canto* at their original source, in order that his work of restoration might be based upon safe and reliable models. This research became absolutely necessary, as nothing was to be expected from our modern singers, many of whom are so frequently lacking in broader musical culture, and whose ideals, moreover, have been entirely changed by the innovations of Richard Wagner. As a result of these greatly altered conditions, the old Italian *bel canto* has become almost obsolete. For this reason, Chrysander has arranged all the solo-parts with minute exactness as to every detail; and he is untiring in his efforts to impress his singers with the proper style of interpretation.

(4) The restoration of the orchestra as employed by Handel has met with universal admiration; and audiences are invariably astonished at the marvellous tonal effects produced. This orchestra consists of a string-quintet, flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums. The flutes were mostly employed by Handel as solo-instruments. This somewhat slender orchestral body is, however, invariably strengthened by the piano and the organ. The former, still designated in the score as the "cembalo," serves to swell the harmony and to accentuate the rhythm. In Handel's time, this was the instrument of the director, whose title was "Maestro al cembalo"; for the *bâton* was not introduced until the beginning of the present century. The recitatives were accompanied by the *cembalo* (piano) alone, except in the occasional instances where the latter was strengthened in the bass by the sustained tones of a single violoncello. How erroneous it is, therefore, to support the recitative by the ponderous chords of the organ, as frequently happens in Germany! In the original scores of Handel, the organ is usually employed in the choruses; and although there are exceptions to this rule, they are always specially indicated in the score.

Furthermore, Handel is distinguished by many peculiarities of style in respect of the employment and the combination of the wind-instruments. The oboe—Handel's favorite—must be well represented in the orchestra; eight to ten of these instruments being sometimes required,

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even when the orchestra and chorus are of medium size, in order that the tonal effects which Handel had in mind may be properly produced.

It is necessary to state also that Handel, in the style of the old masters generally, employed the wind-instruments in *solo obbligato* passages, to accompany the recitative. I have here referred to only a few of the striking peculiarities of Handel's orchestra, and would mention, in addition, merely the very important reform that Chrysander has introduced in the treatment of the *cembalo* (piano).

Handel, according to the custom of his time, merely indicated the piano part in the form of a *basso continuo* (thorough-bass); presenting the lowest tones in the left hand, and indicating the amplification of the harmony by numbers placed above them. While it is not difficult for the educated musician to supply the missing harmonies from these directions, it is, nevertheless, by no means an easy task to do so in the style of Handel. For this purpose, it is necessary to identify oneself closely with Handel's art. Chrysander has done this; and in order to guard against any arbitrary innovations, he has everywhere written out the piano part, the execution of which in public performances has been entrusted to the organist Kleinpaul, a specialist in this department of music. It remains to point out to what extent Handel's music, now thoroughly revised as to style, has found acceptance with the public.

In this connection, it is necessary, above all, to mention again the name of George V of Hanover. We have seen that it was Chrysander who first drew the attention of this monarch, who had ever been a patron of the arts, to the high merit of Handel's long-neglected works. George V finally determined to foster the art of Handel,—who had been chapel-master at the court of his ancestors,—and to provide a home for it in his own capital. Unfortunately, the political catastrophe of 1866 prevented the execution of this noble project; and Chrysander's plans in this regard were entirely frustrated.

It was not until 1889 that an attempt could be made to introduce Handel's music in its revised form. At that time the "Bach Society" of Hamburg produced "Deborah," the second great oratorio of Handel, with excellent results.

A few years later, however, an event took place which proved decisive as to the complete redemption of Handel's music. I refer to the *Erstes Deutsches Handelfest* (First German Handel Festival) which was given at Mayence in the summer of 1895. As German funds could not be obtained, the enterprise was supported by English capital. Chrysander was the leading spirit, and F. Volbach the conductor. "Deborah"

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and "Hercules," a Biblical and a secular oratorio, were produced. Owing to the presence of a large number of musicians, leaders, and critics, who had flocked to Mayence from every part of Germany as well as from other countries, the results of these performances were far-reaching. As an illustration of the enthusiasm which prevailed, I append a report written by one of the French critics present, and published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (vol. 130, p. 927):—

"Dupuis les premières journées de Bayreuth, je ne me souviens pas d'avoir assisté à d'aussi belles fêtes. Nous étions tous frémissans de bonheur sous cette prodigieuse musique qui se répandait dans la salle tantôt douloureuse et lente, pénetrée d'une tristesse mortelle, d'autrefois joyeuse d'une joie surhumaine, et toujours également lumineuse et pure, déroulant ses noble lignes comme une frise antique dans l'air transparent du midi."

Despite a few unfavorable comments by captious critics, the movement spread; several German cities being quick to follow the example of Mayence. In 1896, a performance of "Deborah" was given at Hamburg. Shortly after this, the celebrated Riedel Society of Leipzig arranged a series of performances under the direction of that most famous conductor of Handel's music, Dr. H. Kretschmar, professor of music at the University of Leipzig. He is undoubtedly, after Chrysander, the most profound student of Handel's art; and his well-known short biography of the great master is to be recommended to those who prefer a compendious sketch to a more voluminous work.

Kretschmar now arranged for a presentation of the same oratorios that had been given at Mayence. The first of these, "Deborah," was produced on October 18, 1896; but, owing to Prof. Kretschmar's illness, the performance of "Hercules" did not take place until January, 1897. Although the means at the disposal of this German choral society were but small in comparison with the liberal endowment of the Sydenham festivals, its performances, both as regards purity of style and excellence of interpretation, were undoubtedly the best that had taken place since the death of Handel. Shortly afterward, the admirable leader at this festival, Kretschmar, had the misfortune to meet with a serious accident, which permanently incapacitated him for the difficult work of a conductor. The leadership of the Riedel Society was therefore entrusted to his pupil, George Goehler; and upon him our hopes for the future rest.

The next event of importance took place in Hanover. Here, on February 19, 1897, Handel's first oratorio, "Esther," which had never before been heard in Germany, was produced. In his arrangement,

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Chrysander had employed both versions, that of 1720 and that of 1732; combining the best points of each in such a way as to reduce the work to more moderate proportions. So great was the success attained, that the performance was repeated at the "Second Handel Festival" at Mayence, which took place the following summer. On this occasion "Deborah" again appeared on the programme; and it would seem that this oratorio has, until now, met with the most favor. It was given at Dusseldorf in December, 1896, and at Munich in March, 1897. In the latter city it was received with the greatest enthusiasm; notwithstanding the fact that the public had not been prepared for the new style of interpretation The critics of Munich did not seem to have the slightest conception of the matter involved.

In the smaller cities of Germany also, the new style now found acceptance; as, for example, at Coethen, where a performance of "Deborah" was given in the church. This work promises to be the principal attraction at the "Bavarian National Musical Festival," which will take place at Nuremberg during the next week of Pentecost; and it will also be performed at Bâle, Switzerland.

Encouraged by the brilliant successes of "Deborah," Berlin has at last decided to give it a hearing; but those familiar with the conditions which prevail in that city are not sanguine as to the realization of this project.

Less interest has been manifested in the oratorio "Hercules," although it met with great success in Mayence and Leipzig. It may be classed among the best works of the great master; and the fact that it has not been so favorably received as "Deborah" must be attributed to the subject treated, which is not equally congenial to all audiences. Nevertheless, it will be again performed in Hamburg and in Dusseldorf.

A more important event, however, is the projected performance of that work of Handel, which alone has served to perpetuate his name, viz., "The Messiah." It will first be produced by Dr. Goehler and the Riedel Choral Society at Leipzig; and other celebrated choral societies have already organized performances to take place at Frankfort, Cologne, and Augsburg. A circumstance of particular interest in connection with these performances of "The Messiah" is that Chrysander, in his preparation of the score, succeeded in discovering in London a number of modifications and additions to the original by Handel himself. It had hitherto been supposed that Handel had never modified the complete score of "The Messiah"; and Chrysander's discovery has been a surprise to the general public as well as to musicians. I re-

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cently had an opportunity of hearing some of these improved versions of Handel at Bergedorf, the home of Chrysander, and was astonished that the great master could still have improved upon what already appeared perfect. My attention was called particularly to the exquisite setting of the recitative, "And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field."

The haste with which our conductors have ordered the Chrysander edition of "The Messiah" is in itself a proof that the original style of Handel, now resuscitated, has at last been victorious. For this reason, Chrysander, in his introduction to the translation of "The Messiah" (recently published by Breitkopf & Haertel), was justified in saying:

"In Germany, Handel's native land, the form of art which he created was entirely misunderstood and falsely interpreted during the eighteenth century; and the very meagre score of the "Messiah" contributed in great measure to the general misconception as to his true artistic aims. Having at last found the way to the true comprehension of Handel's style, the long period of errors through which we have passed may be considered as closed, and the friends of classical music are now enabled to enjoy the principal works of Handel in all their original purity and strength."

No such performances have as yet been given outside of Germany; and it is doubtful whether any will take place in the near future. We may not secure an early coöperation on the part of England, but feel justified in looking to America for a more independent and active participation. We German musicians know that sufficient talent may be found in the great art-centres of America to ensure model performances such as we have had. It is always with considerable interest that we follow the artistic activity of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Feeling, therefore, that we are in touch with the musical life of America, we take pleasure in informing our colleagues there that a new and brilliant epoch in the history of Handel's art has at last arrived.

BRUNO SCHRADER.

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THE ENGLISH GOVERNING OLIGARCHY.

FROM being regarded as a paradox, it has now become almost a commonplace to say that the English political system is, in many essential particulars, more democratic than the American. It is easier, as Walter Bagehot put it more than thirty years ago, "to find the sovereign people" in Great Britain than in the United States; and it is a great deal less difficult for the sovereign people, when found, to make its will effective.

The English constitution, in spite of the Monarchy and the House of Lords, lacks those checks and balances which interpose so many obstacles to fundamental legislative changes in the United States. In any country having a written constitution, such a measure as either of Mr. Gladstone's Home-Rule bills would have been a practical impossibility without the aid of a revolution. In England, if the electorate were really anxious for so sweeping an enactment, it could be carried in a single session, or at least in two sessions; for it is quite understood that the House of Lords would not oppose a permanent veto to a bill twice passed by a House of Commons elected *ad hoc;* and, if it did, there are expedients by which the ministry of the day could overcome its opposition.

It was said, in 1886 and in 1892, that Queen Victoria might have refused her assent to the proposed law, even if it had passed both Houses. But the Royal veto on legislation is practically in abeyance; and it is hardly conceivable that the Sovereign would have revived it in order to defeat a measure, however distasteful to her, which had been carried more than once by a majority of the Lower House after the voters had had an opportunity of pronouncing in its favor at the ballot-box. In point of fact, Democracy, in the sense of popular command of the Legislature and of the Executive by the mass of the citizens, is, on its face, more complete in Great Britain than in any other country in the world, except, perhaps, France. There is no bar to the unchecked authority of the *demos*, such as is presented in the United States not merely by the Constitution, but by the position of the President, and in the monarchical countries of Continental Europe by the control over administra-

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tion exercised by sovereigns, who are personally the heads of their civil services, as well as the commanders-in-chief of their armies, and practically their own foreign ministers.

In Great Britain, the Executive is absolutely at the mercy of the Legislature; the Legislature consists of delegates of the largest number of the voters; and it is difficult to see what further extensions in the direction of popular government any partisan of Ochlocracy—the rule of the multitude—could devise. Yet, in effect, the multitude does not rule England. It is singular how little the advance of Democracy, in the sense just spoken of, has led to a *δημοκρατία*, in the sense of actual administration by persons belonging to the most numerous classes of the population.

Two things mitigate the power of the Many in Great Britain, and present impalpable, but effectual, barriers to the tide of popular impulse and popular ignorance. One is the existence of the Cabinet, which, in reality, is the key-stone of English government as administered to-day, though it is, as yet, hardly recognized in our political theory, and is unknown to the constitution. Some English writers have said that the main function of the American elector is to choose a despot every four years. It might be replied that, as matters stand, the chief political duty of the British voter is to elect an oligarchy, whose powers are almost unlimited till the time arrives for them to be abandoned. True, the Presidential dictator holds office for a definite term; while the English Cabinet is chosen for a period which is not fixed beforehand. But the Committee, as long as it is allowed to exist, is more powerful than the President. In theory, of course, the House of Commons may dismiss it at any moment, or may cause it to reverse its policy by an adverse vote. But, in modern practice, the House of Commons seldom does this, unless the Cabinet breaks up by internal dissension,—as was the case in 1886, when Mr. Gladstone shattered his ministry over the Irish Home-Rule Bill,—or unless ministers themselves feel that their mandate is exhausted, and voluntarily court defeat. The latter event happened in 1895, when Lord Rosebery went out of office, after a hostile division on a minor question of departmental administration in a half-empty House. In a general way, however, it is true to say that in our time the House of Commons does not defeat its ministers on points involving the existence of a cabinet.

The remedy of punishing a cabinet by a vote of censure, or by throwing out a government bill of importance, is in the hands of the House; but it is tending more and more to take the place of the old—

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and never formally abandoned—expedient of impeachment, and to be regarded as a valuable prerogative to be used only in extreme cases. No doubt ministers are constantly defeated in committee debates in which the details of bills are discussed; but this seldom happens except on comparatively small points on which they themselves are not unwilling to give way. Otherwise, and so long as they are not guilty of corruption or gross misconduct, they are fairly safe in the House until such time as a long series of unfavorable by-elections has altered the balance of parties at Westminster, or convinced ministers that they have lost the confidence of the electors out of doors. Till one of these things happens, the Cabinet has practical immunity in the Lower House, and for a very simple reason: the ministers are the nominees, not of the House as a whole, but only of the Majority; and, naturally, the Majority does not want to defeat itself and confer a victory on the Opposition.

An English premier has the whip-hand over followers inclined to mutiny, by threatening them with a dissolution. Now, a dissolution means a general election; and a general election means a certain expenditure of several hundred pounds sterling on the part of each Member of Parliament who desires reëlection, and a possible loss of seats for a good many of them. Whatever may be the motives which induce a man to enter Parliament, he desires, as a rule, to hold his seat as long as possible; and a contested election can have no charms for him. It may entail the loss of the seat for which he has paid much in time, labor, and money; it must, in any case, involve the outlay of a large sum in the way of election expenses; and, since electors are fickle, and the political pendulum has an awkward trick of swinging back after it has swung forward, it is the Minority party—the party out of power—which has more to gain than its opponents by an appeal to the ballot. For these reasons, the House—that is the Majority of the House—will not overthrow a minister if it can help it, and certainly will not risk the unpleasant consequences just alluded to, except on matters of very grave importance. Therefore, unless a premier wounds too violently the feelings of his followers, as Mr. Gladstone did when he proposed to dissolve the Union, he can do pretty much as he pleases, within well-understood limits. This is particularly the case in the conduct of administration.

To a careful student of the modern English political system, nothing is more interesting than to observe how largely the time-honored and much-cherished control of Parliament over the Executive has

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dwindled in recent years. It is open to any member to challenge a minister on any departmental matter; and, as a means of getting the subject noticed in the press and at public meetings, the method is useful and efficacious. But, unless there is revealed some gross abuse, serious enough to rouse indignation against the Cabinet as a whole, the minister can usually defy these parliamentary assaults. If they come from the Opposition, they count for nothing; they are part of the game; and their supporters prepare themselves beforehand to be beaten. But, suppose a ministerial M. P. is dissatisfied with something done by the Secretary for India, or by the Secretary for War, or by any other minister, and brings in a hostile motion on the subject. The party whip has only to intimate that the Cabinet will resign if this motion be carried, to make it fairly certain that the motion will *not* be carried; for the rank and file of the Majority are not likely to put their own leaders out of office, and subject themselves to all the consequent inconveniences, because one particular member of the Cabinet may have made a mistake on some item in the complex working of his department.

The bonds of party discipline and the peculiar efficacy of the General-Election threat are, in practice, though certainly not yet in theory, sufficiently forcible to deprive the Commons of much of their ancient hold on administration, and to give extraordinary freedom and a large amount of irresponsibility to the executive government of the day.

This is the strongest check on the possible abuse of democratic power in the modern British system. It is a much more effectual check than either the Crown or the House of Lords; and its efficiency is increased by the constitution of the Cabinet and the character of its members. An English ministry is, while it lasts, a very strong committee of government; but it is something besides that. It is also the committee of the Government Oligarchy, or rather it is one of its committees; for there is an alternative committee of the same oligarchy, which is always ready to become the cabinet of the opposing party.

Here, I am aware, I am using language and expressing ideas which may seem paradoxical or fanciful to those, whether Englishmen or foreigners, who are more familiar with the theory and formulæ of the constitution than with its working realities. Theoretically, of course,—indeed in the view of most Englishmen,—any man can become a member of the Cabinet just as he can become a Member of Parliament. There is no formal bar to prevent it. The road is open to all British

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subjects; and, so far as any positive enactments or prohibitions are concerned, it should be no more impossible for a rail-splitter or a country attorney to become Prime Minister of England than for a person of the same condition to attain to the Presidency of the United States. But we talk here not of possibilities, but of actualities; and, as a matter of fact, it is rare, and it has been rare at any time during this century, for a man, not a member of one of the aristocratic or territorial families, nor closely associated, by wealth, education, and social connections, with the circle that includes those families, to enter the Cabinet of Great Britain. In other words, he must belong to what has been correctly described as the Governing Order; for such an Order there is in England. It consists, roughly speaking, of the peerage and its offshoots, the great landowners and county families, and the comparatively limited number of wealthy persons of the mercantile, manufacturing, and professional classes, who are admitted to what is called "Society." In fact, Society, in this sense of the word, is almost conterminous with the Governing Class. It would be difficult to say what constitutes exactly the qualification for membership of this select body. Birth, wealth, leisure, are no doubt the main requisites. Without at least one, and preferably more than one, of the three, it is difficult to enter the circle.

Fortunately for itself, and fortunately for the country, the aristocracy in England has never been a caste. In these matters, mankind is ruled by names; and nothing has worked more usefully than the custom—for, as it happens, it is no more than a custom—by which honorary titles do not attach to the descendants of the younger children of English peers. It might have become the fashion for every child, grandchild, and great-grandchild of a baron or viscount to be called "Lord" or "Lady" to the end of time. As it is, the younger son of a lord is only "The Honorable"; and *his* son is plain "Mr." Thus the scion of a noble house merges into the upper stratum of the commonalty.

At the same time the wealthy and successful member of the *haute bourgeoisie* is not debarred from entering the ranks of the aristocracy. The process is usually performed in the second or third generation. The son of the rich contractor, or manufacturer, or mine-owner, is sent to Eton and Christ Church, marries the daughter of one of the territorial families, enters Parliament, and, in course of time, may receive a peerage himself. The Governing Class has assimilated him.

The influence of wealth is as potent in Great Britain as anywhere else; but there is no plutocracy. The latter becomes absorbed in the body—mainly aristocratic in its ideas and associations, though not ex-

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clusively aristocratic by origin—which constitutes Society, and adds to its wealth and importance.

It is only fair to remember that the ruling clique has never shown itself averse to the recognition of ability. The clever professional man is occasionally admitted, though not, as a rule, till his cleverness has taken the form of actual pecuniary success; and here and there a mere outsider, like Canning, or Disraeli, has forced himself in, by sheer weight of genius. Even in these exceptional cases, however, the outsider enters, as it were, by favor of the Society Oligarchy. The instances are rare indeed, where a poor man has been able to rise to a leading place in politics without influential connections, and without being "taken up" in London drawing-rooms. The case of John Bright, and perhaps that of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, may be quoted as those of very able men, who scaled the political heights by the truly democratic method of impressing their personality upon the masses of their fellow-citizens. But even these cases are those of rich men; and both statesmen, before they attained to the rank of Cabinet Minister, had been distinctly accepted by Society. Manchester and Birmingham sent them into politics; but it was London—the West End of London—which placed them among the rulers of the Empire.

We have, then, this actually large, but relatively rather small, Governing Class, consisting, as I have said, of the few thousand representatives of the nobility, landowners, capitalists, and successful professional men who make up London society. No constitutional rule or precedent prescribes that ministers shall be appointed from this set of persons. But, from the circumstances of the case, they usually are so appointed. The electorate itself is far too amorphous, too scattered, and too ill-organized to perform the process of selection; and there is nothing in England corresponding to the party conventions by which candidates for the Presidency of the United States are nominated. When the result of a general election has decided that one of the two great parties is to enter office, the Queen sends for the statesman who is the most conspicuous figure in this political group, and commissions him to form a ministry. This personage, whether he be a great nobleman, like Lord Salisbury or the Duke of Devonshire, or a distinguished commoner, like Mr. Gladstone or Sir William Harcourt, has passed most of his life—even if he has not been actually "born in the purple"—within the innermost recesses of London society. He is usually advanced in years (Lord Rosebery is the only recent instance of a middle-aged premier); he is generally wealthy, and often titled; and he is closely con-

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nected, if not by ties of blood and marriage, at least by long and intimate association, with the most exclusive sets in the capital. He himself may be, and probably is, altogether above the worship of wealth, rank, and fashion. Yet the conditions of his life make it difficult for him to break away from the circle. His opportunities do not allow him to consort much with people who are poor, unknown, and obscure. When he has to make up his ministry he naturally consults his own little court of friends, followers, and allies; and *they* naturally press the claims of their own associates,—the men whom they meet at London luncheons and dinners and fashionable country-house parties, who call each other by their Christian names, who have been educated at the same little group of public schools and colleges, and have pretty freely intermarried with each other's relatives. What wonder if the distribution of offices falls largely to the members of this body?

About one-third, perhaps one-half, of the ministry is made up of the Premier's political associates and supporters among the peerage. The remainder comes from the House of Commons; and since, as a rule, one fairly well-educated and capable Englishman is as well able to perform the duties of a public department as another, especially when assisted by an admirable, permanent civil service, no great harm is done, and public feeling is not outraged, by the fact that social influences largely determine the choice. A conspicuous party leader, who had strikingly impressed himself upon the House and the nation, might have to be admitted, whether he belonged to the right set or not. But such men are rare. The public is not specially concerned in asserting the claims of one member of the House of Commons rather than another to Cabinet office. It has done its duty at the polls by practically appointing A and his party to the government, in preference to B and his following; and it is quite content to leave the constitution of the executive committee, and the allocation of the posts in it, to the leader and his advisers. The power is exercised on condition that it be not grossly abused. Provided the men appointed are respectable, upright, and fairly competent politicians, of good private character, and of some experience in public life, the nation is satisfied. It finds its business, on the whole, honestly and efficiently managed; and it would not be at all perturbed by the fact, even if it realized it, which it does not, that the persons who manage it are selected from a limited class and largely by favoritism and private influence.

A glance at the composition of any English ministry will show how little the popular element is concerned in the matter. Lord Salisbury's

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Cabinet consists of eighteen members, besides the Premier, who is also Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The President of the Council is the Duke of Devonshire, the head of the great house of Cavendish, lord of Chatsworth and a few other palaces, and the owner of vast estates and a splendid income. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is Earl Cadogan, another great landlord, not less wealthy than the Duke of Devonshire; a friend of the Prince of Wales, and a leader of London society. The First Lord of the Treasury is Mr. Arthur Balfour, nephew of Lord Salisbury, and the owner of a large estate in Scotland and a house in Carlton Terrace. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, belongs to an old county family, and is a West Country squire and landowner. Sir Matthew White-Ridley, the Home Secretary, is a Northumbrian baronet of great wealth. Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Akers-Douglas, who preside respectively over the Local Government Board, the Board of Agriculture, and the Board of Works, are all well-endowed and aristocratically connected county gentlemen; and in the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord George Hamilton, brother of the Duke of Abercorn, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Secretaries for War, India, and Scotland, respectively, we have three more members or connections of the peerage.

For representatives of anything like a middle-class element, we are reduced to Mr. Goschen and Mr. Ritchie,—two wealthy partners, or ex-partners, in large mercantile and financial houses in the British metropolis,—and Mr. Chamberlain, who, though once a Birmingham manufacturer, is now among the most popular, and at the same time the most exclusive, entertainers of fashionable London. There are, of course, the lawyers—the Lord Chancellors of England and of Ireland, and Lord James, who is Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. All three are now peers, and are favorable examples of that higher professional element, which so often ends in absorption into the aristocratic class. Among the subordinate members of the ministry, outside the Cabinet, are a duke, three earls, and two more nephews of Lord Salisbury.

This is a Conservative cabinet; and it may, perhaps, be said that rank and property would naturally be largest on the side of the Tories. But matters are not so very different with the Liberals. Here is Lord Rosebery's Cabinet of 1894-95, with the status of its members:—

Earl of Rosebery.....Peer and wealthy landowner.
Earl of Kimberley.....Peer and wealthy landowner.
Marquess of Ripon.....Peer and wealthy landowner.
Lord Tweedmouth.....Peer and wealthy landowner.

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Earl Spencer.....Peer and wealthy landowner.
Lord Herschell.....Successful lawyer.
Mr. Asquith .....Successful lawyer.
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman..Son of a wealthy Scotch manufacturer and landowner.
Sir William Harcourt.....Member of a great and highly aristocratic county family.
Sir George Trevelyan.....Baronet and head of old county family.
Sir Henry Fowler.....Wealthy solicitor.
Mr. John Morley.....Journalist and man of letters.
Mr. Arnold Morley.....Son of a very wealthy manufacturer.
Mr. James Bryce.....Distinguished jurist and professor.
Mr. Shaw Lefevre.....Landowner, nephew of a peer, and connected by marriage with another noble family.
Mr. A. H. D. Acland.....Member of an old and a well-known county family.

Literature and learning were a little better represented in the Liberal Cabinet, in the persons of Mr. Morley and Mr. Bryce. Otherwise, it was not really much more "popular" in its composition than its predecessor. Birth, wealth, and social influence were among the qualifications of two-thirds of its members. They were, of course, not the only qualifications; yet it is plain that they were allowed to weigh as heavily in determining the selection as in the case of the rival ministry. It would be invidious to mention particular names; but no one who knows English politics will be prepared to maintain that at least four or five of Lord Rosebery's ministers were persons who could have been nominated beforehand on their public form for place in the Cabinet. They were included because they happened to be known and favorably regarded in the right quarters. It is not a process of jobbery; for it does not happen that bad or incapable men are corruptly given posts for which they are unfit; but oligarchical, in its essence, it certainly is.

The system on the whole works so well, however, that there is no reason to condemn it. Its strong point is, that it provides a class of public men, who, taken altogether, are very adequately equipped for their business. Their wealth and standing place them beyond all suspicion of the coarser kind of corruption; they are sufficiently above the need of earning a livelihood to be able to enter active politics in the prime of life; and, from their position in society, they grow early accustomed to deal with affairs in the spirit of men of the world. Some of the younger ministers and under-secretaries in the present Cabinet, like Mr. George Curzon and Mr. St. John Brodrick, have been practically trained for administration from their boyhood, by a long course of

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study, by travel, and by an early apprenticeship to the House of Commons; so that, as they near forty, they have acquired an experience with which the middle-class man—who enters Parliament about that age—cannot be expected to cope. Politics, to be well managed, must, as a rule, be in the hands of those who devote a great deal of time and attention to it. The difficulty of a Democracy lies in inducing a sufficient number of fairly honest and fairly capable men to undertake public duties without the temptation or the hope of unlimited spoils. The English system at least goes some way toward overcoming this difficulty.

On the other hand, the increasing power of the Cabinet and the Cabinet Oligarchy is not without some danger. Ministers, as I have attempted to show, are no longer controlled by a firm, vigilant, and independent House of Commons: on the contrary, the House is rather the servant than the master of the Cabinet. Ministerial responsibility—the great check on the abuse or mismanagement of executive power—is much less of a reality than it is assumed to be. It is true that a minister who makes mistakes in the administration of his department may be turned out of office at the next general election. But then he knows quite well that, whether he performs his official duties well or badly, the same fate is likely to overtake him.

It has become almost an accepted axiom of English politics, that the verdict of a general election is against the party in office. For an English cabinet to receive a second term, will soon be as rare as for an American President to obtain a third extension of authority. But, if the ministry goes out, its members, as a matter of course, cannot be expected to regard their dismissal as a punishment which may be averted by persistent good conduct in their official capacity. They do not so regard it; nor does anybody else. The fallen minister is assuredly haunted by no sense of disgrace or failure, and is treated with more respect by nearly half his countrymen than the minister who has stepped into his shoes. Besides, he knows that before long the pendulum will swing back again; and that, if he still cares for office, he may return to his Cabinet post and his seat on the Ministerial Bench. Meanwhile, being probably a rich man, and at any rate a man with numerous interests outside politics, he can employ his leisure pleasantly enough.

Thus, it happens, that a member of the English Governing Oligarchy may regard success or failure in politics with an equanimity not easily attained by politicians in some other countries. Success, if it comes to

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him, is not so intoxicating as it might be to one to whom public life had given everything that was worth having: failure, if it is mortifying or unpleasant for the moment, leaves him with so many consolations that he can endure it with a great deal of philosophy. If the English minister or ex-minister has sometimes made himself, by choice and predilection, a professional politician, as many English gentlemen will almost make themselves professional cricketers or cross-country riders, he still remains in many essential respects only an influential amateur. He does not commonly live by the altar. The loss of the ministerial salary may hardly cause him to put down his town-house or curtail his establishment; the abandonment of the ministerial office may possibly deprive him of occupation that he enjoys; but it does not make a cipher of him, as it often does, for instance, in France, where *M. le Ministre*, when he gives up his portfolio, may be nothing more than an obscure journalist or mediocre lawyer. An English minister is often so important a personage socially, that his political position makes comparatively little difference to him, one way or the other. His great estates, his town- and country-houses, his marquisate or his earldom, his horses, his hunting and shooting, his learned societies and public bodies, his libraries, his collections, and his friends must go a long way toward filling up the gap left by the loss of a ministerial portfolio.

The English system, as it works out in practice, robs public life of much of the bitterness which characterizes it elsewhere. But there is some truth in the criticism, that it tends to deprive politics of its seriousness and to make it too much like an agreeable and carefully regulated game, played by rival teams of wealthy and well-placed amateurs, in the intervals of many other occupations and amusements.

SIDNEY LOW.

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PROFESSOR MÜNSTERBERG'S ATTACK ON EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY.

A STRANGE discord breaks upon our ears from over the fair New England hills,—words out of harmony with the whole educational spirit of our times and with the fair pedagogic record of the great university from which they come; words inconsistent both among themselves and with their author's own position in educational matters. In the February "Atlantic Monthly," there appeared an article, entitled "The Danger from Experimental Psychology," in which Prof. Münsterberg, late of Europe, now of New England, tells the teachers of this country, in tones of authority, that, if they value their pedagogic lives, they will never again set foot within a psychological laboratory.

It is well known that, in the past, the types of education have always been determined, more or less directly, by university ideals and university patterns. One of the most hopeful things for public education at the present time is the fact that public-school teachers themselves are ready and willing to turn to the university for guidance in their daily tasks. An opportunity has thus come into the hands of universities of directly moulding educational development,—an opportunity greater than they ever possessed in the past. The colleges and universities have nobly responded to the opportunity; and, as a result, we are in the midst of most significant and far-reaching changes in the educational world. Prof. Münsterberg has not realized the inspiration of the hour. He misses the whole spirit of modern science and American science teaching. He betrays a low ideal of what teaching should be, and an almost intentional ignorance of schoolroom work. He tells us we can't do this and we can't do that, when we are doing these very things every day.

His words are out of harmony with the spirit of the institution in whose name he speaks. Among all American universities none is more revered in the annals of education than Harvard. It is impossible to recount here what she has done for the schools of the country, in sending out schoolmasters, developing academies, and standing at the head of one of our best and most influential State systems of education.

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Shall her representative in the most modern methods of studying mental phenomena, her representative in the science that comes closest to the schoolroom, attempt to crush the rising spirit of the American teacher, awakened so largely by her own efforts?

Moreover, this same ancient institution grants university degrees for work in certain courses in education, which are open to those students only who have taken a half-year course in psychology under this guardian of the American teacher. Shall we suppose that naught but strict verbal description and introspective analysis enters into this instruction, when the text used incorporates many results of actual experiments, albeit well saturated with theoretical interpretations? Certainly in very recent years, courses in experimental psychology, under the direction of our critic, were included in the pamphlet describing the courses on education which this university offers to teachers. And it is not long since the writer had the pleasure of seeing the rooms of this department filled with teachers who were pursuing this same subject under the direction of this same critic and his able assistants. Now we hear from the head of the department that these courses, so far as teachers are concerned, are all nonsense.

Furthermore, the words are out of harmony among themselves, and out of accord with our critic's own position in educational matters. We are told that it is not possible to "measure psychical facts," that it never will be possible, and that, in the nature of the case, teachers have nothing to hope for from the psychological laboratory; and, in the next breath, that the time *will* come when "practical educational suggestions" will be forthcoming. We are told that the results of experimental psychology are, for the teacher, "meaningless bits," and again that "there are few sciences that they will find so attractive." The teachers are told that this science is dangerous, and may "do them harm"; and again they are urged to "devote to it their free time." We meet with the strange argument that a bad book has appeared, and that, therefore, the teacher should avoid psychology. Fierce criticisms of this same book are brought forward, only to prove imaginary. We learn with surprise that the teacher who is interested in the new methods of psychology must, therefore, forget all that has been done hitherto in that science. We meet with the spectacle of a man devoted to psychology neglecting the most fruitful field for its cultivation.

But, aside from their inconsistency, we are surprised at the words of our critic because of his own contribution to the teachers' work. In more than one way has he contributed directly to their needs. In

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fact, the writer of this article upon the dangers of experimental psychology is the sole deviser of a set of psychological apparatus, such as color-tops, illusion-cards, and the like, designed by him especially because of their pedagogic value in furthering psychological experiments in the public schools.

But what of these dangers which threaten the teacher? Any intelligent reflection on the equipment and tasks of the teachers of the present day shows that they are, in truth, surrounded by many and serious dangers,—dangers arising from the political and social limitations which continually hedge their way; dangers of opposing the wishes of parents, the authority of the state, or the convictions of the church; dangers arising from the multiplicity of aims which they attempt to realize, and which are determined by the past and present conflicting ideas of education and by the teacher's own conception of the educational ideal; dangers from over-work, incident to the present tendency to increase the demands upon the teacher's energy; dangers of becoming mechanical, of losing sight of their high ideals, and of finding their work a burden instead of a pleasure; and, above all, the danger of not being able to find time for their own studies. The standards of the teaching profession are rapidly rising. The equipment which suffices for the teachers of to-day will not be sufficient for the teachers of to-morrow; so that those who cannot, in some measure, lay hold upon the enlarging opportunities must be left behind. We do not dispute the title-claim of Prof. Münsterberg. The teaching fraternity of this country stands amid many and dangerous pitfalls.

But none of these dangers, nor all of them together, would warrant our critic in the choice of words so direful,—words that remind us of those which years ago thundered forth from these same New England hills, portraying the terrors of future punishment. We are told that the doctrines of experimental psychology are "dangerous"; that these doctrines have already found wide acceptance, and are being rapidly spread by a new book; that "the attitude of this book is dangerous"; that "its acceptance arises from illusions and confusions"; that it is "high time to give the danger-signal"; that "a warning ought to be sounded against this rush toward experimental psychology"; that the time has come when "the discussion should no longer be confined to narrow educational quarters, as the whole country has to suffer for every educational sin"! Such expressions as these would indicate that the perils of experimental psychology must be even greater than any we have mentioned. The teachers of our land must be treading on the very

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verge of the bottomless pit, into which they are about to plunge, drawing after them the youth of our land.

It behooves us, in view of the gravity of the situation, to examine carefully, and in order of importance, the dangers that are here mentioned. First, the teachers are in danger of finding themselves the victims of "misled curiosity" and "a logical mistake,"—surely not mortal sins. Second, there is danger that experimental psychology will "confuse them and inhibit their normal teacher's instinct." Third, there is danger of their finding that experimental psychology "will not help them in their work as teachers more than astronomy or geology." Fourth, there is danger that, after this terrible disappointment, the reaction will be "painful and overwhelming." But the American teacher is courageous; and every trifling disappointment does not plunge him or her into pedagogical suicide. Last, there is danger that, once having been deceived by experimental psychology, the American teacher will, in disgust, give up psychology altogether. The idea of the American teacher abandoning psychology at this late day is humorous.

What of this book from Yale,—this book so exceedingly bad, that, simply on account of its appearance, all teachers ought forever to avoid the science which it has desecrated? Surely there is nothing in the science itself that is dangerous? Pure science can never harm one. Surely the small size of the book does not make it bad? There is no sin in condensation. Nor is there a science whose results cannot be expressed in language that the layman can understand. Is it bad because it is a pioneer? There must always be pioneers while there is progress. No; the sole charge brought against the book is one of broken promises. Its author repeatedly promises certain things which he never gives us. This, however, is by no means a rare failing in the making of books. But does the failing exist in the present instance? Does the author anywhere promise us the "space of sensations," as distinguished from the "sensations of space"? Does he promise us the "time of sensations," as distinguished from the "sensations of time"? Does he anywhere promise us the "energy of sensations," as contrasted with the "sensations of energy," in the sense in which our critic makes the distinction? Far from it. On the contrary, an entire page is in fact taken up in denying this anticipated criticism *in toto*. The author deliberately proposes to use the word "sensation" in its every-day sense, without any reference whatever to things or to sensations in themselves. He says plainly that he proposes to call the line which he draws on paper one of his sensations, and to call the yard-stick with which he

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measures this line another of his sensations. Any man has a right to choose his own language, so long as he makes himself clear.

Undoubtedly, taken by themselves, these introductions to the several sections of the book in which the author analyzes mental phenomena in their relation to space, time, and energy might be misleading. But to imagine that the author claims to measure disembodied sensations, apart from the physical organism, is simply ludicrous. It is certainly absurd to think of measuring pure mental states by themselves; but it is even more absurd to imagine that any intelligent psychologist pretends to make the attempt in this day and generation. If we have not advanced beyond this, psychology is indeed in the sixteenth-century stage!

Aside from these so-called promises, which, all told, make scarcely a dozen of the five hundred pages of the book, and which really have nothing whatever to do with its main effort, the impression which our critic leaves with us is one of approval. In general, we agree with him, albeit the book has many real faults which are overshadowed in the mind of our critic by this imaginary one of broken promises. It partially meets a deep-felt want.

Experimental psychology is at the point of passing into the text-book stage, a vital point in the history of any science,—a period of transformation from chaos into order. In this process, the book in question marks a decided advance. Our critic is quite right in saying that it will go into the hands of a large number of teachers by whom it will be welcomed. It will also meet the same reception at the hands of many a college professor. It will do a useful service until a better one shall appear to take its place. Let us be thankful that there is one man bold enough to experiment in making books at this stage of our science. Let us welcome such light as we have. Let us correct error by truth. The wiser way for our critic to counteract the evil effects of the present book is to write a better one.

Granted that the Yale laboratory is the psychological gateway of all unwholesome things, surely this cannot be said of Harvard's? Teachers may there find a safe retreat, where they may enjoy the advantages of the newer aspects of psychology without endangering their pedagogic lives by attempts at measuring psychical facts. Vain hope! Here comes the answer:—

"This rush toward experimental psychology is an absurdity. Our laboratory work cannot teach you anything which is of direct use to you in your work as teachers. . . . You may collect thousands of experimental results with the

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chronoscope and the kymograph; but you will not find anything in our laboratories which you could translate directly into a pedagogical prescription. The figures deceive you. There is no measurement of psychical facts. . . ."

If mental measurements are not being made in the Harvard laboratory, pray, forsooth, what is being done? What mean those long columns of figures that appear so regularly? What means that vast assemblage of delicate apparatus? Give us a short, convenient term to describe all of this varied activity, and I will vouch for its ready adoption by every experimental psychologist throughout the land. For we are all doing precisely the same things in precisely the same way and with identically the same apparatus. Do not let us stultify ourselves before the world by quarrelling over simple names. It may make us appear learned; but such wisdom is logomachian. Talk to the teachers about not being able to measure mental ability, when half their life is spent in reading examination papers; when classes must be graded, pupils promoted, credit marks made out in accordance with a careful estimate of mental ability! We may not be able to measure pure sensations in feet and inches; but we can arrange children in order of sensitiveness. We may not be able to weigh naked ideas in a scale-pan, but we can *count* them. We can tell whether a given child has one, two, or twenty ideas; and under given conditions, we can tell how the ideas *vary* from year to year, as regards sex, nationality, and differing conditions of heredity, environment, and education.

I firmly maintain that mental measurements,—using the term fairly,—*are* possible, and that the teacher *is* justified in expecting great things from experimental psychology; not from an experimental psychology with narrow ideas; not from a psychology that calls itself "new," for the sake of despising the old; not from a psychology so egotistical that it cannot recognize other sciences; not from a "Sunday newspaper psychology"; not from a "psychology without a soul"; not from the mistakes that have masqueraded under that name; not from crude and blind attempts at the impossible; not from the "sending of ships to Utopia" to measure the immeasurable or to find a world outside of space and time; not from the petty bickerings about trifles, which have had altogether too much attention in the brief history of our science,—not from any of these, but from the essential genius, the rising spirit of psychology, with its broader and larger view, with its healthy life-blood coursing through its veins and thrilling it with possibilities; at times struggling onward and upward unmindful of the direction, and again catching sight of the promises of the future; always

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feeling that there is a meaning in its own activities and a work for it to do, ever in harmony with the broadest views of philosophy and history, and with an intelligent and helpful attitude toward the present condition of nations, and their social, intellectual, and religious problems. In short, the same old psychology in a new form, under the magic touch of modern science. Experimental psychology with this spirit contains the promise and potency of great assistance for law, medicine, and theology, and greater still for pedagogy, not in the dim and distant future, but here and now.

Our critic speaks in tones of authority: not as "a man whose heart belongs to an old-fashioned, forgotten past," but "as the director of the Harvard Psychological Laboratory,—as a man who devotes his life to the most modern methods of psychology. . . ." I, too, speak with the integrity of strong convictions; not as an upstart, or as one who is in the throes of a thesis for the doctorate, but as one who, pursuant to a call, has been for four years treading these dangerous paths.

Called from this self-same Yale, to take charge of this work in the New York University School of Pedagogy, in response to a wide-spread demand for this kind of work on the part of the teachers of this country, when, so far as these practical ends were concerned, the whole field lay open, chaotic, and unformed, I came face to face with the self-same difficulties that now prompt our critic to sound the danger-signal. Since then, I have carried on a course in experimental psychology of four hours a week, side by side with a similar course in analytical psychology in charge of another professor. I have worked single-handed and under serious technical difficulties in silence hitherto. But now I feel that the experience of these four years entitles me to express my convictions.

Not only have I found this course devoid of danger to the students, but helpful in many ways. As far as scientific training is concerned, I feel that it offers them all the advantages to be derived from any laboratory. In my opinion, it gives them better insight into introspective methods and a better understanding of analytical psychology, especially in the many points where it has been influenced by scientific methods. It gives them an understanding of the literature of the subject, a comprehensive view of the problems that are facing us, of the work that is being done, and of the directions in which to look for development. It prepares them to follow this work intelligently, to appropriate its results in the future, and to contribute to its development. Meanwhile, it gives them no small number of practical results, which have already produced marked effects in the schoolroom.

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During these four years scores of teachers, principals, and superintendents have taken the work. Of these one-half are college graduates, and the other half, graduates of the normal school. Of all this number, not one has shown any toxic effects from experimental psychology; not one is suffering the everlasting torments of a "misplaced confidence." On the contrary, many evidences of the value of the teaching and training of this course have come from a score of States throughout the Union.

It is true that the results of practical value to the teacher, as yet reached by the psychological laboratories, are comparatively small. We may turn the pages of scores of volumes of the great psychological periodicals and find only a handful of titles that are even suggestive of educational themes. Nevertheless, the work is well under way. At the present time, nearly every laboratory is reporting at least one investigation along pedagogical lines. Collections of such monographs have already begun to appear regularly; and individual investigations are being reported from France, Germany, and various parts of America.

Among all this work none is more suggestive than that of the laboratory whence come these notes of warning. In the first three volumes of the "Psychological Review," we notice among the "Harvard Studies" the following titles: "Memory" (two articles); "The Intensifying Effect of Attention"; "The Motor Power of Ideas"; "Association" (two articles); "Æsthetics of Simple Forms"; "The Place of Repetition in Memory"; "Fluctuations of Attention." All these investigations were reported by our critic himself, while in charge of the laboratory. During his absence we have had "Studies in Sensation and Judgment," and, in a recent number, "Effects of the Study for Examinations on the Nervous and Mental Condition of Female Students." Many of the other reports contain pedagogical suggestions not indicated by their titles.

Reports equally suggestive for the teacher have come from other laboratories. Does our critic discredit, for instance, the patient and enduring labor of Prof. Cattell at Columbia, who is subjecting hundreds of students to laboratory tests, in the hope of securing definite knowledge respecting normal and abnormal sequences in the academic experiences of adolescence?

We may expect research work of educational value in all directions of mental activity—studies in sensations, sight, hearing, touch; studies of ideas with reference to their number and quality as influenced by

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age, sex, temperament, and educational influences; studies in memory, with reference to the effects of schooling; studies of practice, fatigue, interest, home-training, heredity, and environment, or with reference to the dependence of mental activity upon eye, ear, muscle, or skin sensations; studies upon voluntary and involuntary attention, illusions, suggestibility, the laws of association, and so on, without limit. But, aside from these more technical laboratory problems, experimental psychology must furnish the methods and take the lead in directing educational experiments upon a far broader scale; viz., experiments in the schoolroom, to determine the effect of different systems of teaching reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, drawing, and other subjects; experiments to determine the effect of different subjects and different methods upon pupils of different ages, of different mental and physical equipment, or of different environment;—experiments, in short, to determine the normal individual and his pedagogic possibilities. Such experiments as these must lead inevitably to the rewriting of text-books and to revolution in methods. Thus, not suddenly but slowly, will the efforts of our laboratories be translated "into a pedagogical prescription."

Our critic finally stands forth as the bold champion fighting against pseudo-science. Here, at least, we stand shoulder to shoulder. But I fear that we have more occasion to deplore the presence of pseudo-science in university circles than in the schoolroom. There is no practical value, even from the standpoint of pure science, in counting the grains of sand upon the seashore, no matter how regularly, patiently, and carefully it is done. Too many of our scientific pages are filled with such work; nor is it entirely absent from the works on psychology. Scientific work, to be of value, must have a more or less definite relation to ideal ends. Teachers, whatever else they may be, are practical. They are gifted with a wonderful amount of common sense. This is true at least of those with whom I have had the pleasure of coming in contact in the psychological laboratory. They have no interest in work that is not practical, at least in the light of scientific ideals. Surely no science should fear to be tested by the criterion of the practical. Even though experimental psychology should penetrate not only the normal school, but, what is more than possible, even the high school, the grammar school, the primary school, and the kindergarten, it need not, therefore, lose its scientific character.

Moreover, I am in hearty accord with our critic as to developing science for the sake of science; and while I think him unfortunate in

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failing to see that our science does have practical value for the great sea of life surging around the teacher, yet I feel that he is still more unfortunate in failing to recognize the practical contributions which this great educational movement is making to psychology. The value of the mind of the pupil is as great as that of the adult, and as worthy an object of scientific effort.

One of the most pressing needs of psychology is development along genetic lines,—a better understanding of how the human mind changes from year to year in passing from birth to manhood,—equally for the sake of a better understanding of the adult mind and for the rounding out of the science itself. This is the psychology the teachers want; and they stand ready to help in its development. Time was, when the psychologist who meddled with "child-study" did so at the peril of his professional reputation. The time has now come when the psychologist ought to welcome the teacher's assistance.

We would fain believe that the "rising flood of fashion" is not all wrong. The signs of the times point to a rapid development of the practical side of experimental psychology. The universities ought to turn their attention to directing this movement and to raising up leaders; and it is unwise for a professor to frighten away the eager teachers with strange tales of danger and with intimations that they are unable to grasp simple facts of science. But our teachers are generous and open-hearted. They will not long cherish ill-will at these reflections upon their mental capacity. They will prove their mettle and show their strength. And they hope that their critic will catch the spirit and enthusiasm of the American teacher, and add his efforts to bring about that glorious future which he so earnestly desires shall be theirs. May we again hear accordant words from over the fair New England hills.

CHARLES B. BLISS.

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IS THERE WORK ENOUGH FOR ALL?

Is there work enough for all? Granted that you have proved that the production of the nation as a whole increases steadily with the adoption of new inventions in machinery and the application of the powers of steam and electricity, does not all this progress involve the displacement of the laborer? Where a thousand seamstresses were once employed in the manufacture of clothing, one hundred only were needed after the invention of the sewing-machine. Where a thousand blacksmiths' apprentices were needed to make nails by hand, one only is needed now with the machine that makes them out of steel wire. What becomes of the nine hundred seamstresses and the nine hundred and ninety-nine nailmakers thus thrown out of employment? If agricultural machinery enables one man to do what six did in former times, what happens to the five not needed for agricultural production? All along the line machinery is pushing out the laborer from the work for which he has been preparing himself since infancy. Scarcely any of the old trades, which required seven years' apprenticeship, can avoid the fate which mechanical invention forces upon them. Some ingenious devices, or a series of such devices, are deftly inserted in place of the living hand, and the occupation of the workman, skilled by long apprenticeship, is gone. Is not this a fair statement of the danger?

Again, since machinery is and must be owned by capital, or, rather, since machinery is capital, is not modern invention placing a great power in the hands of the capitalists and proportionately removing it from the common laborer? The poor toiler is set aside for the machine, and thrown into a struggle of competition with his fellows for the directorship of the machine, the only occupation left to him; the competition necessarily being a sharp one because comparatively few hands are needed to tend machines. In this struggle it would seem obvious that the result would be to lower the wages of the poor man, because he must compete with machinery, if he attempts to continue his trade.

Moreover, there is another side to be considered. The age of machinery is the age of the growth of cities. The building of mills for various kinds of manufacturing necessarily aggregates populations, first

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into villages, and then into cities. Similarly the machinery of transportation—the locomotive and the steamboat—brings with it the formation of villages and cities at all points of collection and distribution. This ushers in what we call the urban form of civilization. But is not the crowding of people into cities to be deplored? Is not the urban form of civilization necessarily connected with slums and the clustering of the weaklings of society into large masses which make possible the corrupt rule of the demagogue? Think of the puny children who live in small, ill-ventilated rooms, and who have no access to green fields and fresh air! In short, is not this increase of urban life almost as bad as the other evil of labor-saving machinery, the crowding out of the laborer by the machine?

Here we have two phases of the great problem of modern industry. The first is the readjustment of vocations; and the second is the removal of the evils of urban life. In this article, I shall devote myself to a consideration of the first.

Is there work enough to go round, provided human invention continues to produce useful machinery to an unlimited extent, and to conquer the forces of nature and make them useful to man by new motive powers? The answer to this question will become plain to us, if we survey the scope of human wants. It will be seen that it is impossible to furnish too much useful machinery or to invent too many motive-powers. And thus it will appear, after due consideration, that, the more human beings there are engaged in industry, the greater the degree of prosperity to each member of society.

In the progress of civilization a series of occupations forms, so to speak, a spiral line, ascending from the lowest.

First, there is hunting and fishing. The human being feeds his own animal tissue on the corresponding tissue of fish and game, and makes a limited use of fruits, vegetables, and grains. In the tribal stage his industry is that of hunting and preparation for war, on the side of the men; that of gathering fruits, vegetables, and grains, together with the rude beginnings of agriculture, on the part of the women. In the stage next above, grazing and agriculture become more important. Agricultural and grazing industries imply more stability in the state or nation. They imply settled life, the rudimentary manufactures, and the use of fire. They also imply permanent structures for dwellings. A third occupation, that of mining, makes feeble beginnings quite early, but develops much later. First, precious metals are collected. The metals which do not oxidize readily are prized for religious or superstitious reasons;

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the brightness of gold and silver having a symbolic significance to savages. Thus (*a*) hunting and fishing, (*b*) agriculture and grazing, and (*c*) mining cover the lowest order of human industry—the procuring of raw materials.

Manufacturing, or the transformation of raw materials into articles of use, comes next. There are, first, the rude arts of weaving and sewing, then the transformation of wood and metals to some extent. Hides of animals form the first clothing; later, hides are made into leather,—a cycle of rude, necessary manufactures, which begins with the lowest forms of adaptation and gradually rises to the summit of productive industry.

Then there is a third kind of industry which begins, in the same way, at the bottom and ascends to the heights of the most recent achievement, namely, trade and the transportation of goods. Natural productions are not wealth to man until he utilizes them; and, in order to utilize them, he must take them from the place where they are found and carry them to the place where they are wanted for use or consumption. Hence transportation plays a most important part in the creation of wealth from the beginning to the latest stage. The first transportation is by unaided human effort; gradually animals, the horse, the ox, and others, are brought in to help man. Then there is transportation by water: First the canoe, next the sailing-vessel, and afterward the steamship. The railroad came more than seventy years since; and the present generation will doubtless see aërial navigation an important factor.

Transportation implies trade. The exchange of goods through the agency of money brings into being a large number of new occupations. The earliest stage is that of barter. After barter, the precious metals become a middle term; furnishing a sort of universal property called money, with which all commodities may be measured as to their exchange value. Finally, there develops the system of banking and exchange by credit balances, which brings about a volume of trade not possible on the basis of simple exchange of precious metals for goods. The cost of exchange of goods grows continually less. The use of precious metals for money is the first great step; next, the substitution of paper money for coin; and finally, the use of bank checks—which render unnecessary the waste of actual money by friction and its exposure to loss—reaches the highest point yet attained.

In the matter of trade there is also another line of progress, namely, from the producer who sells the wares that he produces to the general trader, who is first a peddler, then a shopkeeper. The department-store,

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or emporium, reaches the highest usefulness, because it performs the largest amount of exchange at a minimum of expense for wages to salesmen and book-keepers and for house-rent.

In these items we have considered simply the first order of occupations—the production and exchange of necessities. They may be summarized as follows:—

THE LOWER ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS—PRODUCTION OF NECESSITIES.

1. THE PROCURING OF RAW MATERIALS.
   - (a) Hunting and fishing.
   - (b) Agriculture and grazing.
   - (c) Mining (including petroleum wells, etc.).
2. THE TRANSFORMATION OF PRODUCTS.
   - (a) Textile fabrics, cloth, and clothing.
   - (b) Wood and metal-work.
   - (c) Leather and miscellaneous.
3. TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE.
   - I.—*Transportation.*
     - (a) Teaming.
     - (b) Water-transportation.
     - (c) Railroads.
   - II.—*Trade.*
     - (d) Barter and peddling.
     - (e) Shopkeeping.
     - (f) Banking and exchange.

Returning to our question touching a supply of work for each member of society, we see that in the production and exchange of necessities in the lowest stages of civilization there is more than sufficient work for each individual in the community. Little has been done at that epoch to give to man the control of the great powers of nature. Almost all these are hostile to him. Water is at first a barrier between man and man instead of a connecting link. The forest covers the ground that he wishes for agriculture. He has to struggle even with the wild beasts for the preservation of the lives of his family and of his domestic animals. His roads are mere trails; his clothing is of the rudest sort; his shelter, gloomy and noisome. But the more numerous the members of the tribe, the greater the division of labor possible, the greater the skill, the larger the aggregate of production, and the greater the amount of human comforts distributed to each. *Robinson Crusoe*, alone,

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on his island, could do only one-quarter as much as he and his man *Friday* together. In certain kinds of production the amount produced increases by the second power of the number engaged. Two persons produce not twice but four times as much; three produce nine times as much. An army of one thousand is not ten times, but one hundred times, as strong as an army of one hundred equally well commanded.

With the division of labor begins the invention of machinery. After the subdivision has progressed to such a point that a branch of trade pursued becomes so simple that the workman can perform it by one skilful stroke of the hand or one flexure of his body, it is possible to devise a mechanical contrivance that can do what his hand or his body performed, and that with a maximum of accuracy at all times. This mechanical device he connects with some motive power furnished by nature, such as falling water, or the force of the wind, or, ultimately, with the expansive power of steam. The flail is used for threshing; and winnowing is performed by a sieve held in the hand. These simple movements are easily achieved by machines.

Thus, division of labor leads to the simplification of processes, and prepares the way for an introduction of the machine in the place of the human hand. Then at once the laborer changes from a mere hand into a directing brain. He guides the machine; the machine does the drudgery; and the productive power is increased in the ratio of 1 to 10, 1 to 100, or 1 to 1,000. Here begins the necessity for the readjustment of vocations. The one man with the cotton-gin can clean the seeds out of cotton as fast as eighty laborers can with their hands. The process of weaving cotton into useful fabrics, and the making up of the same into clothing are slow because of the lack of laborers. Seventy-nine laborers are set free by the invention of the cotton-gin, to enter the higher occupations of spinning, weaving, dyeing, and finishing cotton goods; or they take up the further process of making the goods into useful clothing, or the work of collecting and distributing the same. The three classes of occupations that we have thus far considered, as having their origin and some degree of development even in the lowest order of civilization, namely, (1) the procuring of raw materials, (2) the transformation of products by manufacture, and (3) transportation and commerce, have, to some extent, conquered nature for human uses; but all along the line they have aroused new human wants and desires in a much greater degree. At every point in the entire cycle of human industry there is a desire for more labor and better labor. Hence, any new invention which sets free the laborer in one department is an advantage to other depart-

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ments that need additional labor to improve their products and increase their quantity.

It is true that the supply of the bare necessities of life can be increased beyond the needs of the community. There can be more corn raised than is necessary for consumption. More cotton and wool can be raised than will be needed for clothing. There can be more transportation and more salesmen than are necessary for the exchange of commodities. But human wants and desires have come to demand more than the mere necessities for living. Before a complete supply of such necessities is reached, society demands creature comforts and means of luxury. It accordingly sends out its demand for laborers who have greater skill of manipulation and greater power of invention, and invites them to ascend to better-paid industries. These include manufactures that are adapted to luxury and creature comforts and which require a high order of educated, technical skill. This culling out of the higher class of laborers relieves the pressure on the lower orders, wherein machinery displaces the mere hand-laborer. It is obvious all along the line that a new cycle of employments which add luxury and creature comforts may draw into it the laborers of the lower class as fast as they can be dispensed with below. Suppose that an extreme limit is reached, and that one person out of each hundred of the population is able to supply with the aid of machinery all the raw material that is needed. Suppose again that one person out of each hundred of the people engaged in manufacturing, when aided by machinery, is equal to the task of producing all the articles of necessity. Suppose the same in the spheres of transportation and commerce. When once the labor was readjusted it would be found that the ninety-nine laborers out of each hundred could be profitably employed in providing a better quality of clothing, more commodious dwellings, more comfortable furniture, better transportation facilities, and more healthful mills and working-places for the laborer. The entire surplus of laborers could be taken up into this higher order of occupations that increase the means of luxury and comfort for the people.

This readjustment of vocations may be accomplished well enough, provided the laborers are generally intelligent. But this is a very important proviso. The people must be educated in the common schools and have that superior intelligence which comes from knowledge of the rudiments—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, industrial drawing, etc. And with education the laborer becomes able to ascend from mere handwork to the supervision and direction of machinery,

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and to those employments requiring greater skill, which furnish the articles of luxury and creature comfort.

That there has been growing for some time such a readjustment of vocations, is shown by the National Census, and especially by the latest, that of 1890. Take the following as examples: The laborers engaged in silk manufacture numbered in 1870 only 256 for each million laborers; but in 1880 the number had increased to 1,086, and in 1890 to 1,575. The additional laborers employed came out of the ranks of those engaged in farming or in the coarser manufactures. The following table gives similar items for laborers producing additional articles of luxury:—

Industries.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Stoves and Furnaces	120	190	396
Upholstery	488	598	1,126
Paper-hanging	192	288	545
Plumbers, Gas- and Steam-fitters	888	1,116	2,490
Pottery	408	414	704
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers	6,936	7,496	9,669
Clocks and Watches	144	794	1,109
Total in each million of employed	9,176	10,896	16,039

Here we see the producers of comfort and luxury increasing at a rapid rate, especially in the period from 1880 to 1890. The raw material for food, clothing, and shelter was already produced in great abundance: in fact, there was over-production in some lines. The most skilful, or rather the most intelligent and versatile, of the laborers were attracted to the higher order of industries and received better wages, so that, from 9,176 in each million workers in 1870, the number had risen twenty years later to 16,039; the increase coming by transfer from occupations that had for their object the production of necessities.

In the days before machinery and the use of motive-power, cloth was made by hand; and long after the power-loom was invented, the clothing of the family was made at home with such poor skill as might have been expected where there was no division of labor and each workman tried his hand at everything. Machinery increases the production, and hastens the division of labor. In the making of clothing, the skilful are attracted to the shop; and a rapidly increasing branch of occupations is formed. Add the dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, tailors, collar- and cuff-makers, according to the Census Report for 1890, and the result shows an increase of 50 per cent in twenty years in the manu-

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facture of clothing as a special occupation. In each million there were 20,752 in 1870; 24,930 in 1880; and 31,170 in 1890. This increase, like that above considered, came from the laboring classes that had been engaged in the production of necessities. Tailor-made clothing belongs to the division of luxury. In the period prior to machinery, as stated above, nearly all clothing was home-made.

There is a still more numerous class connected with trade, which shows a large increase from decade to decade; viz., book-keepers, clerks, and salesmen. The subjoined table shows the number of these in each million of employed.

Description.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Book-keepers and Salesmen	24,880	30,874	44,630
Bankers and Brokers	880	1,116	1,584
Officials of Banking, Insurance, and Trust Companies	848	892	1,760
Agents and Collectors	1,624	1,956	7,680
Total in each million of employed	28,232	34,838	55,654

The Census divides all gainful occupations into five classes: (1) Agriculture, Fishing, and Mining, (2) Professional, (3) Domestic and Personal, (4) Trade and Transportation, (5) Manufacturing and Mechanical. It is obvious that in the beginning the first of these classes would absorb nearly the entire population. The professional, domestic, and personal service, the transportation and trade, and manufactures would be performed by the farmers as an incidental affair. Where there is a sparse population this is ever the case. But with numbers comes division of labor; and what was united in the agricultural stage of development becomes separate, and is divided into permanent vocations. With separation begins the rapid development of skill; and then comes the invention of machines to perform simple operations. Simple machines gradually become complex; each one performing several elementary operations. Increase of productive power renders many laborers superfluous in the lower order of production; and then begins a gradual readjustment by the transfer from agriculture to manufacturing, transportation, and professional occupations. This movement, long in progress, was visible in the United States in the decade 1870-80, and was quite remarkable in that from 1880 to 1890, as shown by the following table:—

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Employed in	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Agriculture, etc	491.1	460.3	396.5
Professional Service	29.6	34.7	41.5
Domestic and Personal	184.8	201.4	191.8
Trade and Transportation	98.3	107.3	146.3
Manufacturing	196.2	196.3	223.9
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000

The figures in this table show the number of laborers in each class of industries for each thousand of all classes. About one hundred in each thousand have changed from agriculture to other classes of employment; namely, 48 to trade and transportation, 27.7 to manufactures, 7 to domestic, and 12 to professional occupations. Meanwhile, the productions of agriculture continue to be largely in excess of home consumption. Improved planting-, cultivating-, and harvesting-machines make possible a greater product from decade to decade.

Greater comfort to the working-man is produced by the portion of labor that is expended on transportation. The increase is shown in the following table:—

Description of Employees.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Steam-railroad	12,320	13,576	20,331
Street-railroad	408	673	1,645
Hackmen and Teamsters	9,656	10,217	16 210
Total in each million of employed	22,384	24,466	38,186

The steam-railroads carry goods from places where they are less in demand to where the demand for them is greater, and thus increase their usefulness. In the case of perishable commodities, the saving is identical with the entire value of the goods. Passengers are carried in immense numbers from crowded cities to the suburbs. The same benefit is secured by street-railroads. They conserve the strength of the laborer, a large percentage of which was formerly wasted in walking to and from his place of labor. Teamsters assist the railroad in the collection and distribution of freight; and omnibuses, like the street-rail-

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roads, convey passengers. It has been shown that the number (22,384 persons) employed in these beneficial services out of each million in 1870 has nearly doubled in twenty years. This increase (15,802 in each million) has also been supplied from the lower order of industries, in which machinery has set free laborers no longer needed for the production of necessities.

It is instructive to note a similar movement in the metals, from the lower order of work toward specializing new trades and increasing skill.

Formerly the blacksmith performed nearly all the work in iron and steel. Blacksmiths have relatively decreased; while the various trades that go to the specialized iron and steel industries have progressively increased, as the following figures show:—

Description.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Mere Blacksmiths	11,360	9,935	9,026
All other Iron- and Steel-workers *	14,744	16,050	21,831
Total in each million of employed	26,104	25,985	30,857

* Including machinists, moulders, makers of wire, cutlery, tools, nails, stoves, furnaces, steam-boilers, patterns, and sewing-machines, and workers in iron, steel, and other metals.

The trades evolved from blacksmithing are nearly all applications of machinery, by which the labor of the hand is multiplied from ten- to a thousand-fold. New inventions, in the case of iron and steel manufacture, nearly keep pace with the expansion of trade in iron and steel products; hence the transfer of laborers from agriculture to this branch of manufacture as a whole is slow—only 4,753 in twenty years, or 21 per cent increase over the quota of 1870.

But the production of articles of luxury is only the beginning of the higher order of occupations. Protection and culture are higher ends of life than mere luxury and creature comfort.

The vocations which provide protection to the individual include, first, those that furnish amusement and recreation. If this side of human life is neglected there is a constant tendency to such diseases as result in melancholia. The friction of living is augmented; and life is shortened. There must be a certain amount of diversion to preserve the sanity of the individual; and many vocations have for their end amusement or some form of recreation. Next, there is the medical profession, which makes it its business to restore health and to protect the

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body against disease. The legal profession protects property and the person. Then there is the official class, the officers of towns, states, and nations,—officers who manage public works and public charities, as well as those that perform the legislative, executive, or judicial functions of the state. These vocations belong also to the protective class —being protective of the rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Next, there is a large class of protective agencies in the form of insurance companies, companies that guard the general or special interests of society as a whole, or of any particular part of it, charitable associations, trade-unions, and associations for the protection of property or provision for old age or death. These five classes of protective vocations employ comparatively few persons out of the whole community; but it is obvious that they might be increased to advantage. How well could society afford to multiply by ten, or even a hundred, its medical force engaged in the investigation of microbes and the diseases caused by them!

While public officials are not likely to increase very rapidly, the functions which provide amusement, recreation, or protective insurance against the contingencies of life, are constantly furnishing new vocations, and will eventually furnish labor for a much larger portion of society than does the entire professional service at present.

In a similar conspectus to that in which we have given the lower order of occupations engaged in the production of necessities, we may now present the first and second subdivisions of higher occupations, which constantly receive accessions from the lower order.

THE HIGHER ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS—PRODUCTION OF MEANS OF LUXURY, OF PROTECTION, AND OF CULTURE.

The vocations that provide:

1. MEANS OF LUXURY AND CREATURE COMFORT, INCLUDING MANUFACTURES THAT REQUIRE A HIGHER ORDER OF EDUCATED, TECHNICAL SKILL.
2. MEANS OF PROTECTION, INCLUDING—
   - (a) Those who provide amusement and recreation.
   - (b) The medical profession.
   - (c) The legal profession.
   - (d) Officials managing public works or public charities, and Government officials.
   - (e) Insurance companies, and the directive agents of companies formed for guarding the general or special interests of society as a whole, or of any particular part of it; charitable associations, trade-unions, etc.

The third and last division of the higher order of vocations includes the employments of that portion of the community engaged in furnish-

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ing means of culture. These may be arranged under five heads:—

First. The moral and religious education of the people. The view of the world that underlies the civilization in which we live is taught in the Church as the recognized institution which has this in care. The vocations provided for by the Church form this first division.

Second. The intellectual and moral education of youth through schools and libraries. The corps of teachers connected with schools of all sorts, and the persons engaged in the management of libraries form this second class.

Third. Æsthetic culture, culture of the taste. This division includes the vocations having for their object the production of the beautiful in its various forms, workmen in all trades producing ornament on useful goods, the producers of works of art in sculpture, painting, music, poetry, literature, or landscape gardening; and the curators of all establishments (art museums, etc.) for the cultivation of a knowledge of works of art.

Fourth. The publishing interests connected with the collection and diffusion of information, the editing and printing of books and newspapers, the management of telegraphs and telephones, and all individual and associated endeavors pertaining thereto.

Fifth. The pursuit of science, and the invention of devices useful in the arts.

That there is progress from year to year in most of the vocations of this large department is obvious. The need of intercommunication with one's fellow-men, and of gratifying the thirst for information in regard to human affairs has become scarcely less imperative than the three great necessities, food, clothing, and shelter. The table on the next page shows the progress in fifteen of these vocations.

It will be seen that the average increase in twenty years in these vocations is nearly 50 per cent. The number of vocations also increases, and will increase; the inventive mind being very active in the direction of furnishing new devices for instruction, as well as in the matter of intercommunication between the individual and his fellow-men. As fast as the supply of the lower order of wants can be effected by means of machinery, large numbers press upward into these vocations, which have to deal with intercommunication, the diffusion of science, and the refinement of taste. That part of the population which still labors in the lowest round of occupations claims as its right that those who fill the professional employments shall labor for its delectation and welfare.

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Description.	Census Years.		
	1870.	1880.	1890.
Clergymen	3,512	3,722	8,880
Professors and Teachers	10,144	13,099	15,273
Physicians and Surgeons	4,992	4,930	4,610
Dentists	624	708	769
Lawyers	8,256	8,687	8,941
Engineers and Surveyors	592	477	1,900
Designers, Draftsmen, and Inventors	104	161	413
Authors, and Literary and Scientific Men	.....	64	290
Chemists and Metallurgists	61	113	197
Artists and Teachers of Art	320	523	985
Musicians and Music Teachers	1,280	1,755	2,734
Journalists	424	708	963
Photographers	608	575	880
Printers, Compositors, Lithographers, etc	3,232	4,182	4,768
Piano- and Organ-makers and tuners	288	449	669
Total in each million of employed	29,437	35,153	42,272

Looking at these five subdivisions of the third class we have this summary:—

THE HIGHER ORDER OF OCCUPATIONS (*Continued*).

8. INSTRUMENTALITIES OF CULTURE:
   (a) Moral and religious—churches, etc.
   (b) Intellectual and moral education—schools and libraries.
   (c) Æsthetic—including all trades that supply ornament on useful goods, or that produce works of art in sculpture, painting, music, or literature, landscape gardening, etc. Also all influences that cultivate taste—the formation and care of art museums, etc.
   (d) The collection and diffusion of information, editing and printing of books and newspapers, telegraph operators, etc.
   (e) The pursuit of science and the invention of devices useful in the arts.

Suppose that machinery should so far conquer drudgery that one person in each hundred, by the aid of machinery, could furnish all the food, clothing, and shelter needed for the other ninety-nine, every one of these ninety-nine would find ample employment in the higher order of employments which provide means for luxury, protection, and culture. The discontent existing at the present time originates largely in the feeling that there is too much drudgery and too little time for science, art, literature, and the contemplation of ideals. Instead of coming too fast, useful inventions are not coming fast enough.

WILLIAM T. HARRIS.

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THE KALEVALA.

THE past hundred years have witnessed a remarkable change in the attitude of the cultured mind toward the languages and literatures of primitive peoples. No ancient writer thought fit to tell us much concerning the languages or the songs of the numerous tribes included within the bounds of the Macedonian and the Roman empires; and the Middle Ages in general preserved an equal indifference.

More recently men of genius and learning have devoted themselves enthusiastically to the collection of popular songs and stories; so that the student of comparative philology, of folk-lore, or of the general history of culture, has now a mass of material at hand, the thorough sifting of which the next century will hardly see completed.

Especially valuable has this work been from a literary standpoint. Not only does the material which has been gathered throw much light on the history of humanity, on the rise and development of customs, and on the origin and decay of languages, but, in some cases, it illustrates in a striking way the preparatory and intermediate stages of literary growth which culminated in an "Iliad," a "Mahabharata," a "Shah-Nameh," or a "Nibelungenlied." One of the best examples of the manner in which these epics probably came into being is shown in the formation of the "Kalevala,"—the Finnish national poem, which Prof. Max Müller sets beside the four just mentioned, as the fifth great epic of the world.

Ever since the appearance in the field of history of that hardy, peaceful race which now inhabits Finland, we find references to incantations and other forms of lyric poetry current among the people; and during the last century several efforts were made to collect these songs. Toward the end of the century, it became evident that these scattered lyrics gathered around two or three important figures, and that they probably constituted parts of a connected whole. Great exertions were then made by scholars to bring together all the fragments; and runes were gathered from the lips of the peasantry and of itinerant singers in the remotest corners of Finland proper, as well as in Western Russia. In 1822, a collection of some of the scattered parts of the poem was

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published by Zacharias Topelius; some years later, the eminent Finnish scholar, Elias Lönnrot, wove these passages together; and the final result was the appearance, in 1835, of the complete "Kalevala,"—a poem of thirty-two parts, each containing from 200 to 700 verses. In 1849, a second edition, containing fifty runes, or cantos, and 22,793 lines, was published.

When the poem is considered in its present apparent unity, it is hard to believe that, but for Lönnrot's labor, its various parts would probably have remained in the form of scattered songs, and in a few years—with the disappearance of the popular minstrel—have perished utterly. The merits of the work were at once appreciated; and it was translated into Swedish, French, German, and Hungarian. The first translation of any portions of it into English was made by Prof. John A. Porter, of Yale College; and the first complete English translation—which appeared in 1888—was also the work of an American.

No other great epic has so few references to historic events. The heroes of the "Kalevala" are the demigods of Finnish mythology,—*Wainamoinen* (the ancient master-singer), *Ilmarinen* (the eternal iron-worker), and *Lemminkainen* (the untiring suitor), for none of whom any real existence is claimed. The plains of *Kalevala*, whose peaceful inhabitants these heroes protect from the evil denizens of the dismal *Sariola*, have no definite location. In the course of time, however, *Kalevala* has come to mean Finland; while *Sariola*, or *Pohyola*, is identified with Lapland. Not a word is to be found in any of the songs concerning the Swedes or the Russians, with whom the Finns have been in contact for a thousand years.

The mythology of the poem is of the most primitive cast; and the continual mention of copper or bronze, in every conceivable use, and the almost utter absence of Christian ideas, together with many other considerations, point to a remarkable antiquity for the poem. There seems to be no doubt that some parts of it date back to a period at least three thousand years ago, before the Finns and the Hungarians had become distinct peoples; for the names of divinities, many of the customs, and even particular incantations and bits of superstition, mentioned in the "Kalevala," are curiously duplicated in ancient Hungarian writings.

The "Kalevala" begins with a description of the creation of the world. The *Daughter of the Ether*, mother of *Wainamoinen*, whose father is the ocean, spends seven hundred years on the sea before her son is born. A duck, in search of a nesting-place, lays her eggs on the

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knees of the *Water-Mother*. There they become so warm, that the *Ether-Daughter* moves, and the eggs are broken; the earth growing from the lower half of the united fragments, and the heavens from the upper.

> **"From the white part come the moonbeams,**
> **From the yellow part the sunshine,**
> **From the motley part the starlight,**
> **From the dark part grows the cloudage."**

Then the *Water-Mother* creates the islands, bays, reefs, and hills; and all is ready for the birth of *Wainamoinen*. Surely this is a primitive account of creation; and it is of much interest in comparative ethnology, because other peoples in various parts of the earth have somewhat similar stories of the egg-origin of the earth.

From this point onward, the poem is devoted chiefly to the story of *Wainamoinen*, with the occasional introduction of episodes relating to his brothers and other notable figures in Finnish mythology. These heroes are always in quest of adventure; their experiences in wooing Lapland maidens forming the theme of the greater part of the poem. Most of the remainder relates to the Finnish Argonautic expedition to obtain the *Sampo*,—Lapland's talisman,—and to the frantic efforts of *Louhi*, its former custodian, to regain it after it has been stolen. So curious are most of these episodes, and such remarkable use is made of magic,—the *deus ex machina* of many a troublesome situation,—that a complete analysis would not be uninteresting. But, to gain a general idea of the style and thought of the poem, it will suffice to examine one of these episodes somewhat in detail; for it is in details—especially in the descriptive passages—that the "Kalevala" excels. For this purpose, the second wooing of *Lemminkainen* is admirably suited.

Of the fifty runes of which the "Kalevala" is composed, this passage occupies the twelfth to the fifteenth, inclusive. Like the rest of the poem, it is written in the metre which Longfellow has made familiar by its adoption in "Hiawatha." This metre is especially suited to the genius of the language: for Finnish words are prevailingly trochaic; and even Finnish prose has a tendency to become poetry. Rhyme is not a feature of Finnish poetry; but alliteration is frequent. The latter is much aided by the poverty of the Finnish alphabet, which contains but nineteen letters, of which five are found only in a few foreign words and some dialects. That it has been possible to hand down these legends from generation to generation with comparatively few changes, is ex-

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plained by the fact that the alliterative form is an excellent aid to the memory.

Finnish is a liquid and sonorous language. It has none of the harsh sibilants and gutturals which disfigure Russian; and the beauty of the poem in the original is very great. Among the remarkable stylistic features of the original that the English translation preserves is its parallelism, which is as carefully worked out as that of the old Hebrew poetry,—a parallelism which occasionally becomes monotonous; going so far as to repeat verbatim in the answer a dozen lines or so of the question. Conciseness, therefore, is not one of the characteristics of the poem. But this occasional redundancy is more than compensated by the beauty of many of the descriptions. When, for instance, *Ilmarinen's* bride, the beautiful *Maiden of the Rainbow*, is about to leave with her husband, her mother, *Louhi*, in bidding her farewell, thus reviews her childhood:—

> "Never wert thou, child, in sorrow,
> Never hadst thou grief nor trouble,
> All thy cares were left to fir-trees,
> All thy worry to the copses,
> All thy weeping to the willows,
> All thy sighing to the lindens,
> All thy thinking to the aspens
> And the birches on the mountains,
> Light and airy as the leaflet,
> As a butterfly in summer,
> Ruddy as a mountain-berry,
> Beautiful as vernal flowers."

Lemminkainen is the *Paris* of the "Kalevala." The dark and light shades of his character make him, perhaps, the most interesting personage in the poem. Reckless, warm-blooded, vindictive, he is more human than the "grand old Wainamoinen," or the rather thick-witted *Ilmarinen*, "Kalevala's wizard-forgeman." Compelled, as is customary among uncivilized peoples, to seek a wife from another tribe, he sets out for *Pohyola*, after the unfaithfulness of his first consort. It is curious to notice that he is perhaps the most devout of the three heroes. On this expedition, as on all other expeditions in which he is engaged, before leaving he prays to *Ukko* for success. This prayer shows so well how the Supreme Being was regarded, that some lines of it are worth quoting here as an example of the real religious feeling of the Finnish nature. After an invocation of numerous minor deities of the forest and the rivers, he beseeches *Ukko* directly:—

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"Ukko, thou, O God above me,
Thou the father of creation,
Thou that speakest through the thunder,
Thou whose weapon is the lightning,
Thou whose voice is borne by ether,
Grant me now thy mighty fire-sword,
Give me here thy burning arrows,
Lightning arrows for my quiver,
Thus protect me from all danger,
Guard me from the wiles of witches,
Guide my feet from every evil,
Help me conquer the enchanters,
Help me drive them from the Northland."

It is, therefore, with a desire to annihilate the whole force of "Lapland wizards" that he sets forth. Arrived on "the dismal shores of Lapland," he conjures a dwarf to unharness his steed, enters *Louhi's* hall without arousing the watchdog, and begins his work of destruction. With his incantations he straightway banishes all the heroes,

"This one hither, that one thither,
. . . . . .
To the waterfalls of Rutya,
To the whirlpool hot and flaming,
To the waters decked with sea-foam,
Into fires and boiling waters,
Into everlasting torment."

He spares but one, a wretched, helpless shepherd, whom he taunts with his deformities. The old man hobbles off, swearing vengeance; while *Lemminkainen* turns his attention to the object of his journey. *Louhi* is naturally averse to giving him her daughter, and says she will listen to him when he has caught the wild moose of the *Hiisi* forests,—*Hiisi* being the tutelary god of Lapland, the incarnation of all things evil. For this purpose, *Lemminkainen* needs snow-shoes, which he gets from "the ablest smith of Lapland":—

"Smooth as adder's skin the woodwork,
Soft as fox-fur were the stick-rings."

Such similes, drawn from the realm of nature, are common in the "Kalevala," and are often strikingly beautiful. *Lemminkainen* is greatly pleased with these snow-shoes, and boasts of them. Thereupon wicked *Hiisi* "fashioned soon a reindeer," the materials of which call to the mind the splashing of the deer among the lily-pads of a mountain lake:—

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"And the head was made of punk-wood,
Horns of naked willow branches,
Feet were furnished by the rushes,
And the legs, by reeds aquatic,
Veins were made of withered grasses,
Eyes, from daisies of the meadows,
Ears were formed of water-flowers,
And the skin of tawny fir-bark,
Out of sappy wood, the muscles,
Fair and fleet, the magic reindeer."

The beast gives *Lemminkainen* quite a chase, and, when captured, escapes; leaving him with broken snow-shoes in the desolate ice-plains. Again he has recourse to prayer; first imploring *Ukko* to put his "snow-shoes well in order," and then beseeching the assistance of the mountain and forest divinities. With their help, he glides onward: they start the moose from its covert, and drive it toward *Lemminkainen*, who is waiting to lasso it.

When *Lemminkainen* presents the moose to *Louhi* and claims the maiden from her, she calmly requires a second service,—the bridling of the flaming horse of *Hiisi*. Again the power of prayer is illustrated. On *Lemminkainen's* supplication, *Ukko* sends a hail-storm. This so greatly alarms the fire-breathing steed, that he submits at once to the hero, who leads him, safely bridled, to *Louhi*. But, of course, a third task is proposed, more difficult than either of the others. He must, with but one arrow, slay the swan

"In the river of Tuoni,
Swimming in the black death-river,
In the sacred stream and whirlpool."

A peculiar interest attaches to the descriptions of this fatal region, which is occasionally penetrated by *Kalevala's* heroes while living, and which all must finally enter. *Wainamoinen*, for instance, goes to *Tuonela*, this country of death, to find the master-words of magic with which to build a boat; and he escapes only by turning himself into a serpent,

"Creeping like a worm of magic,
Like an adder through the grasses,
Through the coal-black stream of death-land,
Through a thousand nets of copper,
Interlaced with threads of iron,
From the kingdom of Tuoni,
From the castles of Manala."

The dread in which this region is held, however, does not deter *Lem-*

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minkainen ; and he sets out bravely. But the wretched shepherd whom he had spared lies in wait for him, and, as he draws near, sends a serpent from the death-stream,

> "Like an arrow from a cross-bow
> To the heart of Lemminkainen."

As he falls mortally wounded, raising a last prayer to his mother, the old shepherd casts him

> "Into Tuonela's river,
> To the blackest stream of death-land,
> To the worst of fatal whirlpools.
> Lemminkainen, wild and daring,
> Helpless falls upon the waters,
> Floating down the coal-black current,
> Through the cataract and rapids
> To the tombs of Tuonela.
> There the blood-stained son of death-land,
> There Tuoni's son and hero,
> Cuts in pieces Lemminkainen.
> . . . . . .
> Thus the hero, Lemminkainen,
> Thus the handsome Kaukomieli,
> The untiring suitor, dieth
> In the river of Tuoni,
> In the death-realm of Manala."

It would be interesting to follow the steps by which *Lemminkainen's* mother learns of his calamity, and to trace the manner in which she restores him to life. But the passage above epitomized will give an idea of the general trend of the poem, and enough details for comparing it with the greatest of all epics.

The "Kalevala" evidently portrays a more primitive plane of civilization than that of ancient Hellas, a civilization much nearer that of the North American Indians, with their unbounded reverence for medicine-men; and it is a curious fact that several of the Finnish myths—that of the creation, for instance—have near counterparts in American stories. There is not the glamour about these Finnish songs that surrounds the tales of Troy; dealing as the latter do with courts and princes and mighty battles. Indeed, no form of settled government is anywhere indicated in the poem. Each family is under the control of its head; but there seem to be no clans nor tribes, no chiefs nor kings. In fact, while the "Iliad" and the "Nibelungenlied" lay stress on the action, one who reads the "Kalevala" feels that the action is of second-

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ary importance. The Finns are a home-loving, unwarlike, contemplative people. The adventures of their heroes are not entered upon from a love of conquest. The poet spends only a few words on any trial of arms; but he is as thoroughly interested, and perhaps as interesting, in the making of *Wainamoinen's* magic harp as is Homer in his description of Achilles' shield. If constant references are a criterion, music must have held a higher place in *Kalevala* than in Hellas. The Orpheus-cantos of the poem—if we may give them that name—surpass any tribute to the power of melody in the "Iliad" or the "Odyssey."

As regards humor, while generally it is of that grim and practical variety in which early poetry delights, there are, nevertheless, several passages, such as the advice given to *Ilmarinen* and his bride at their wedding, which are genuinely funny.

From an artistic standpoint the "Kalevala" holds an inferior position. It stands, so to speak, midway between the scattered lays or sagas which are found among all peoples and such a masterpiece as the "Iliad." Lönnrot, however indefatigable a collector of the popular poetry, and however careful a scientist, was not a Homer. The unity which he gives to the poem is, after all, rather weak. Indeed, it is the study of the "Kalevala" which has dealt the hardest blow to Wolf's theory of the composition of the Homeric poems, and has confirmed the latest critics in the belief that the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" are the work of a single poet of consummate genius.

But while modern critics cannot claim for the "Kalevala," as an artistic work, the position which earlier writers awarded it, the poem has charms which will always cause it to take a high rank among the literary monuments of the world. Chief and foremost among these charms is the sympathetic delineation of nature, which stands out on every page. When *Wainamoinen* plays his magic harp, for instance,

> "Leaped the squirrels from the branches,
> Merrily from birch to aspen;
> Climbed the ermines on the fences,
> O'er the plains the elk-deer bounded,
> And the lynxes purred with pleasure."

Again, when *Wainamoinen* has cleared away the forests for the planting of the barley, he leaves the birch-tree standing for the birds to rest upon:—

> "Lo! there comes a spring-time cuckoo,
> Spying out the slender birch-tree,

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Rests upon it, sweetly singing:
'Wherefore is the silver birch-tree
Left unharmed of all the forest?'
Spake the ancient Wainamoinen:
'Therefore have I left the birch-tree,
Left the birch-tree only growing,
Home for thee for joyful singing.
Call thou here, O sweet-voiced cuckoo,
Sing thou here from throat of velvet,
Sing thou here with voice of silver,
Sing the cuckoo's golden flute-notes;
Call at morning, call at evening,
Call within the hour of noontide,
For the better growth of forests,
For the ripening of the barley,
For the richness of the Northland
For the joy of Kalevala.'"

However valuable the poem may be to the history of culture, of literature, of religion; however fascinating the weirdness of its magic heroes and the quaintness of its atmosphere, it is this love of the pines and oaks and birches, this sympathy for the beasts of the woodland, which give the Finnish epic its chief distinction.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

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RECENT HISTORIES OF LITERATURE.

In an age like our own, when the output of strictly critical work surpasses in quantity—perhaps even in quality—that of genuine creative literature, it is no matter for surprise that histories of literature, which are really little more than compressed and preserved forms of criticism, should flourish to an extent hitherto almost unparalleled. It is just as little a matter for regret, since a critical epoch affords, as it were, a breathing-space for the creative powers of a people to recuperate in, or, if a homely metaphor be pardoned, an opportunity for balancing their literary accounts. Now, in literature, as well as in business, there are various methods of balancing books; and it is a rather important matter to determine which of them is best. Hence, an attempt to describe and appraise certain notable histories of literature that have recently appeared may not be without interest and value.

It needs but a glance at the dozen or more volumes that will be passed in review, to perceive that they are susceptible of various logical divisions. One group will represent the collaboration of numerous special scholars; another, the monumental labors of an indefatigable student; still another, the rapidly dispatched task of a trained literary workman. A division by subject-matter will show that we can make our choice between studying the literature of the world, or of a continent, or of a country, whether in its entirety or for some special period. A division by methods of treatment will show that we may study these literatures not merely in a profound or in a shallow manner, but from the point of view of biography, of æsthetic criticism, of a mixture of these two, or of literary evolution by genres. A brief examination of the individual works may, perhaps, throw light upon the relative values of these principles of division, which are various and complex enough to confuse the general reader and to annoy the specialist.

As might be expected, it is France—the nation that has done most for the cause of criticism in modern times—that has given us the best two histories of literature that come under our survey. The greatest coöperative critical undertaking of recent years is, beyond a doubt, the monumental "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française,"

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which is in process of publication under the editorship of M. Petit de Julleville. Each stage of the evolution of what we must all admit to be the most seminal, if not the noblest, of modern literatures is treated exhaustively by the most competent specialist the learned editor could engage; and the result is a series of volumes which are as indispensable to the student of French literature as the late Dr. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" is to the student of American history. Such a work, however, although, like all French books, readable, is intended primarily for scholars, and is beyond the purview of the present paper. It can be properly reviewed only by a number of specialists; and no such undertaking can fairly be regarded as a *book*, so long as the capacity of the average human mind remains what it is. No editor, however able, has yet succeeded in coördinating the work of specialists into a book that truly lives. The living book must be planned and developed and nourished by an individual mind. Some books may be larger and greater than others; but, if they be real books, they remain single living organisms. A coöperative book begins and ends by being the heterogeneous product of a joint-stock company. Yet one wishes that such literary joint-stock companies as this of which M. de Julleville is president could be speedily formed in Great Britain and the United States.

The second great history of French literature is so recent, and will serve so well to round off our survey, that we may pass, without further parley, to our own country, where we are confronted at once with a work which, though of almost gigantic proportions, is, nevertheless, a single organism and, therefore, a living book. It is needless to say that reference is made to Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's "The Literary History of the American Revolution," the two volumes of which are a continuation of his "History of American Literature during the Colonial Time," a work which has been before the public for many years. American literature has not yet reached tremendous proportions; but Prof. Tyler has managed to write four very interesting volumes about it without coming beyond the year 1783, by which time we had produced exactly one great literary figure; to wit, Benjamin Franklin.

The reader unacquainted with these volumes will naturally suspect their author of having padded them; but this is not the case. The proportions of the work are determined by his love and knowledge of his subject. He is a scholar primarily, of the most painstaking type; and scholarly enthusiasts, if their lives hold out, weave enormous cocoons. There is hardly a dull page in any one of Prof. Tyler's vol-

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umes, although, in nine cases out of ten, he is dealing with writers who are not merely forgotten, but who never had a spark of literary life about them when they moved among their admiring contemporaries, our easily satisfied forefathers. It is Prof. Tyler's own personality that gives a sort of galvanic shock to these worthies; and that he can give such a shock proves him to be possessed of the essential qualifications of a historian. To the special student, his exhaustive treatise is, of course, invaluable; but we have just seen that a literary history need not be truly alive in order to be invaluable.

A minute review of his latest volumes would be as much out of place here as a detailed treatment of the great French collection of monographs would be; but it may be well to point out a few special features that should interest the public. One is the general light thrown on the political aspects of the Revolution by means of the careful scrutiny brought to bear upon nearly every political pamphlet of importance published during the period,—especially by the sympathetic scrutiny directed toward the writings of the American Loyalists. We have, for some years, been coming to see that these long-suffering people have been too harshly dealt with by historians; and it is scarcely too much to say that Prof. Tyler has rendered such treatment practically impossible in the future. He and other recent scholars may, indeed, have allowed their sympathy to make them a little too reactionary; for, after all, the Loyalists did not possess political wisdom, which is almost the chief reproach a historian can bring against a people or a class. But, if these apologists err, their mistake is a venial one. Hardly less important than this feature of his book is Prof. Tyler's splendid analysis of the Declaration of Independence, and his defence of that noble document from the ill-informed criticisms that have been directed against it from so many quarters. This chapter is, perhaps, the best to be found in the volumes, although the value and power of some other writings of Jefferson cannot be said to be well brought out. Franklin, too, seems to suffer somewhat, and should probably have been placed in the first, rather than in the second, volume.

But these criticisms and others that one could easily make, such as the omission of this man or that speech, or even Prof. Tyler's occasional lack of care in his references to British literature,[1] are all mere

[1] For example, one might infer, from his remarks on Freneau (i. 180), that there is something very noteworthy in that poet's having been a precursor of Wordsworth and having imitated the minor poems of Milton, when, as a matter of fact, Dyer and the other rebels from Pope's authority had been doing the same thing in England for years before Freneau was born.

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trifles of which one is ashamed when one contemplates the solid and admirable achievements of this devoted scholar and accomplished critic. One's natural feeling upon closing his volumes should be not a querulous wonder at the comprehensiveness of his sympathy, which would argue a narrow mind and a still narrower heart on the part of the reader, but a sense of genuine admiration for a noble purpose nobly pursued, and of hope that, when at last the author lays down his pen, a complete history of American literature will lie before him in just as many volumes as he thinks proper to write.

Professor Katherine Lee Bates's "American Literature" follows Prof. Tyler's work much as a pinnace follows a man-of-war; but it is none the less worthy of passing notice. The attempt to compress a large subject into a handy volume is a kind of literary undertaking that will never be out of date: for the desire of the general public for knowledge is sure to increase rather than decrease; and, with the ever-growing mass of things to know, the manual becomes more and more a matter of prime necessity. As Matthew Arnold long since pointed out, a good manual of literary history is a very difficult sort of book to compose,—one requiring of its author, besides wide knowledge and ability to write, the much rarer qualities of tact and self-repression. That Miss Bates has all the qualifications requisite, it would be idle to contend: no one has. But her little volume is readable; her thoroughly national point of view is commendable; and her sympathy with her subject often makes her a good interpreter of men and books. When she errs, it is generally on the side of fluency and effusiveness—both of them qualities that are not unpleasing and that are too rare in text-books to be faulted with impunity. It is perhaps a little premature to call any of our living poets "a troubadour of purest strain," unless Miss Bates is as disillusioned with regard to Provençal literature, as she certainly is with regard to the untroubadour strains of our own Walt Whitman; but one could wish that feminine sympathy and delicacy of phrasing were found oftener in the "American Literatures" which every publishing house seems bent on supplying.

From the single manual one passes naturally to a collection of manuals, *i. e.*, to the omnipresent "series" under the charge of an editor. Two such coöperative undertakings, both of them British in origin, are challenging public approbation at the present time; and, while only one of them has progressed far enough to be dealt with at all adequately, both should receive notice on account of the differing principles on which they are edited. The first is Prof. Saintsbury's series, entitled, "Periods

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of European Literature"; and the second is Mr. Edmund Gosse's, entitled, "Literatures of the World." The principle of "cross-country" chronological slicing employed by the erudite Edinburgh professor is one made familiar already by certain well-known series of abridged histories. Mr. Gosse's principle of editing is the still better known one of "bundling." Both editors have arranged for twelve volumes; but, while Mr. Saintsbury's number is fixed by chronology, Mr. Gosse's can be enlarged indefinitely, if the Spanish-American republics and the various Asiatic and African states can only be prevailed upon to bestir themselves and produce literatures. There can be little doubt that the principle underlying the first series is the more scholarly, and that the one underlying the second is the better adapted to popular needs.

Mr. Saintsbury, as he tells us candidly enough by means of a quotation, has followed Matthew Arnold in holding that "the criticism which alone can much help us for the future is a criticism which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result." From this point of view, it is fairly obvious that his series must begin after the decline of classical literature, that is, with the so-called Dark Ages. He has drawn quite a rational series of lines across European literary history, and will thus give us a set of volumes dealing with every important epoch,—a sort of elongated "Hallam," with a batch of learned scholars and clever journalists taking the place of the dry, but admirable, *savant* of the first half of this century. Of these volumes only one has appeared,[1] viz., the second, entitled, "The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory," which is from the hand of the editor himself.

The period covered (A.D. 1100–1300) is, of course, an extremely interesting one, as will be readily seen when we mention the "Dies Iræ," the "Song of Roland" and its peers, the Arthurian Romances, "Reynard the Fox," "The Romance of the Rose," and the "Poem of the Cid"; and Mr. Saintsbury was probably as fully equipped to undertake it as any other living English scholar. It is open to anyone who reads the volume, whether he be a specialist or not, to believe that it has been written in a very workmanlike manner. The division is by chapters, dealing with the different countries, France naturally receiving the most attention; but, from the nature of the case, the

[1] Since this article was written Mr. David Hannay's volume on the "Later Renaissance" has made its appearance. It seems to be quite strong on the Spanish side.

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specific genres or forms of composition, both in poetry and prose, are treated more or less singly with an ease which will hardly be attained in succeeding volumes on account of the growing complexity of the national literatures. It is also open to every reader to wish that Mr. Saintsbury's style were equal to his matter, and to believe that he not infrequently strikes too high a note of praise, especially when he is dealing with his favorite *chansons de geste*. Matthew Arnold and M. Brunetière may not give the latter poems their due, indeed may know little about them, as Mr. Saintsbury hints; but it is quite plain that the chief reason for the disagreement between these eminent authorities lies in the fact that Mr. Saintsbury, for all his learning, is a perfervid Romanticist, whose mind has never been subdued to classic repose. This is why he does not understand Arnold's position, and so feels called upon to question his scholarship; not remembering that a man can be a good critic without being a good scholar, just as he can be a good scholar without being a critic at all. But Mr. Saintsbury is to be congratulated on having written an excellent book, and on having inaugurated what promises to be a valuable series.

Mr. Saintsbury, if the irreverent comparison may be forgiven, is like the boy who stood head of the class of which he was the sole member: Mr. Gosse is thus far the head of a class of three,—and a very talented class at that. His volume on "Modern English Literature" is probably the best piece of literary work he has ever done, and is certainly a much more admirable book than either Mr. Gilbert Murray's "Ancient Greek Literature" or Prof. Edward Dowden's "French Literature," which preceded it in the series. It is safe to infer that it will have a rather formidable rival in Dr. Richard Garnett's "Italian Literature," which is soon to follow: for Dr. Garnett is an able man; and we need a good history of Italian literature as much as we do any literary manual. But if Dr. Garnett, our own Prof. Tyler, or any other of the chosen contributors to this series, surpasses his chief it will be matter for surprise. Mr. Gosse, by his latest volume, has already, in all probability, surprised those of his countrymen who are wont to treat him as a far from strenuous critic. If, however, they are not yet willing to accord him his due meed of praise, time will soon force them to do it.

Mr. Gosse may be a trifle unsteady in the matter of dates, and may sometimes hazard a statement which a dry-as-dust reviewer can ruthlessly show to be without foundation; but he has come nearer than any other Englishman has done to giving us in a single volume of fair

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size a satisfactory account of the movement, of the evolution of English literature,—this with a proper subordination of his own prejudices, a careful handling of the critical scales, and a resolute thrusting aside of all irrelevant matter. He has not, as we shall soon see, succeeded so well in his chosen task as M. Brunetière has; but then Mr. Gosse is not M. Brunetière, and the British public is not the French. It was, perhaps, inevitable that, having his public in mind, he should call Dickens "a colossal genius"; but, as he immediately proceeds to make the necessary qualifications, we forgive him. His fellow-critics would never have forgiven him had he failed to assert that Shelley was a greater poet than Byron; but a few of us notice with pleasure that his whole treatment of the two men goes to show that Shelley was merely the greater singer,—a very different matter, although contemporary British and American criticism does not seem to perceive it.

As for the delicacy with which Mr. Gosse insinuates that judgment of the late Laureate must for the present be held in abeyance; that Matthew Arnold's letters have damaged his reputation; that Carlyle's "voice" was his strongest organ,—for these things and for half a hundred as neat "summings up" as can be found in any volume of the same scope, the reader must simply go to the delightful book itself. He will differ at times from this and that position taken, as, for example, from the ruthless and somewhat ill-informed remarks about Milton's prose; but it is hard to see how he can lay Mr. Gosse's manual down without feeling that England has at least one absolutely clear-headed critic who is not too old to do battle as well with her Philistine hosts as with the enlightened young scions of culture who are at present the chief menace to her literary and artistic advancement.

It must have been some of these young scions that furnished the glowing notices of Prof. Murray's "Greek Literature" when it first made its appearance. Judging from their eulogies, one might have inferred that the perennial subject had never before been handled so freshly and so adequately. A somewhat belated reader may, however, be allowed to doubt whether in Prof. Murray's case freshness of treatment has not often meant freakishness. Surely it is freakish to lay more stress on Sappho's beautiful fragment about the "one sweet apple very red" than upon her divinely passionate love-odes. It is worse than freakish in the writer of a popular manual to devote page after page to the Homeric question while leaving Homer himself almost out of sight. But some of Mr. Murray's chapters are very interesting, for example, that on Herodotus; and he is at most times eminently sug-

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gestive. If one indulges in the habit of marking one's books, one will probably disfigure the margins of this volume. But it may be questioned whether originality and suggestiveness are the prime attributes requisite in the literary historian who is addressing a popular audience. Tact, rounded scholarship, and, above all, a capacity to arouse the enthusiasm of the reader for the really supreme writers, are, it would seem, much more indispensable qualities. It is well enough, for example, to have a popular historian of Greek literature who can give us as interesting a section on Orphism as Mr. Murray has done, or who will take the pains to lay stress on the beauty of the non-erotic fragments of Mimnermus; but such a historian should also have given us a more adequate treatment of Sappho, and should have had something to say about the plaintive sadness of Mimnermus.

Freakishness is the last charge that can fairly be brought against Prof. Dowden's "French Literature." That admirable critic is too experienced a book-maker not to have learned long since what sort of facts, and the inferences to be drawn from them, are needed by the public that reads manuals. He has even succeeded in taming his quondam rhetorical exuberance, and has produced a book that is in every respect scholarly, sober, and generally accurate. He is not so successful as Mr. Gosse in making us feel the evolution that has taken place in the literature he treats, nor does he cause us to jot down so many exclamation-marks as does Mr. Murray; although he, too, can sometimes turn a neat and most suggestive sentence. But he has given a dignified and succinct account of French literature that will be found useful by many a reader. His sense of proportion is unusually good; and his taste is excellent. He has rarely allowed himself to stray from the paths beaten for him by the great French critics, and is thus trustworthy in most particulars. To be sure, it is a little hard for an admirer of Balzac to find that supreme genius treated in a grudging fashion and given no greater space than is allotted to Michelet; but, on this point, Prof. Dowden offends no worse than M. Pellissier and other French critics who might be named.

The mention of M. Pellissier suggests the regret that our accomplished British critic did not see fit to bring his volume down beyond 1850. Even his ungrudging recognition of the supremacy of Victor Hugo's position among the poets of this century hardly makes up, in a popular manual, for the absence of all mention of Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Augier, and Dumas *fils*. It is true that for such modern writers one can go to several recent books, among them Mrs.

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Brinton's sumptuous, but not very exact, rendering of Pellissier's uneven "Mouvement Littéraire au XIX^e^ Siècle"; yet there is very little reason why Prof. Dowden, despite his remarks about the impossibility of treating impartially the literature of one's own day, should have forced his readers to resort to any other book than his own, save always the remarkable volume we are finally about to examine.

M. Ferdinand Brunetière had been pronounced to be the first of living critics some time before he visited our shores and delighted with his mellifluous French the large audiences that paid tribute to his fame. If there were any real doubts about his primacy, save in the minds of the thorough-going supporters of his great and delightful rival, M. Lemaître, they ought to be laid at rest immediately by his latest volume, "Manuel de l' Histoire de la Littérature française." As a well-known American critic said but the other day, he has displayed in this wonderful work the acumen and insight of a heaven-born philosopher, and the patience and erudition of a Benedictine monk. He has done what others have timidly attempted, but what probably no one has ever before succeeded in accomplishing. He has described the evolution of a great literature without encumbering his text with a tittle of biography or bibliography *per se*, without even using names except when they are so representative as practically to be needed as technical terms. It is the mind of the French nation in its various stages of development, and the gradual birth and expansion of the various forms of literature in which that mind has expressed itself through the course of about nine centuries, that constitute the theme on which M. Brunetière writes with such commanding authority, if not always with persuasive charm. In other words, he is the first critic who has ever really succeeded in giving us literary history in essence, undiluted by biography or purely æsthetical speculations or disquisitions on this or that favorite or detested book. In short, he is a pioneer who has not merely blazed, but actually cut a broad path, through forests hitherto deemed impassable, into a virgin country hardly more than dreamed of. If anyone be inclined to question this praise as hyperbolical, let him read a score of literary histories chosen at random and then sit down to master M. Brunetière's volume. To resume our metaphor, he may trip his toes over more than one stump or root; but, if he do not perceive that a path has been cut, it will be because his eyes have been blinded by the dust accumulated on the other twenty volumes.

It must not be supposed, however, that M. Brunetière is ignorant of the value of biography, of bibliography, and of æsthetic criticism to

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the careful student of literature. He has merely relegated these to their proper place in such a book—the footnotes. It is true that he gives these notes in such a voluminous and connected way that they take up about one-half of every page, and so form a second volume in smaller type running immediately below the text proper; but that they are still notes is indicated by the number of dashes employed and by the abbreviated forms of expression which he allows himself to use. It is here, in this mass of small print, which tries both the eyes and the attentive powers of the reader, that M. Brunetière's immense erudition and the marvellously subtle play of his mind receive their most formal exposition. The bibliographies given are full and, doubtless, well chosen (on this point only a specialist is competent to speak); the relations of the particular author with his times are carefully epitomized; his qualities, good and bad, are enumerated; various questions, æsthetic and other, are raised in connection with his work; and lines of private research and reflection are indicated,—all this within a compass that would hardly allow some of our literary historians to inform us that an author under discussion had even got out of college. In all probability, no such treasury of information and suggestion in such a convenient and useful form has ever been thrown open to the student. To describe it more specifically is practically impossible, unless it were permissible to quote a page or two of footnotes bound together by dashes—a procedure which would effectually alienate most of my readers. It must suffice, therefore, to state that one will find a more adequate criticism of Balzac in the eleven half-pages of notes that M. Brunetière devotes to him than can be found not merely in the combined pages of Prof. Dowden and M. Pellissier, but in the hundreds of pages of M. Barière's rather well-known volume, or in most of the essays that have been written about the great novelist, saving only those of M. Taine and Mr. George Moore. In short, if M. Lanson's excellent history of French literature made us wish for a similar treatment of English and American literature, M. Brunetière's volume makes us feel almost like paupers in this regard, in spite of Mr. Gosse's success.

We may conclude our survey of the work that has been done of late in literary history by remarking that it is plain that the future will see great use made of the principle of coöperation,—by which immense masses of facts will be properly coördinated,—and that the popular series and the manual will be put to fresh uses and be greatly improved. The manuals used by college students to-day are in most respects far superior to those accessible a generation ago; and it is needless to

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say that they are more intelligently employed. The usefulness of the series also in giving a bird's-eye view of the field of literature is something that is comparatively new and that cannot well be overestimated as a means of popular culture.

In comprehensive surveys by single scholars we are hardly doing more than holding our own; for we have no Bouterwek, and are obliged, as we have seen, to combine several scholars in order to replace Hallam. Prof. Tyler serves, however, to remind us that the days of the Ginguenés, the Mures, and the Ticknors are not gone forever. But not even Prof. Tyler's volumes, or the series and manuals we have passed in review, can prevent us from feeling that there are still many attempts to be made before we shall obtain ideal histories of literature.

The evolution of the various genres is a matter that is now greatly occupying students of literature; but the results of their studies have hardly begun to take shape in the form of compressed histories. We still need volumes which shall trace the evolution of the ode, the satire, the essay, the short story,—to say nothing of the greater forms of prose and poetry through all the chief literatures. Then we shall need some scholar with the patience of a Tiraboschi, the ambition of a Bouterwek, and the acumen and scholarship of, let us say, a Brunetière, to give us a broad survey of the vicissitudes of either of the two great divisions of literature, poetry and prose, in the Western World. If this shall ever be done, we may then be bold enough to look forward to still more gigantic undertakings covering the entire field of literature: for the scientists tell us that the average life of man is being lengthened; and who shall set bounds to his ambitions? W. P. TRENT.

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The Forum

MAY, 1898.

GERMANY AND CHINA.

WHEN the admiral commanding the German squadron in Chinese waters received the order to seize the Bay of Kiao Chou, voices were not wanting, particularly in the foreign press, which declared this to be the preliminary step to the partition of China. In order, however, that we may fully understand the reasons which influenced Germany in adopting the above measure, a retrospective survey of the relations between the European Powers and the Chinese Empire will be necessary.

When the first Prussian embassy arrived in China, in the spring of 1861, barely six months had elapsed since the British and French troops had been withdrawn from Peking, and their victorious colors were still flying over Tientsin and the Taku Forts, while strong garrisons of the allied forces held Shanghai and other places. Upon the arrival of the embassy at Singapore, in August, 1860, its chief, Count Eulenburg (afterward Minister of the Interior under Prince Bismarck), was undecided whether to follow the allied armies to Peking and conclude his treaty under their protection, or to defer proceeding to China until the end of the campaign. He wisely determined to maintain his independence, and sailed for Japan, where he arrived at a time when the opposition of the Court party to the establishment of new treaties was at its height. Count Eulenburg, nevertheless, succeeded in concluding a treaty for Prussia. When, however, the members of the German Customs Union had affixed their names to the document, the Gorogio, the Shogun's council of state, frightened by the long list

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of incomprehensible names, refused to sign it; nor did the energetic support of Mr. Townsend Harris, then United States Minister to Japan, and a staunch friend of Prussia, succeed in allaying the fears of the Japanese.

A few days after the arrival of the embassy at Shanghai, the writer was sent to Tientsin to deliver letters from his chief to the British and French ministers, Sir Frederick Bruce and M. de Bourboulon, and to seek their advice as to the best course to pursue. Both ministers, who were about to start for Peking, strongly advised against the Prussian Minister's visit to Tientsin, and recommended that he wait at Shanghai for the appointment of Chinese plenipotentiaries with whom to negotiate his treaty. In his report, the writer had occasion to point out how ill-advised and suicidal such a policy would be, owing to the distance of the seat of negotiation from the capital. This view was shared by the Ambassador himself, who had already decided to proceed to Tientsin without further delay. As it was, nearly four months elapsed before the negotiations were completed; and not until he threatened to go to Peking did Count Eulenburg succeed in inducing the British and French Ambassadors to side with him in the discussion. The attitude of these representatives can be explained only by their desire to prevent any other Power from obtaining by amicable means what their respective countries had been able to secure only after two wars. Furthermore, they were governed by instructions from home not to press any demands upon the Chinese Government, but to endeavor to conciliate it in every possible way, in order, if possible, to remove the memory of its recent defeat and humiliation. It was due to the firm determination of Count Eulenburg, to accept nothing less than what had been conceded to others, that he finally succeeded in obtaining a treaty exactly similar to that which had been concluded a year before by the belligerent Powers—with the proviso, however, that Prussia should make no use of her right of legation for five years.

Within a few years after the conclusion of this treaty, Prussia was on two occasions again exposed to the dangers resulting from the ill-will of some Power whose influence in the Far East was greater than her own. In 1864, during the war with Denmark, the British authorities in China were openly hostile to Prussia. At that time a Danish merchantman, which had been condemned by a Prussian naval court sitting at Tientsin,—a place where Prussia, as well as England, was qualified under her treaty to exercise admiralty jurisdiction,—was seized, while sailing under the Prussian flag, by the British authorities at Hong

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Kong. The condemnation of the Prussian naval court was set aside as illegal, and the ship was restored to its former owner.

Still worse was the condition of affairs in 1870. In that year, the North German commanders and representatives, acceding to the proposal of the French naval and diplomatic authorities, had agreed to regard the waters of China and Japan as neutral territory, in order that the French Legation at Peking might be enabled to obtain full satisfaction for the murder of French subjects during the June riots. Both England and the United States had warmly indorsed this arrangement, which the German Government had already ratified. Nevertheless, upon the fall of the French Empire, one of the first acts of the *Gouvernement de la Défense nationale* was to order its representatives and naval officers in the Far East to withdraw from the compact with Germany; stating as a reason that no occasion should be neglected to inflict as much harm as possible upon Germany, whose hosts had invaded France. From that moment French men-of-war made the ports of China and Japan their base of operations; observing therefrom the movements of German merchant-vessels, and following them whenever they attempted to leave the shelter of the neutral ports. After such experiences, no German statesman could fail to recognize the necessity of establishing a *point d'appui* in the Far-Eastern seas, not for aggressive purposes, but in order to protect the naval and commercial interests of Germany in time of peace as well as of war. If it required a period of thirty years to realize this aim, it was only because, during this long interval, Germany was engaged in the solution of matters of greater and more immediate importance.

Although Germany recognized the necessity of guarding her own interests, yet, from the arrival of her first minister at Peking to the present day, her primary aim has been to maintain with and among her sister-nations a system of coöperation based upon an identity of interests. Such a system is not only a safeguard in cases where the lives and property of foreigners are imperilled; but it also serves to prevent any Western Power from encroaching upon the privileges of the natives.

It was certainly due to this identity of interests, and the unity of action which sprang from it, that the Japanese Revolution, which resulted in the overthrow of the Shogun and the reëstablishment of the Mikado, was effected without the aid of the Western Powers, whose expulsion from the sacred soil of Japan was indeed one of the first demands made by the followers of the Mikado. It was due to the same influence that the first attempt to invade Korea, in 1874, was

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abandoned by Japan, which Power, in order to satisfy the army, which was clamoring for some military exploit, then undertook the expedition to Formosa.

In China, also, the concerted action of the foreign representatives contributed largely to check the fanaticism of the *literati*. But the influence which the foreign diplomatic body might have exercised upon the central government was weakened considerably by the policy of the Powers on the occasion of the occupation of the Liukiu Islands by Japan, as well as during the Franco-Chinese difficulties in Annam and Ton-King. The passive attitude of the Powers at that time went far to destroy the confidence of Chinese statesmen in the sense of equity and justice of their foreign friends.

Nevertheless, when, in 1891, the anti-foreign and anti-Christian riots broke out in the Yang-tse Valley and threatened to assume larger proportions, it was due solely to the combined action of the foreign representatives that the danger was averted. Indeed, this intervention might have been productive of far greater and more beneficial results, had not the United States Government, for reasons unknown, suddenly withdrawn from the compact. England, fearing that Russia might imitate the example of the United States, was the next to follow. Indeed, she played directly into the hands of the wily mandarins by accepting the flimsy statement that the riots were the work of a society which conspired against the Government, and not against Christians and foreigners. The outbreak of the rebellion in Mongolia in 1896, which, at the beginning, was directed against Catholic missionaries and their native proselytes, was also the natural outcome of the vacillating policy of the foreign governments and their representatives.

When the differences between China and Japan on the subject of Korea arose in 1894, the identity of interests and action among the foreign Powers, which might have prevented the war or terminated it more speedily, had ceased to exist in China, as well as in Japan. The United States had dissolved the union with the other Powers in 1891; and it maintained this neutral attitude in 1894–95. The antagonism which had sprung up in England against German industrial and commercial progress had found its way also into British diplomacy, and, though less openly avowed, made itself very acutely felt in China, where petty attempts to undermine German interests and influence were constantly made. France and Russia, or rather the representatives of these Powers at Peking, had also separated themselves from their associates, ostensibly on account of the Audience Question,

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but more probably in order to inaugurate that policy of joint action, which, since Kronstadt, had formed the basis of the understanding between these two Powers. The result of this situation was, that all the attempts at mediation between the two belligerents failed; and when the conditions of peace which Japan intended to impose upon China were divulged it became evident that Japan, in possession of the Liau Tong peninsula and the southern districts of Mongolia, would become a permanent menace to China, and in this way endanger the peace of the Far East, indeed of the world. The positions held in Talien-wan and at Port Arthur would have enabled Japan within twenty-four hours to throw an army upon the coasts of Shangtung and Chili, and to blockade the Gulf of Pechili at a moment's notice. In this way China would either have become subject entirely to the uncertain policies of Japan, or she would have been compelled to abandon her present capital and select some other place less exposed to the danger of a Japanese invasion.

Even at that moment a combined action on the part of the principal Powers would have been of the greatest importance, and it was the fault of England that such an action did not take place; for England refused to join Germany, France, and Russia, though repeatedly invited to do so. Although a peaceable settlement was effected without the assistance of Great Britain and the United States, the coöperation of these Powers, together with that of Italy,—who would have followed the example of England,—would have tended to exert on China a pressure so powerful as to compel her to introduce the reforms so essential to her future well-being. Four of the six Powers above mentioned, namely, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States, are naturally interested in maintaining the integrity and strength of the Chinese Government, in order that it may lend its assistance to the development of the natural resources of the country. France and Russia, on the other hand, by their desire for territorial aggrandizement and political power, naturally prefer to exercise a preponderant political influence, in order that they may more easily intimidate the Government into submission to their plans.

After the retrocession of the Liau Tong by the three Powers, all attempts to introduce reforms into China by friendly means had to be abandoned. Russia forced her guarantee for the first 4-per-cent Franco-Russian loan upon the Chinese Government. With the aid of French capital, she established the Russo-Chinese Bank, and obtained at the same time the privilege to organize the Russo-Chinese Railway

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Company. This company has undertaken the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which is to extend from Onon, over Suruhaitu, Tsitsihar, Hulanchen, and Ninguta to Nikolskoje, a distance of 1,920 versts, of which 1,425 pass through Chinese, *i.e.*, Manchurian, territory. Besides these concessions, Russia secured the privilege of entering upon numerous industrial, commercial, and mining enterprises. It should be mentioned further that the contract for building the Trans-Siberian Railway was made in such a way as to leave the Russian Minister of Finance absolute master of the situation for eighty years, even if the Chinese Government should buy back the Railway in the mean time. These arrangements, and the further proceedings of Russia in Korea, as well as at Peking, can leave no doubt that most of the points mentioned in the so-called Casini Convention, must have formed the subject of negotiations between Russia and China, if not at Peking, perhaps at Moscow or St. Petersburg.

With regard to France, it must not be forgotten that already, after the conclusion of the so-called Li-Fournier Convention in May, 1884, the French Government counted upon getting special industrial and commercial advantages from China. Even after the disastrous campaign in Formosa and Ton-King, it succeeded in inserting into Article VII of the treaty of June, 1885, a stipulation by which China promised that, in case she intended to construct railways, she would address herself directly to French industry. It was only natural, therefore, that, after the beginning of the negotiations for the retrocession of the Liau Tong Peninsula, the French Minister at Peking should proceed along the same line as his predecessor. By strong pressure put upon the Tsung-li Yamen he obtained an agreement—signed in Convention June 20, 1895—whereby China pledged herself to engage only French industry and commerce in operating her mines at Yunnan and Kwang-Tung. In June, 1896, a second Convention granted to the French Company, Fives-Lille, the right of constructing a railway from the frontier of Ton-King to Lungchau in Kwangsi. By a third agreement, signed in June, 1897, France gained the right to push her railways from Ton-King into Yunnan as far as Yunnan-fu, and to farther extend that to Lungchau into the interior of China; while various new commercial advantages, such as the opening of several places in Yunnan and Kwangsi to French commerce, were also conceded to France by the first and third of these conventions.

At the same time, France succeeded by treaty in wresting from China the territory of Kiang-hung, or rather that portion of it situated

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on the left bank of the Mekong. This territory England had handed over to China only the year before, under the express condition that it should never be ceded to any other Power. This cession, which gave to France the whole country on the left bank of the Mekong up to the Yunnan frontier, led to new difficulties and negotiations between England and China, as well as between England and France. The outcome of the former was a readjustment of the Chino-Burmese frontier, the partial opening of the West River in Kwangsi for foreign trade, and a promise that all railways built in Yunnan should be connected with those in Anglo-Burmese territory. By the convention with France, both Powers agreed that any concession made by China to one of them, in Yunnan or Szechuen, should be shared by the other. At the same time England opened negotiations with China in order to obtain from her an extension of the territory opposite Hong Kong,—probably to include the Mirs Bay,—so that she might be enabled to make Hong Kong a naval station of the first class.

Germany's position, in the face of these rapid changes, was a particularly difficult one. The result of the Chino-Japanese war, by which the Far East had gained greatly in importance, the utter inability of the gigantic Empire to defend itself on sea or land against its much smaller adversary, and the unrest resulting from the avowed or hidden aspirations of the other Powers, had forced upon the German Government the necessity of maintaining a much larger squadron in Far-Eastern waters than heretofore, and to provide for this a *point d'appui*.

During the visit of Li Hung Chang to Germany, that statesman was informed of the necessities and wishes of the German Government. He was assured that Germany was willing and anxious to come to a friendly understanding on the subject with China, and ready to rent or buy any place upon which the two Powers might agree. Although similar communications were addressed to the Central Government at Peking, they met with little attention. In the meanwhile, China did not hesitate to make the above-mentioned concessions to other Powers. A certain estrangement was the natural result of this behavior on the part of the Chinese Government, which, for the last thirty years, had no warmer, more considerate, nor less selfish and exacting friend than Germany.

While the negotiations concerning the retrocession of Liau Tong were still proceeding, some German Protestant missionary establishments in Kwang Tung were attacked and destroyed by Chinese mobs.

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Already on this occasion (May, 1895) the Chinese Government was warned that if it should prove unwilling or unable to protect German missionaries, Germany would undertake that task herself shortly afterward. Insults addressed against the German Catholic Mission in South Shantung caused renewed remonstrances from the German Government; and again the Tsung-li Yamen was warned of the serious consequences which its own liability or ill-will might produce. In this connection it should be borne in mind that matters had not been precipitated by the German missionaries in Shantung. On the contrary, the missionaries had, for years, purposely avoided those places where the Chinese authorities had urged the necessity of proceeding slowly. Furthermore, it is altogether erroneous to attribute a special sanctity to Yen-tchoufu, where dozens of Buddhist and Taoist temples and some eighty opium-shops exist, and where the Emperor Kanghi himself had already in the seventeenth century set apart a piece of land for the erection of a Christian church. The real danger in Shantung, as well as at all other places where foreigners and Chinese meet on common ground, lies in the animosity of the *literati* and gentry toward everything foreign, in the indifference, ignorance, or ill-will of the provincial and local authorities, and in the circumstance that past events have led the Central Government to consider it a safe and easy game to pacify foreign remonstrances with far-going assurances while evading the main point at issue. For the Chinese Government does not prosecute the real culprits for fear of giving offence to the local magnates.

When, therefore, in November, 1897, the news of the foul murder of two German missionaries in South Shantung reached Berlin, the German Government had to decide what steps to take in order to afford protection to her missionaries, and to guard her commercial and industrial interests, which were seriously jeopardized by the acts of other Powers. Russia claimed Korea, Manchuria, and Northern China, as far as the Hoangho, as her exclusive field of influence and action. France claimed Kwangsi, Kwang Tung, and Yunnan, and endeavored to extend her sphere of influence through the latter province to that of Szechuen in the upper valley of the Yang-tse. England, while disputing French influence in Yunnan and Szechuen had shown, not only by her action in 1846, when she reserved to herself the sole right of forever occupying the Chusan Archipelago, but also by her interference in 1894–95,—when she twice forbade Japan to extend her military or naval operations to the valley of the Yang-tse,—that she regarded that

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part of China as her special, if not exclusive, domain. In judging the action of Germany, we should bear in mind that her commercial, industrial, and shipping interests in China, though not nearly as great, are second only to those of Great Britain, and that, of the external debt of China, more than ten million pounds sterling are held in Germany.

It was, therefore, only as the natural result of a situation for which it was not itself responsible that the German Government came to the conclusion,—now shared by a large majority of the population,—that its political and material interests made the acquisition of a *point d'appui* in Chinese waters an absolute and unavoidable necessity, and that such a point had to be chosen outside of the spheres of influence already occupied or selected by other Powers, in order that possible political complications might be avoided. The only point offering these advantages was Kiao Chou Bay, which, at the same time, was sufficiently close to the German mission in South Shantung to afford an effectual protection to it. Orders were at once sent to the admiral commanding the German squadron in the Far East to seize the position selected, and to hold it until a complete understanding with the Chinese Government had been arranged. At the same time large reinforcements were sent as an earnest of the firm determination of the Government not to recede from the step to which it had been forced.

The Missionary Question between Germany and China was settled, as it had frequently been before on similar occasions, although the Chinese Government introduced a new and commendable feature, by contributing to the erection of some expiatory chapels, while the Emperor granted special honorary tablets to the memory of the victims. As to the political and other concessions demanded and received by the German Government, the principal points are the following:

China rents to Germany for ninety-nine years the two promontories forming the entrance to the Bay of Kiao Chou, and the water-area of the bay up to high-water mark, with the islands in it; agreeing, at the same time, that nothing shall be done by the Chinese authorities within a radius of thirty-one English miles round the bay without the previous consent of the German authorities. China agrees further to give to a Chino-German railway company, to be formed, a concession for the construction of a railway from the Bay of Kiao Chou to Tsinan-fu, passing through Ichau-fu, and returning to the point of departure. It also grants to Germany the privilege of operating the coal-mines at Weihsien, Joshansien, and Ichau-fu, and promises, further, that in the event of works being undertaken in Shantung with the help of foreign-

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ers, German industry and commerce shall be first called into requisition. These concessions, when compared with those granted to other Powers since 1842, and more particularly since 1894, were by no means unreasonable; and they involved no loss of dignity and no risk to China.

There has been much talk by irresponsible persons about the partition of China; but a country with an area of over 1,300,000 square miles, not including Mongolia, Manchuria, and Tibet, and a population of about three hundred millions of people, is a rather tough "bit" to swallow, and certainly not an easy one to digest. It has taken England over two hundred and fifty years to conquer India, although the circumstances there were certainly much more favorable to the foreign invader and conqueror, who has only during the last fifty years been compelled to guard her dominions against foreign foes. Germany has certainly never intended to procure or hasten a partition of China, and she could have no interest in doing so; for she is not at present in a position to share in the benefits accruing from such an event. Germany has repeatedly declared that she desired only to be on the friendliest terms with China, and to see the Chinese Government as strong as possible. The concessions she has demanded from China had become necessary, owing to the turn which events had taken in the Far East: they were forced upon her by the action of other Powers in that part of the world. Her new acquisition is intended for defence, not for attack; and all she desires is a place in the sunshine by the side of others who are basking in it. That place she is determined to have; and, despite the political parties and the assertions of newspapers, she is supported in her demands by the whole German people.

It will not be Germany's fault if the work of peace upon which she is bent is disturbed by events which arise without her agency, and which lie beyond her control. Far from wishing to restrict the area within which foreign trade and industry can and ought to flourish in China, she will ever advocate the maintenance and extension of commercial relations with the Celestial Empire,—not to the exclusion of others, but for the general benefit of humanity. And there is no reason why she should not coöperate to that end with any Power animated by the same wishes and aspirations.

M. VON BRANDT.

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THE FIFTY MILLION APPROPRIATION AND ITS LESSONS.

CONGRESS, in the passage of the Fifty Million Bill, set an example which the whole country should follow. The lofty plane upon which the debate in the House on that measure proceeded, and the unanimity of the vote in both the House and the Senate, show the extent to which our Union has been cemented by the blood of the heroes who offered up their lives in our Civil War, by the generosity, forbearance, and manliness exhibited by the survivors of that struggle, and by the mutual admiration which has sprung up between them. Congress had its first opportunity to exhibit its unanimity in all that pertains to our national honor by the response which it made to Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela Message; and now the chapter opened at Fort Sumter has been closed by the Fifty Million Bill in a manner that no patriot could have dared to hope for in 1861.

Col. A. K. McClure, in a recent speech in Huntsville, Alabama, eloquently said that the oneness of purpose exhibited by Congress in the passage of this measure was worth all it would cost, even if the entire $50,000,000 should be thrown into the sea.

But it has not been thrown into the sea. It has been and will be, in the main, wisely and judiciously expended. Under the circumstances, some bad bargains are of necessity unavoidable. The money was given that the Administration might prepare for war. Those who believed that war was inevitable and those who believed that war could best be averted by military preparation concurred in making the appropriation; and the President was therefore authorized promptly to put the country in readiness for whatever might come. Time was precious. It was not to be wasted in haggling over prices; and resort must sometimes be had to makeshifts in providing for the wants of both the army and the navy.

The Editor of THE FORUM has asked me to state my views on "The Fifty Million Appropriation and its Lessons."

The task thus imposed upon me involves a consideration of our military necessities, and some discussion, however brief, of the reasons why

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this extraordinary appropriation of a lump sum, without any limitations upon the method of expending it, was necessary. The time seems to have come for such reflections as naturally grow out of this subject; and though it is, of course, always easy to say, after the fact, what ought to have been done before the fact, this certainly furnishes no reason for not saying it. Peoples and statesmen who fail to learn from the experience of others should assuredly profit by their own; and our country ought undoubtedly to take to heart the lessons now set before us.

Prior to 1861, American statesmen were the strictest of economists; yet they fortified efficiently all our harbors. But with our Civil War began a new military era. Within a decade after Appomattox every intelligent person in America knew that our forts and their guns were antiquated and useless. National revenues were superabundant. Mr. Tilden came forward with a plan for fortifying anew our coast cities. He argued it with a force that attracted the attention of the whole country; but his arguments did not influence Congress. The question was then taken up by our Secretaries of War. One after another, they pressed for money to be used for coast defences. Military committees in the House of Representatives and in the Senate followed a similar course. These committees made able and elaborate reports, setting forth the necessity for appropriations for new harbor defences. So obviously did the dictates of prudence point to the wisdom of modern guns and modern forts, that no executive officer and no committee of either House, whose duty it became to study the question, could fail to recommend appropriations. But Congress was slow to be convinced; and it was only a few years ago that it took up the question in earnest. Even then Congress was parsimonious. Small amounts for fortifications and a few guns were allowed from time to time; but even for these guns the ammunition provided was scant.

Should Spain be our only enemy, it is believed that none of our seacoast cities would be in imminent danger. Our navy could probably take care of the enemy's ships. Cuba, the occasion of the war, would be the principal objective point of operations for both the Spanish and the American navies. While we threatened that island from, say, Key West, or any other point to the north of it, Spanish ships would scarcely venture to attack our Gulf ports; nor would Spain have armored vessels to spare for ventures on our Atlantic coast. Commerce-destroyers, raiding our commerce after the manner of the "Alabama" during the Civil War, might appear off Boston or New York, or, venturing where they were not looked for,—as the little "Essex" did among the British merchantmen

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in the war of 1812,—might possibly turn up in the Pacific Ocean; but they would keep at respectful distances from forts where heavy guns were supposed to be mounted. Still, in war it is the unexpected that happens. The great strategist is he who concentrates his forces on vital points where they are not looked for.

Complications might arise, however, and—though such a contingency seems in the highest degree improbable—some other nation might come in as an ally of Spain. A military leader, looking to the future, must provide against possibilities as well as probabilities. The President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, must therefore put all our harbors, especially those on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, into the best possible state of defence at the very earliest practicable period. He must hurry forward the completion of guns, gun-mounts, and their equipments, and the manufacture of armor-piercing, semi-armor-piercing projectiles, and common shells. So of powder and high explosives. Of all these the President must procure the very best possible, or at least the best that can be secured. For instance, if smokeless powder cannot be had, it must be dispensed with; and if powder that will secure an initial velocity of, say, 2,000 feet is not to be procured, powder that was rejected because it gave only 1,900 feet velocity must be accepted. So of other materials, all through the catalogue of explosives and other munitions of war.

Hurry never fails to involve expense, extra payment to labor for extra time, and the employment of relays of laborers to work day and night; but, worse still, hurry often renders it necessary to dispense with all the tests ordinarily applied before accepting war material. The government that has been niggardly in making military preparations in time of peace must pay the piper and be lavish when war is imminent. It must also scour the markets of the world, to procure what ought to have been made at home.

There were some of our harbors that had not a single gun mounted for their defence when the Fifty Million Appropriation was made. These were all to be put in condition to meet attack, by the mounting of guns when practicable. Submarine mines, too, must be prepared for these and all other harbors. The "Maine" disaster is the latest and saddest example of the terrible effectiveness of these instruments of destruction. It takes money to procure the dynamite, melinite, gun-cotton, and other high explosives; to prepare and place the tanks that contain them; and to designate the spots where they are placed, so that they can be fired from shore when the enemy's vessels are precisely over

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them. An enemy will always suspect the existence of these mines, and will seek to drag for and break the wires that connect with the shores, or to set off the mines by counter-explosions. There should be guns to protect them. If enough modern guns are not at hand, resort must be had to our old guns. These must be put in order, and ammunition for them must be on hand. The dirigible torpedo may also come into play. This torpedo is operated from the shore by electric wires, and will prove a valuable weapon if it shall accomplish what its inventors claim for it. Signal-stations and lookouts, where not already established, must be provided, as well as means of instantaneous communication, not only between neighboring, but between distant posts. There must also be sentinel-boats in front of every harbor.

Let us turn now from the question of coast defence, which is in the hands of the army, to the navy. The war with Spain will be waged, as any future wars are likely to be, largely by the latter branch of the service. Cuba Spain must defend. If our navy can meet the Spanish navy in waters adjacent, or on the highway leading, to that island, and defeat it decisively, Cuba will lie at our mercy, and peace ought to follow.

Congress has been more liberal with our new navy than with modern coast defences; and this was wise if either was to be neglected. The country that has an efficient navy may seek and destroy its enemy wherever he can be found at a disadvantage. The country that relies on coast defences leaves its enemy to rove the seas at will, and select points of attack at his own discretion.

Every student of military history knows the difference between being on the defensive and on the offensive. The advantage, unless in exceptional circumstances, is with the assailant, and this equally on land and sea. No one knew this better than Napoleon, who by his masterly combinations and swift movements made himself the master of Continental Europe; but England had a great sea-captain, who, by this same strategy, gave his country dominion on the water, and thus compassed the downfall of the conqueror. Nelson refused to scatter his ships for the protection of English commerce: he combined them, and sought and destroyed the fleets of the French and the Spanish at the Nile, at Cape St. Vincent, and at Trafalgar. In a war with Spain, it is to be hoped that our naval strength will not be frittered away by the attempt to cover immediately every port on the Atlantic and the Gulf, but that our ships will be combined, and that, in spite of the clamor of merchants and seaports, the ships of the enemy will be hunted, if need be, and destroyed. Thus, and thus only, can we hope to protect

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our ports and our commerce sufficiently, and to bring the war to a speedy close. These are the uses to which a navy may be put; and these are the considerations which, in recent years, have moved Congress to expend more money on naval construction than on coast defences.

Successful war means the utilization, the concentration, and the wise direction of all the energies of a nation to one purpose—the defeat of an enemy. It is sometimes said that a republic is therefore at a disadvantage in war,—that it is apt to fall short of putting forth its utmost efforts, because the sovereign power is too much divided, and popular differences of opinion are likely to mar its counsels and cripple its operations. Looking to our own history, this was, to some extent, true of the war of 1812, which in its immediate effects was more disastrous, as all wars necessarily must be, to one section than another. So of the Civil War, so far as the land forces of the Union were concerned. Mr. Lincoln, though he doubtless well knew that the true military policy was to strike at once, with all the power he could command, for the heart of the Confederacy, was nevertheless obliged more or less to regard political considerations. He was forced to scatter his forces, to look after the doubtful States, Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, and Kentucky; and the border States, like Ohio, had to be watched and guarded. But on the water he was able to make, and did make, the wisest possible use of his forces. Few people now remember how loud and how incessant was the clamor raised by the press and by merchants of the seaboard for more ships to be sent after the "Sumter," the "Alabama," and the "Shenandoah." Mr. Lincoln knew that commerce-destroyers had never yet decided a war; that they could do much damage, but that this damage, being covered by insurance, was largely distributed among the people; and that the supreme effect of a war against commerce was to exasperate a people against their foe. What he also knew, fortunately for the Union, was that he could do better with his ships than scatter them in a hunt for the rovers of the sea. He sent a few vessels on this mission; but his fleets he collected into squadrons, to blockade the Confederacy and shut out supplies, to penetrate rivers, destroy depots and stores, cut off communication between Confederate armies, and capture seaports that were bases of operation. The navy of the United States thus penetrated into the very heart of the Confederacy, and was one of the prime factors in its downfall.

In the war with Spain Cuba will be the heart of the controversy, and the fighting-ships of Spain will constitute her right arm. As these lines are written it is rumored that Spain will make no effort to preserve

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Cuba from our clutches, but will disperse her ships, and with these and with privateers will wage a war of revenge against our commerce. This is incredible. It would be to give up the contest in advance. Such a course would be as futile as were the efforts of French cruisers and privateers against English commerce from 1792 to 1812. Thousands of English ships and English cargoes were destroyed: but England continued to prosper; and it was England that finally stood guard over Napoleon as his life ebbed away under the willows of St. Helena.

Our progress in building and arming modern naval vessels since we began the work, though it might well have been more rapid, has been fairly satisfactory. The United States navy is believed to be superior to that of Spain in every respect except as to torpedo-vessels. Had Congress been, as was recommended, more liberal in authorizing this class of vessels, we should have had also more torpedo-craft than that country. As it is, the Navy Department must supply our deficiency in this respect as best it may. Here Spain not only has the advantage over us, but is buying ships where she can. The President was of course right in buying such men-of-war and torpedo-boats as he could, and in resorting to yachts and tugs when torpedo-vessels could not be had.

A yacht or a tug that makes only 17 or 18 knots is not a perfect substitute for a boat that makes 25 knots or more; but such a substitute will be more or less efficient. A torpedo-boat is most dangerous in the night-time. It would be very difficult for such a boat in the daylight, unless favored by the smoke of battle, or approaching under the lee side of a battleship, to get close enough to deliver its blow to a fighting-ship, if the fighter was at the moment sufficiently disengaged to allow it to show proper respect to its little antagonist. But a telegram from Key West informs us that in a recent contest at night between our battleships and torpedo-boats the latter were victorious; that the "Iowa" might possibly have been blown up, and that the "New York" and "Indiana" were put in danger. The terms of these contests are, that if the torpedo-boat, seeking under cover of darkness to approach unseen, comes within striking distance—say 800 yards—without being picked up by the electric lights, the battleship loses; otherwise the battleship wins. Such experiments as these, often made in our own and other navies, show that even in these set contests, when the men at the lights are cool, torpedo-boats often win. If the Spanish torpedo flotilla were in Havana harbor, our fleet lying in Key West, distant only four hours' run, would be seriously threatened. The President, therefore, must supply in numbers

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picket-boats, guard-boats, and boats that answer as well as may be for torpedo-boats, while building torpedo-boats as rapidly as he can. The torpedo-boat relies at night, first, upon its invisibility, and, secondly, upon its ability to run the gauntlet of, and get away from, gun-fire. A yacht may be, according to its construction, almost, or quite, as invisible as a torpedo-boat. What it lacks in speed and in other respects, we must look to the pluck and dash of our officers and men to make up. There is nothing else for it, unless our navy shall seek out and find and destroy in the daytime our adversary's torpedo flotilla.

As to battleships, we must buy them, if to be had, more to keep them from falling into the hands of Spain than for any other reason. And so of cruisers and commerce-destroyers. In number and quality of ships of this class we have the advantage; but we must not, if it can be prevented, let any purchasable cruisers go to our adversary. We have many more ports than she out of which vessels sail; and we have, engaged in coast-wise traffic along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, of vessels over 100 tons a tonnage of 1,091,135 tons, and of American ships in foreign trade a tonnage of 792,870 tons. The total tonnage of Spanish ships of over 100 tons, coast-wise vessels included, is 587,787 tons.[1]

The President did right in chartering the best of the merchant-ships, such as the "St. Louis," the "St. Paul," etc., which are classed as our auxiliary navy. These vessels, properly equipped, will make efficient cruisers. Well armed, they can destroy many of the enemy's cruisers; and, by their speed, they can successfully avoid such as it would not be prudent to engage. They will be highly useful, too, as scouts. In deciding whether to take over these ships two questions were to be considered: First, whether they could be properly armed; secondly, the cost. Unfortunately, Congress, in its desire for economy, has heretofore failed to appropriate as liberally for guns, torpedoes, and ammunition as it was asked to do; but, by extraordinary efforts and purchases abroad, armaments may, it is hoped, be had for most of the auxiliary vessels.

The Navy Department, in deciding whether to buy or charter, must consider expense and the extent to which it is able to furnish efficient outfits. The speed of merchant-ships is a prime element to be considered, in this connection. If a ship be fast enough to enable it to get away

[1] Nevertheless, the temptation to take out letters-of-marque to cruise against our commerce will not be excessive. Captains of vessels, who reckon carefully upon the difficulties to be encountered in taking prize-vessels from our coast to a Spanish port for condemnation, will, many of them, conclude that the game is not worth the candle.

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from vessels it cannot fight, it is of great value: in proportion to its lack of speed its usefulness is restricted.

Extensive purchases should be made by the navy, as well as the army, not only of guns, but of powder and other explosives, shot, shell, and torpedoes. Nothing is more inexcusable than a lack of ammunition. It should be abundant, not only for battle, and for battle after battle, but for practice beforehand. A torpedo is expensive; but, if one is fired in battle, it is gone, and another must be supplied. Indeed, all modern ammunition is expensive: but so is everything connected with a modern navy; and the same reason that would favor limiting gun-practice would, if pressed, justify Government in cutting down, if not cutting off, its whole naval establishment. The country is not now, and I trust will not soon be, in a temper to listen to arguments tending in that direction. The economist who is pondering over the expense of gun-practice should consider the wonderful accuracy with which a modern gun well aimed will throw a projectile at a target, say, 2,000 to 8,000 yards distant; then let him, if he can, weigh in his scales the difference in value between a shot that hits and a shot that misses the mark, and he will fetch up with the conclusion that the ammunition that is really wasted is that which the inexperienced gunner throws wide of his mark in the day of battle. That is the waste that will bankrupt national honor and bring with it humiliation and defeat.

The navy must obtain all the additional men it needs; and these must be the best that can be had. The Navy Department must procure hospital and surgical supplies and hospital-ships. It must buy and store at convenient points abundant supplies of coal. It must provide rations and ship-stores of all kinds. Admiral Porter, in his very interesting work on naval operations in the Civil War, complains bitterly of the inefficiency of our Navy Department at the outset of that struggle. The faulty administration he attributes to the Bureau system. The work of the Department was then, as now, distributed among eight bureaus; but important changes have been made by administrative orders and Acts of Congress, the result of which has been that one bureau now has charge of all supplies and accounts. The Secretary of the Navy has now, therefore, one man to whom he can look to prevent the duplication and secure the proper distribution of supplies; and so he can avoid, as far as may be, the great waste which great haste almost invariably makes.

Let the Secretary, however, be as careful as he may, there will nec-

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essarily be a large accumulation of material which will be of little use to the navy, in the absence of war. Still, the guns, powder and other explosives, shot, shell, torpedoes, most of the surgical and medical supplies, the rations and uniforms will, for the most part, be always useful as permanent supplies. Nor can there be much loss on coal. The greatest loss is that involved in the money necessarily expended in the purchase of makeshift vessels, vessels that should be promptly sold when the emergency that called them into the navy shall have passed away. All these latter losses the country must charge up not to officials who now find themselves compelled to spend this money, but to the economists in Congress who, from time to time, have pared down the amounts recommended for the increase of the navy.

How long preparations should continue, is a question easily answered. Both army and navy, keeping always in view the more or less permanent value of the supplies furnished, should continue vigorously to prepare for war, whether the danger of hostilities be near or remote. A military leader cannot reckon on probabilities alone; he is criminally careless if he does not provide, as far as may be, against possibilities as well.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

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THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE MILITARY SYSTEM.

It will be well to explain, at the outset of these remarks, what is meant by the independence of the military system; the military system being understood to be that part of our political organism which relates to the military establishment. We know, of course, that it is not absolutely independent; but that, on the contrary, it is, in general, subordinate to the civil power. Wherever the civil power has jurisdiction, there this subordination exists. No one would dare, nor could anyone possibly desire, to deny this proposition. The army was created, and has ever since existed, subject to this principle, which is admitted and respected as fully in the army as out of it.

But the military is not in all respects subject to the civil power: it has a domain peculiar to itself, and within which its jurisdiction is exclusive, namely, the domain of military law, or the military system. This exclusive jurisdiction has grown up side by side with the principle of subordination to the civil power, and is not in conflict with it. But this is not generally recognized. The general understanding, outside the military community and the Federal courts, is that which would give unlimited scope to the principle, stated by the Supreme Court of the United States in the celebrated Milligan Case, viz., that the Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances,—a statement applicable, as few will now dispute, to the facts before the Court, and applicable generally, but not intended to apply to the system existing within the army for its own government.

When a man enters the army, he does not lose his civil rights; but he adds to them the obligations of the military status. His civil rights do not affect this status. Trial by jury, with all that this implies, does not protect him in the army. Within it, he is subject to its despotic law alone. History sustains this.

Our military system was copied from the British system at the time of the Revolution; and we appropriated, together with it, its history and common law, so far as these were applicable to our politi-

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cal system. If independence was a feature of the British system, and was not antagonistic to our political system, we undoubtedly adopted it. That it was a feature of the British system, history shows.

The military system of England came into existence in 1689. Before then, no government for a standing army in time of peace had been provided by statute; nor did the common law give the Sovereign power to control his troops. Indeed there had been no standing army before the Restoration of Charles II. Soon after the Restoration an Act of Parliament was passed in which it was declared, that "the sole and supreme power, government, command, and disposition of the militia, and of all forces by sea and land, and of all forts and places of strength is, and by the laws of England ever was, the undoubted right of His Majesty"; and in 1662 Charles II issued certain Articles of War, not extending to capital punishment, for the government of his guards and garrisons. Notwithstanding this, the power of the Sovereign to exercise military penal control over his troops in England in time of peace, by virtue of the prerogative, was not recognized; and, therefore, when, under William and Mary, the standing army became an established part of the political system, it became necessary to provide for its government. This was done by the Mutiny Act of 1689,—at first in a very imperfect way, but subsequently, from year to year, more thoroughly, until that system was formed which we took from England. The necessity for such a system is forcibly presented by Macaulay. He says:—

"An ill-disciplined army has ever been a more costly and a more licentious militia, impotent against a foreign enemy, and formidable only to the country which it is paid to defend. A strong line of demarkation must therefore be drawn between the soldiers and the rest of the community. For the sake of public freedom, they must, in the midst of freedom, be placed under a despotic rule. They must be subject to a sharper penal code, and to a more stringent code of procedure, than are administered by the ordinary tribunals. Some acts, which in the citizen are innocent, must in the soldier be crimes. Some acts, which in the citizen are punished with fine or imprisonment, must in the soldier be punished with death. The machinery by which courts of law ascertain the guilt or innocence of an accused citizen is too slow and too intricate to be applied to an accused soldier. For, of all the maladies incident to the body politic, military insubordination is that which requires the most prompt and drastic remedies. If the evil be not stopped as soon as it appears, it is certain to spread; and it cannot spread far without danger to the very vitals of the commonwealth."—"History of England," ii. 34.

The system thus established was to form no part of the civil system, but was to be quite separate and distinct. The preamble to the Mutiny Act recites, as a reason for it, that

"whereas noe man may be forejudged of Life or Limbe, or subjected to any

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kinde of punishment by Martiall Law, or in any other manner than by the judgement of his Peeres, and according to the knowne and Established Laws of this Realme. Yet neverthelesse, it being requisite for retaineing such forces . . . in their Duty an exact Discipline be observed. . . "

And then the Act provided for trial by court martial, which was an entire departure from the trial " by the judgement of his Peeres." The court martial had before this been recognized in Articles of War put forth at different times by the Sovereign; but it was now for the first time established by statute as a means of enforcing discipline, for which, it was admitted, the civil courts were inadequate. Although the laws of England secured the right of trial by jury, yet, it being necessary for the sake of discipline, this right was taken away as to military offences; and a different system was substituted.

This, very briefly, is the history of the British military system. Now let us see whether there is anything in it repugnant to the principles of our political system. The Constitution of the United States likewise protects all men with the safeguard of trial by jury and due process of law; but it also provides for the court martial. That is to say, it gives Congress the power to raise and support armies, and to make rules for their government and regulation; and it makes the President commander-in-chief. And that, by virtue of these powers, the court martial might be called into being, was recognized at the time of the adoption of the Constitution in the fact that we had an army which we were controlling in that way. We were simply continuing an existing system. By an Act of Congress of September 29, 1789, the military establishment of the previous Congress and the articles relating to it were adopted. We carried the military system over from one government to the other.

But what has been said is not principally for the purpose of showing that trial by court martial is legal, but that it and the system which it represents are independent within their own special spheres of action. The courts, or, rather, most of them, find great difficulty in holding that the constitutional amendments do not apply to the military system. When they can do so, they avoid expressing an opinion on that point.

It is evident that the military system must be free from interference, in order to be effective,—not only in order that it may not, by reason of lax discipline, be a danger to the community in which the troops are stationed, but in order that it may fulfil its function as a part of the executive machinery. The Supreme Court of the United

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States, it is true, has declared, with reference to the administration of military and naval justice, that the provisions of the Constitution relating to the land and naval forces show that Congress has the power to provide for the trial and punishment of military and naval offences in the manner practised by civilized nations, and that the power to do so is given without any connection between it and Article III of the Constitution, defining the judicial power of the United States; indeed, that the two powers are entirely independent of each other.

Xenophon tells of one Chrysantas, who was so well-disciplined and obedient a soldier that, in the heat of battle, having his hand lifted to strike an enemy, on being called on to retreat, he arrested his blow and obeyed the order. The principle illustrated by this incident is that on which the whole fabric of military discipline rests. Without strict military obedience there can be no military discipline. The statement of this principle has been repeated times without number by the authorities on military law. "No other obligation," says Clode, "must be put in competition with this; neither parental authority, nor religious scruples, nor personal safety, nor pecuniary advantages from other service. All the duties of the soldier's life are, according to the theory of military obedience, absorbed in that one duty of obeying the command of the officers set over him."

The importance of the obligation of obedience is recognized in the Twenty-first Article of War, which makes the disobedience of the lawful command of a superior officer an offence punishable even with death. What are we to understand by "lawful command"? Have the civil courts jurisdiction to decide whether a military command is a lawful command? It is evident that, to some extent, they must have such jurisdiction, as, for example, if an order should be given to commit a crime, and the soldier obeying the order should plead it as a defence, or if he should seek the protection of a civil court against military punishment for disobeying it. When the order requires something to be done which would be criminal, under the law of the land, there can be no obligation to obey. So when the act would be unlawful and would do an injury, although it might not be a criminal offence, there would be no obligation to obey. But, can we go further than this and construe the expression, "lawful command," in the most comprehensive signification we can give it? If so, we should have to include under unlawful commands every order requiring anything contrary to any provision of the law military, wherever found, not only in statutes, but in regulations, orders, or customs. And the result of this would

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be that we should have to recognize the right of the inferior, in each such case, to deliberate as to the lawfulness of his superior's command.

It must be evident, however, that such a principle and military discipline would be antagonistic. Prompt and unhesitating obedience is necessary to discipline; and there can be no such obedience, if each command may be placed in the scales and weighed by the inferior to whom it is addressed, in order to determine its lawfulness.

But who is to decide in such cases as to the right of the inferior to disobey the order? Officers are sometimes placed in situations which compel them to disregard regulations, and to take the law into their own hands; or the regulation disregarded may be one of little importance; or what the inferior is required to do may do no injury. In such cases, within the domain of pure military law, will the civil courts undertake to decide what the soldier's obligation is? Have they the knowledge which would enable them to do so? Is this not the sphere of military experts? Mr. Justice Brewer well said:—

"An army is not a deliberative body. It is the executive arm. Its law is that of obedience. No question can be left open as to the right to command in the officer, or the duty of obedience in the soldier."

Interference with this relation by the civil courts would be fatal. But the boundary line, where the jurisdiction of the civil court ends, is not clearly defined.

With acts affecting military status only, or offences against articles of war or military discipline, the civil courts have declined to interfere. No acts of military officers, within the scope of their jurisdiction, can be revised, set aside, or punished, civilly or criminally by a court of common law. But for acts of a military officer, in excess of authority, the person injured, whether in the military service or not, may obtain redress in the ordinary way, by suit against the wrong-doer. So say the courts. And further, "whatever may be the rule in time of war and in the presence of actual hostilities, military officers can no more protect themselves than civilians, in time of peace, by orders emanating from a source which is itself without authority." So has said the Supreme Court. And yet the same court has said that the army is not a deliberative body, that its law is the law of obedience, and that no question can be left open as to the right to command in the officer, or the duty of obedience in the soldier. If, however, it is the right of the inferior to weigh each order in the scales, the army is a deliberative body, and its law is not the law of obedience. The line of jurisdiction is difficult to draw.

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But, whatever the civil courts might hold, the inferior who disobeyed an order would probably not be able to justify himself before the military authority further than as indicated. If he were to assume to disobey an order, merely on the ground of its being contrary to some military regulation, and notwithstanding that it commanded nothing to be done which would be criminal or which would do an injury, he would violate the overruling principle of true military obedience, and would lay himself open to punishment for it, even though his disobedience might not fall under the Twenty-first Article of War. This may seem to place the inferior "between the devil and the deep sea": but the duty of obedience is paramount; and why should he not submit to it, when to submit to it would do no harm? The maintenance of military discipline in this country is not without its difficulties and obstacles. We cannot loosen our hold of such means as we have.

Again, take the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Articles of War. These Articles treat of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and of disorders and neglects, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline. These are made military offences, over which courts martial have jurisdiction; and the Supreme Court has repeatedly held that the proceedings and judgments of a court martial which has jurisdiction over the person of the defendant and the offence with which he is charged, and which has acted within the scope of its lawful powers, cannot be reviewed or controlled by the civil courts. If a civil court could set the sentence of a court martial aside, because, in its opinion, the acts proved did not constitute the military offence charged, this would be entering the domain of military law and controlling the judgment of a tribunal which had acted within the scope of its jurisdiction.

And if this might be done with reference to the particular offences named, so might it, also, with reference to all other military offences, such, for example, as mutiny, desertion, false muster, misbehavior before the enemy, or quitting guard. This would be a *reductio ad absurdum;* for it is clearly impossible that a civil court could understandingly declare what does or what does not constitute these purely military offences. Such a power has indeed been exercised; but it may now, on the strength of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Swaim Case,[1] be considered as settled that for a civil court to undertake to decide whether the facts proved show a violation of an Article of War would throw upon it the duty of considering all the evidence adduced before the court martial and of determining whether the accused

[1] 165 U. S., 553, 561.

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was guilty—which is the very matter that falls within the province of courts martial, and in respect to which their conclusions cannot be controlled or reviewed by the civil courts.

"Of questions not depending upon the construction of statutes, but upon unwritten military law or usage, within the jurisdiction of courts martial, military or naval officers, from their training and experience in the service, are more competent judges than the courts of common law."

If the military system were an isolated system, having no relation to any other, its independence within its own domain would be a matter of limited importance only. But, when we take into consideration that it is a part of the executive power of the nation, the subject becomes of much greater importance; for to weaken the system would be to weaken the executive power. We have on our statute-book a law, passed in 1878, which forbids the employment of the army, as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise, for the purpose of executing the laws, except in cases where it is expressly authorized by the Constitution or by Act of Congress. So far as this legislation undertakes to place restrictions on the use of the army under a constitutional power,—impliedly, but not expressly, including the power to use it,—it is clearly unconstitutional; and that the President's constitutional duty to take care that the laws are faithfully executed includes the power to use the army for this purpose may now, it is believed, be safely asserted. This at least seems to be the judgment of the Supreme Court.[1] That is to say, the Court recognizes the power of the President to use the means which the Constitution has placed in his hands, in order to fulfil his constitutional obligation to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." And it recognizes the army as one of these means. Who, it says, can doubt the authority of the President, for example, to protect the mails, "whether it be by soldiers of the army or by marshals of the United States"? There is a peace of the United States, as well as a peace of the States; and it is an incontrovertible principle that the Government of the United States may, by means of physical force exercised through its official agents, execute on every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it. This necessarily includes the power to command obedience to its laws, and, hence, the power to keep the peace to that extent. If all the inhabitants of a State, or even a great body of them, should combine to obstruct interstate commerce or the transportation of the mails, prosecutions for such offences instituted in

[1] *In re* Neagle, 135 U. S., 1; *Ex parte* Siebold, 100 U. S., 394; *In re* Debs, 158 U. S., 581.

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such a community would be doomed in advance to failure. And if the certainty of such failure were known, and the National Government had no other way to enforce the freedom of interstate commerce and the transportation of the mails than by prosecution and punishment for interference therewith, the interests of the nation in these respects would be at the absolute mercy of a part of the inhabitants of that single State.

But there is no such impotency in the National Government. The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers, and the security of all rights intrusted by the Constitution to its care. The strong arm of the National Government may be put forth to brush away all obstructions to the freedom of interstate commerce, or to the transportation of the mails. If the emergency arises, the army of the nation and all its militia are at the service of the nation to compel obedience to its laws.

The importance of the power to use the army in the execution of the laws is very great. At the time of the above-mentioned legislation of 1878 many Members of Congress expressed indignation at the employment of the army as a police force; having in their minds the purposes for which it had been used in the Southern States after the suppression of the Rebellion. But it is, nevertheless, probably true that it is as a national police force that its greatest usefulness will be shown. We can best value this usefulness by picturing to ourselves the helplessness under certain conditions of the National Government without such power. This power, therefore, if it exists, must not be impaired; and, in order that it may not be, the military system must not be weakened.

From interference by the agencies of State government this agency of the United States is secure. As explained by the Supreme Court in Tarble's Case,[1] there are within the territorial limits of each State two governments, restricted in their spheres of action, but independent of each other, and supreme within their respective spheres. Neither may intrude into the domain of the other, except so far as such intrusion may be necessary on the part of the National Government to preserve its rightful supremacy in cases of conflict of authority. Among the powers assigned to the National Government are the power to raise and support armies and the power to provide for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces. The execution of these powers falls within the line of its duties; and its control over the subject is

[1] 13 Wall., 397.

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plenary and exclusive. No interference with the execution of this power of the National Government in the formation, organization, and government of its armies by any State officials could be permitted without greatly impairing the efficiency of, if it did not utterly destroy, this branch of the public service.

The relation, however, of the military system to the Federal judicial power is entirely different. In this relation the military power is fully subordinate to the civil power. But even here the principle still prevails that with acts affecting the military status civil courts will not interfere; nor will they revise, set aside, or control the acts of military officers within the scope of their jurisdiction. When the army is used under the Constitution in the execution of the laws, it will be protected against the interference of State authorities by their lack of power to control an instrumentality of the Government of the United States; and it will be, to a great extent, protected against interference on the part of the Federal judicial power by the latter's recognition of the independence of the military system in its own province.

G. NORMAN LIEBER.

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THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY: ITS NEW TERMINUS IN CHINA.

THE great Russian transcontinental railway now in course of completion is, in its physical aspect, the most striking feature of the close of the present century; and its creation has precipitated, more than anything else, the present acute political complications of the Far East. Yet it is doubtful whether many outside of the Foreign Offices of the Powers immediately affected by its progress, or of the limited number of people who habitually scrutinize great engineering accomplishments, have thus far given much heed to its rapid and surprising development. In mere length, the new railway is sufficiently impressive, quite aside from the vast political changes it has rendered possible and will yet create; being, on the survey-plan as originally proposed, more than twice as long as the longest of the direct transcontinental systems which we Americans pride ourselves upon having constructed. It will be apparent that the Russians have here embarked upon no light undertaking. Let us see how, and to what extent, they have thus far accomplished it.

On May 11, 1891, the Czarevitch (now the Emperor Nicholas II), being at Vladivostock, on his way westward across the vast empire he was presently to inherit, turned the first spadeful of earth upon the momentous work, and proclaimed the imperial rescript of Alexander III, which, after years of contemplation, had given the project its final official sanction. Now it will soon be possible for one to travel from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock with continuous steam communication —during the summer months at least—over the entire projected route. That such a journey, however, can yet be accomplished entirely by rail, must by no means be supposed. For reasons of a mixed political and economical character, which will be presently mentioned, the work, as originally planned, has not been continued in active construction farther east than Chita, or to a point between Chita and Stretensk, in the Trans-Baikalian district. But from Chita, a settlement on the upper waters of the Shilka River about six hundred miles east of Lake Baikal, it is practicable by aid of light-draft steamers to utilize the great

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east-and-west waterway afforded by the Amoor, and so to reach the Pacific Coast. These two rivers—unlike the great northern-trending Siberian streams of the Obi, the Yenesei, and the Lena—successively flow throughout nearly the whole intervening space of fifteen hundred miles farther to the eastward, from Chita to Khabarovka, near the Pacific Ocean, where the Amoor turns suddenly to the northeast, to empty into the Okhotsk Sea. Thus, by using the steamer route here indicated and a further link of north-and-south railway line of some four hundred and eighty-seven miles, which has been constructed between Khabarovka and Vladivostock, the Russians are or will presently be able to maintain, from April to September, through steam communication to the latter point,—*via* the Shilka and Amoor Rivers,—after leaving the main railway line at either Chita or Stretensk.

At the moment, it would appear that continuous rail connection from Russia has been established, or is about to be completed, to Irkutsk, near Lake Baikal, and may, during the coming summer, be opened as far to the eastward as Chita. Thus, although the Trans-Siberian all-rail connections are as yet far from complete, the striking fact remains that the Russians will soon be able safely and rapidly to transport, during at least a considerable portion of the year, troops, supplies, and war-material from their western military depots to their Pacific-Coast stronghold at Vladivostock; this, too, in less than twenty days of travel, instead of by the slow and costly sea journey of nearly forty days, via the Suez Canal, which has heretofore been requisite, and which in time of trouble must, at all points, be open to hostile interruption. The longer, wearier, and more expensive overland journey of former years was never attempted on any considerable scale, except as a colonizing and military measure, and through the slow process of intermediate settlement, with its step-by-step advance.

As already pointed out, no effort has yet been made to extend the Trans-Siberian Railway eastward beyond an intermediate point between Chita and Stretensk, some twelve to fifteen hundred miles short of the Pacific Coast. For, notwithstanding the fact that the Russian maps and official publications concerning the railway have, possibly for political effect, uniformly indicated the continuation of the line to Vladivostock, there is now but little doubt that it has long been intended to deflect it from some point near Chita southeastwardly, in order to reach the Liau Tong peninsula of China at Port Arthur. And with good reason; for such a course would not only better secure to Russia the ultimate control of the great Chinese province of Manchuria, but would

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also attain for her railway and her military forces a dominant position on the Gulf of Pechili. As a relatively minor, but still substantial, advantage, the change of route here indicated would shorten the work required to reach the Pacific Coast some twelve hundred miles in distance. The present rail-and-water access to Vladivostock can, of course, always remain available during the summer months, whether pending the construction of the new Trans-Manchurian "cut-off" or afterward; and, when Port Arthur is finally reached, there will be many obvious and paramount advantages of political and strategical import within ready reach. Unlike Vladivostock, the new terminal harbor here indicated will always be free of ice-obstruction, and that the Russians may, at an early day, find themselves thus established at Port Arthur, with the powerful backing of a continuous railway connection of their own, will be very much to their liking.

The progress of the railway work up to its present stage has been rapid to a degree which suggests an almost feverish haste on the part of its creators. A national scheme of this nature, aided by the purse and purpose of an autocratic government, with the combined accretion of multitudinous, coral-insect-like, human workers, to help its advance, must inevitably show speedy and effective result. There are conditions, too, which here have permitted rapid headway. The line is conveniently reached through various water-ways, by which, during the summer season, materials were readily accumulated at many intermediate points. Meanwhile, the grading and bridges could be attacked simultaneously, on many different sections; and in winter the ice on the rivers was strong enough to bear temporary rail-crossings for the circulation of constructing and distributing trains. Abundant and cheap mixed labor of Russians, Chinese, local indigenous folk, and Russian political and criminal convicts was always at hand.

Nor was the fact unknown to the Russians, that railways might be speedily and economically constructed over long stretches of unoccupied country. Whistler, Winans, and other American engineers, as far back as 1843, had already introduced quick and effective American railway-building methods in connection with the Petersburg-Moscow line; and it was seen in later times how our Union Pacific and other transcontinental roads could triumph over manifold physical and financial obstacles while spanning the rude, desert spaces of a half-settled continent. Wisely enough the Czar's engineers have, from the first, generally followed and persisted in our American railway methods, as anyone may see and experience while travelling over the long,

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gravel-ballasted, single-track Russian railways, behind American-built locomotives, and past the frame station-houses and endless trains of box-cars, which to us so vividly recall our home experiences. If the accepted, hide-bound English or Continental railway methods, with their fully stone-ballasted double tracks, solid masonry, pygmy vans, and light engines, and with their infinitude of persistent red-tape precautions, had here prevailed, the Russians would have now possessed a still less developed empire than exists, and what little they might have thus far accomplished in their railway work would have been, in point of detail and finish, some fruitless years in advance of present needs. Just here, it may be remarked that the genius of that picturesque, interesting, and capable personality, Prince Khilkoff, who now, as one of the Czar's most trusted ministers, is at the head of the Russian Imperial railways, has had a potent effect upon the present great work, as also in the hardly less remarkable Trans-Caspian system. It is, indeed, not difficult to discern in Russian railway practices everywhere the effective influences derived from this gentleman's training in American ways while serving, as a mechanic, in a Philadelphia machine-shop, and while, later, actually driving a locomotive on an American-built railroad.

But, notwithstanding the practical views and prudent business methods which in these respects have eminently distinguished them, the Russians are not without a sentiment amounting to a passionate aspiration for the accomplishment of their present railway project; believing, as they do, that their full national development and their ultimate destinies are closely linked to this enterprise, and with its successful completion must inevitably secure a commanding and triumphant vantage-ground in the ever-increasing struggle for supremacy among the greater nations of the world, whether in Far-Eastern Asia or elsewhere.

Long balked and hampered in a quest for free outlet through the Baltic and Black Seas in the west and in the south, and with only the forbidding, frost-bound coasts of the Arctic regions before them in the north, the energetic Russians have ever turned an eager eye toward that great open ocean which washes the shores of their Far-Pacific boundaries. Remote as these are, they had been well explored by Bering, Pribylov, Nevelskoy, and other hardy Russian navigators, throughout the last two centuries. A powerful, homogeneous people like that of Holy Russia, numbering many millions, and imbued with modern aims and ideas, may not forever be hemmed in and restrained by any

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political barriers, however skilfully contrived, set up by more developed neighbors; and it has ever seen, shining steadfastly in the east, over the Asiatic frontier and on the far Pacific, a star of destiny and promise.

Russia has long possessed the Yakutsk district of Siberia, together with a long Northern-Pacific coast-line, which, as also sundry outlying and contiguous islands, were early acquired through right of discovery. South of these regions the only obstructions immediately to be dealt with were the ill-guarded possessions of the somnolent Chinese, instead of those of powerful and alert Western nations. Japan's wonderful new birth among the Powers was yet to come to pass; nor could it be foreseen that here a menacing factor of the future was fated to appear.

Thus Russian development in Eastern Asia followed its path of least resistance with slow but sure advance.

In the early years of the present half-century various tentative efforts were made to annex the outlying Chinese provinces which intervened between the then existing Siberian territory and the Pacific Coast. In 1857 we find these proceedings made fully regular, and finally settled, under the skilful hands of Count Muravieff, through the Russo-Chinese Treaty of Aigun (confirmed later, in 1860, by the Ignatieff Treaty, of Peking), by which full and sufficient right of navigation along the Amoor was likewise duly acquired. For the time being, this river was deemed to mark the boundary between Russian and Chinese territory; and thereupon ensued that strenuous Russian push for the Pacific, which has never since relaxed. Frontier posts of Cossack troops, here and there slowly ripening into extended chains of villages and towns, were speedily linked together by systems of river and land transportation, which, however tardy of movement, were yet sufficiently effective. In 1861 Vladivostock—which name, in somewhat free English translation, affords the suggestive rendering of "The Key of the East"—was founded. A little later, the handy, near-by island of Saghalien was obtained, through skilful trading with the then still backward Japanese, as an offset for the less valuable Kurile group.

As early as 1846, we find a small Russian steamboat despatched to explore the Amoor, to be followed later by various other light craft, which sought to establish trading-posts along its course, and farther west, upon the rivers adjacent to Lake Baikal, as indeed upon the Lake itself. That persistent Russian effort was also soon made to establish practicable routes of steam-navigation on the bleak northern coasts, in quest of trade, throughout the frost-bound Lena, Yenesei, and Obi Rivers, is well known. But these adventurous expeditions, begun by

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Sidorov, and continued by Baron Nordenskjöld, Captain Wiggins, and others, although most interesting features of the general development of Eastern Siberia, are beyond our present subject.

Contemporaneously with the later phases of their Eastern-Asiatic development, and when the Russians found the expected sea-outlet by way of Constantinople, as well as other justly expected rewards of their lavish expenditure of blood and treasure in the Turkish war of 1877–78, hopelessly lost in the diplomatic complication growing out of the ensuing Treaty of San Stefano and the Berlin Congress, the Czar's advisers again wisely turned their attention with even greater earnestness toward the Pacific Coast. If Russia was thus to be persistently balked of sea-room through the Dardanelles, the wide, free shores of the great Eastern Ocean must serve her needs. But, as a necessary incident, any effective movement in this direction must first be further buttressed-up by proper flank defence; and thus ensued that series of aggressive forward movements against the Tekké Turkomans, and at Merv, which, following the earlier Khivan and Bokharan campaigns, have brought the Russian forces to their present permanent intrenchments in Turkestan, on the frontier of the great Anglo-Indian Empire's buffer-state of Afghanistan.

Here, the English, to whose obstructive efforts in the past the Russians have chiefly attributed many bitter disappointments, could best be guarded against, or threatened, as the case might be; and that the Russian policy thus indicated has since not been without its due effect in either Near- or Far-Eastern questions, may not be reasonably doubted. Indeed, it may be fairly surmised that the status thus acquired for Russian negotiators, in that great game for the partition of China which all the world is now so anxiously watching, must have been, and still is, for them a potency and solace. And it was, probably, with a comparatively placid mind, that the prospective absorption of the great Chinese province of Manchuria was considered, and that Russia's world-disturbing plans for the acquirement of Port Arthur, as the true Pacific terminus of the railway, were formulated. In all this momentous business, fortune has thus far greatly favored the Czar's advisers. The sudden and surprising victories of Japan in 1895, which brought her triumphant army to New-chwang, within an open road to China's defenceless capital, afforded Russia's opportunity. Here, to interpose and, with the friendly countenance of France and Germany, to double back the Japanese was no great task; but, by this stupendous service and a somewhat later, but effective, financial assistance to the distressed Middle

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Kingdom, ample grounds were firmly established for the demand of such further territorial acquisition as Russia might thereafter suppose herself to need from China's soil.

Services of this kind are seldom merely altruistic or sentimental, as the Chinese and indeed the world at large soon learned. Hence, we have seen the later secret Casini Convention ripen into a formal and permanent Russian acquisition of Port Arthur and Talien-wan. Even more than a year ago, on the heels of Count Casini's skilful trading, there had followed an extensive Russian incursion into the wide Chinese territory which lies between Port Arthur and the original Trans-Siberian line. Here Russian railway survey and construction parties, with their accompanying camps of Cossack guards, were soon found to be crossing China's frontier, and to be permanently intrenched where, till then, they had been forbidden, but where now the Dragon Flag never may wave again.

That aggressive doings of this nature, in this particular territory, were sorely distasteful to the English, is obvious. Lord Salisbury and his associates of the British Cabinet have lately seemed to express an almost affable acquiescence in the momentous proposition that Russia needs and should have an ice-free, southern harbor, and must therefore be allowed to bring her disturbing railway down through Manchuria to Port Arthur, in order to attain this end.

Meanwhile, China is powerless of effective objection; and, as there is thus far no determined protest from Japan, what might once have seemed a daring move on the part of Russia may now be regarded as reasonably accomplished without seriously effective outward and visible friction. One may surmise that such an accomplishment has been somewhat eased, here and there, in English quarters, by suggestive reference to, or by restraining reflection upon, possible complications along the Afghan and other frontiers of British India. Also that other British worries in the perennial Near-Eastern Question, as well as those presented by the Egyptian Occupation and the Abyssinian and Soudanese borders, may just now have likewise had their weight. But, as yet, no outside observer may hope to penetrate behind the veil which still obscures whatever international adjustment of the China Question there may have been or may yet be arrived at; and questions like these, however important and fascinating to the speculative looker-on, are somewhat beyond the scope of this paper. This much may, at least, be said; viz., that just now Japan seems to have been somehow placated,—possibly by leaving Korea open to her for the moment, so far as Russia is concerned,—and that the British, in occupying Wei-hai-wei, have

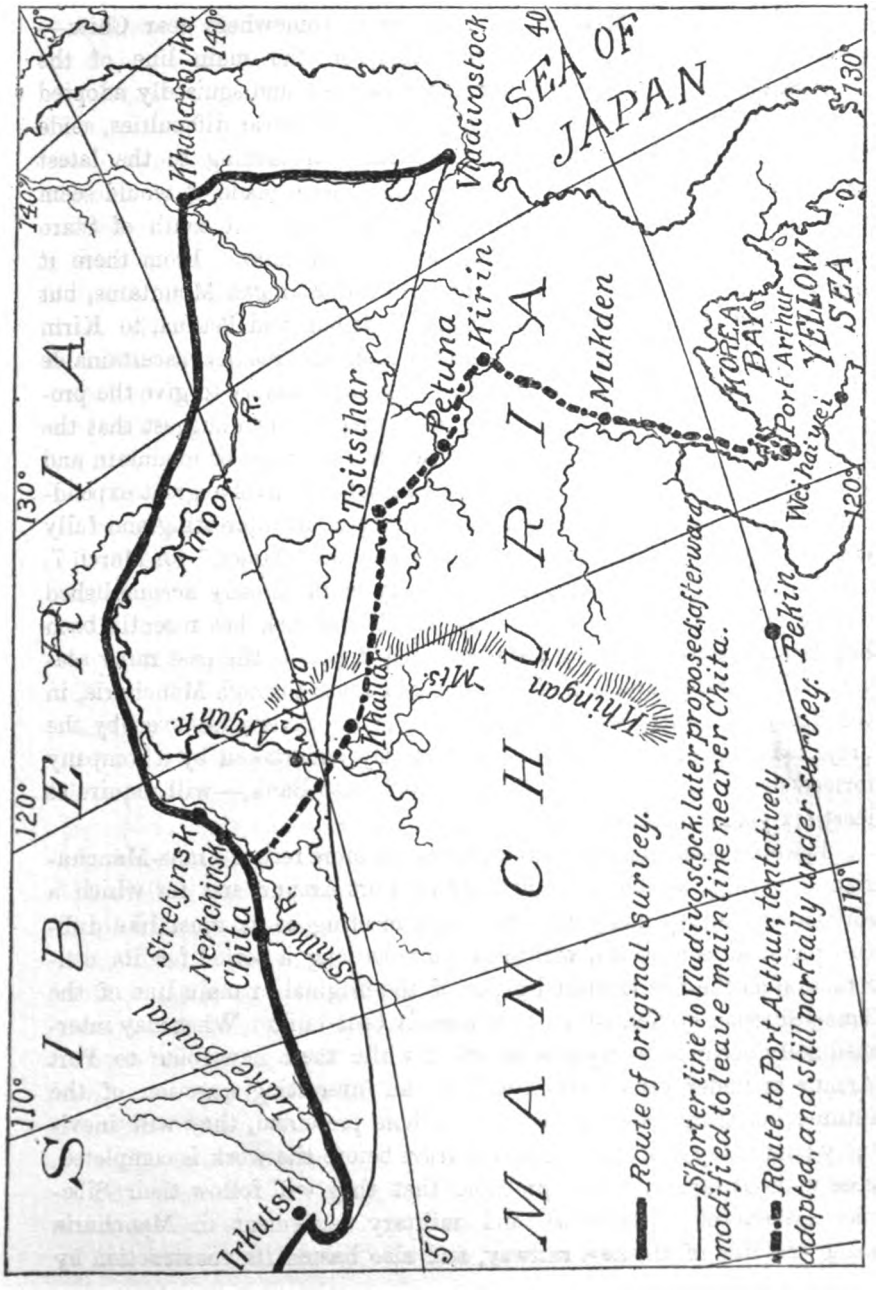
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at last made one of those bold counter-moves which have been so long awaited.

The new Trans-Manchurian route, from somewhere near Chita—probably at the village of Metrophanof, on the main line of the Trans-Siberian road—to Port Arthur, now thus undisguisedly adopted by the Russians, is not without many serious physical difficulties, aside from its possible political embarrassments. According to the latest of the many preliminary surveys which have been made, it would seem that the line is to cross the Manchurian frontier to the south of Staro (or Staro-Suruhaitu), on the Argun River, to Khailar. From there it has yet to find an available pass through the Khingan Mountains, but will in any case doubtless proceed *via* Tsitsihar and Petuna, to Kirin and Mukden. Beyond these points, which are readily ascertainable on the map accompanying this article, it is unnecessary to give the proposed route in detail, or to do more in this regard than suggest that the railway must encounter many difficulties, in the shape of mountain and river crossings, to overcome which will inevitably involve great expenditure of time, labor, and money. According to an interesting and fully detailed report of a correspondent of the London "Times," for March 7, 1898, much of the important preliminary work already accomplished during the last year between Chita and Nertchinsk has recently been hopelessly washed away by unprecedented floods in the past rainy season; while the completion of the proposed route through Manchuria, in the difficult country which would have to be traversed,—even by the projected side-route to Vladivostock recently undertaken by a company formed under the auspices of the Russo-Chinese Bank,—will require at least six years' further work.

It would seem that to complete the still more recent Trans-Manchurian extension, which aims directly at Port Arthur, and for which a satisfactory survey has yet to be made, meeting as it must like difficult physical conditions, will need quite as long a period for its construction as the five thousand miles of the original or main line of the Trans-Siberian system which have already been built. What may intermediately occur to worry the Russians while their new route to Port Arthur is under construction, will be an interesting question of the future; but that, under the conditions here presented, they will inevitably pass many a *mauvais quart d'heure* before the work is completed, goes without saying. It is probable that they will follow their Siberian system of colonization and military settlement in Manchuria along the line of the new railway, and also hasten its construction by

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building back inland from Port Arthur[1]; but, pending the long interval which must elapse before it is finished, they are and must continue to be, while occupying this point, at an awkward distance from their bases of supply and reinforcement, and widely separated by a rugged intervening territory from their main railway line. Whether they can find in Manchuria sufficient support for Port Arthur and the necessary garrisons of occupation there and elsewhere remains to be seen; but it will be next to impossible to create any sufficient land transport across the provinces for either troops or supplies in advance of the completion of the railway. The sea-route from Vladivostock, on which the Russians must meanwhile depend, is always subject to possible obstruction; and, during the dragging months and years of delay which must ensue before the Port Arthur branch is finished, the powerful new fleet of the Japanese can readily be completed and assembled, and other complications—possibly vexing ones—may appear.

That in respect of the Japanese a real menace exists, and will continue to confront the Russians, needs no argument, at least to those who are familiar with the Far East, and have observed the smouldering resentment which the fighting Samurai have kept alive, ever since their new Muscovite neighbors frustrated the cherished aims of Japan's war with China. It is just here that the surprising naval and military development of the former country is of significance.

But to return to the Trans-Siberian railway. To some readers of this article, of a practical turn, who find political possibilities of but slight interest, when contrasted with accomplished facts, and especially to those actively concerned in railroad and transportation problems, a paramount question will naturally occur, in considering the present great Russian enterprise, viz.: "Will it pay?" This reasonable inquiry, however, may not yet be satisfactorily answered, unless by the risky chance-shot of a prediction, founded upon insufficient data. The Siberian portion of the line on the original survey, of seven sections, between Cheliabinsk and Vladivostock, with a length of 7,112 versts, was estimated to cost upward of 350,000,000 roubles, or approximately $175,000,000. The later change of route, from near Chita, southward to Port Arthur, although saving some twelve hundred miles of distance, will probably not materially alter these figures, since the new line will encounter vastly more difficult and costly work. In the

[1] Here will doubtless arise, during the next few years, a large market for American railway materials of all kinds, which our prudent dealers and shippers should look to.

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consideration of the purely economic features of this great national undertaking, one must of course leave out of account any political, military, or strategic benefits which, whether collaterally or directly, are expected to accrue to the Russian Empire through its establishment.

Thus reduced to the measure and probabilities of an ordinary business venture, the scheme is, of course, heavily handicapped by its extraordinary length, and by the wide, unproductive stretches of sparsely populated country it is designed to serve, as also by the severe climatic conditions it must encounter in winter. On the other hand, the railway will always find, conveniently within its reach, many considerable items of traffic, such as furs, silks, teas, and the concentrated products of the Siberian mines of precious metals, which will always pay for the unprecedentedly "long haul" required to bring them from the place of shipment to their destination, while from some point, probably near Stretensk, the line should presently absorb the great caravan trade which for centuries past has traversed Northwest China. The non-military, overland passenger traffic of the better class, which the railway will in any case command, is a feature to be considered; but this, for many years, will probably cut no great figure as a paying business, considering its necessarily limited volume and the distances to be covered.

In other respects, and from diverse sources, a remunerative revenue will probably be found; and in this regard a less onerous transport, as being on intermediate sections rather than over the whole line, will be encountered. With the railway once in regular operation, the grain-crops of the plains of the Obi and Yenesei districts, which heretofore, in years of abundance, have gone to waste for lack of transportation, may conveniently reach and satisfy the ever-present and growing needs of the Trans-Baikalian and Amoor districts, where a too rigorous climate precludes a home-grown supply of these essentials. *Per contra*, these wide-stretched Eastern provinces should furnish a large return shipment of wool, cattle, and horses; not to speak of fish-products from the eastern coast, which will meet an equivalent western demand. The possible transportation of mining-products, viz., gold, silver, copper, and other compact and like well-paying material, has been already remarked upon. There must always be necessity for a considerable transport of supplies flowing in the reverse direction, to support the already large population of the frigid and unproductive mining-regions, whence the latter shipments chiefly originate.

At Mukden, a connection should ultimately be made, by the Trans-Manchurian branch with the existing and prospective Chinese railway

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system'; and that there is a great, perhaps a vast, business here available for transport need hardly be remarked, however much the facilities for its acquirement must remain a question of the future. Thus, taking the possible local traffic of the Trans-Siberian system, and the overland passenger and through business, with what our traffic-men in the United States would call its "fancy freight," plus the Imperial Government backing, the great Russian railroad will have at least a fair chance to make a living, and to survive, without offering much scope for the reorganizing specialists among the bankers and lawyers who may be found within its horizon.

The mileage of the Trans-Russian rail-connection which is here considered is striking, and is easily kept in mind. If reckoned by the old overland route from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock, it is close upon 6,666 miles. If taken by the later railway survey between the same terminal points, in Russian versts, which are nearly the same as French kilometres, or, say, five-eighths of an English mile, the distance then intended to be covered may be expressed in the successively diminishing figures, 9,876. To equal such a railway stretch in the United States, one must imagine a continuous line from New York to San Francisco and back, and then suppose it prolonged out into the Atlantic, at least as far as Fire Island. Under the present plan, it is proposed to cross, by means of a train-ferry service, the forty-mile width of Lake Baikal,—a deep, inland sea of five hundred miles, north and south extent, which is subject in summer to violent local atmospheric perturbations, and in winter to heavier ice-conditions than any of our inland American waters. The first steamer for this work is now approaching completion in England, having been built in transportable sections on the American model which is familiar on our Northwestern water-crossings, where a perennial struggle with ice is a customary winter condition.

It is perhaps doubtful whether the somewhat daring experiment of thus keeping open the long ferry here to be served will meet with success under its severe winter complications. If it fail, the only alternative must be to loop the southern border of the Lake with a continuation of the railway, a course which will involve difficult and costly tunnelling of mountain ranges, and incidentally upset a really remarkable fact, viz., that in the original survey of over six thousand miles from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock there has been as yet no tunnel-work

[1] See "China, and the Chinese Railway Concessions," in THE FORUM for January, 1898.

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encountered. As we have seen, in the present proposed deflection of the route to Port Arthur these favorable conditions will no longer exist; but that they actually did obtain on the originally projected line constitutes a curious feature of railway experience, and inclines one readily to appreciate the fact that the vast stretch of the Siberian Steppes is but little different in physical character from the rolling prairies with which we, in the United States, are so familiar in our Western country, or, better, in the Northwestern Provinces of Canada. These interminable distances of monotonous Asiatic geography will, before long, be speedily traversed in comparative comfort, if undertaken in the typical corridor-car of the first class, commonly met with on the Russian railways, and thereafter in the boats on the river-route to Vladivostock. What a contrast such a *trajet* will be to those who have laboriously covered the same ground under preëxisting conditions! Then, the seemingly endless journey was undertaken with whatever uncomfortable primitive vehicle might be found at hand, appropriate either to summer mud or Arctic-winter snow. But soon, the comfortable march of the sleeping-cars, with leisurely waits at meal-stations, and, later, the easy-going advance of the river-vessels, with full personal security and polite attendance, may safely be reckoned upon, thus accentuating the extraordinary triumphs over obstructive physical difficulties which may be accomplished by persistent and intelligently directed human effort. According to an official Russian report, some of the goods bound from China, or Siberia, to Russia proper, were formerly a year on the road. The fur-clad, snow-bound journey across the Steppes, with its frightful monotony, relieved only by occasional stops for tea and for change of horses at the posting-houses, is a familiar picture in literature. It is another striking contrast, that perhaps in the coming summer the new rail-and-river route may be open to any robust traveller who, equipped with home passport and with a special permit from the St. Petersburg authorities, is prepared to meet rough wagon-travel over a few hundred miles of uncompleted railway between Lake Baikal and the Shilka River. Whatever he may encounter, this much is certain, that if he is an American, and properly vouched for, he will find extreme and unfailing sympathy and civility from all the Russians,—officials and others,—as those of his countrymen who have met these gentlemen will gladly testify.

The proposed new route, with all its modern conveniences, will not, however, be wholly devoid of drawback. The "Spalnywagon" is not altogether a bed of roses; and on large stretches of the line throughout

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Siberia there are multitudinous marshes to be traversed, which in summer produce clouds of mosquitoes of sufficient inconvenience to be thereafter remembered and avoided. Discomfort of like character may, indeed, also be met with in the extensive water-journey, *via* the Shilka and Amoor Rivers, where the small stern-wheel steamers of the trade lie by at night to avoid the sand-bars, on which they are in any case frequently stranded, notwithstanding the fact that these extensive riverine routes are already well buoyed and lighted. Still, the journey from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock, by rail and river, not to speak of the ultimate all-rail journey to Port Arthur, will not be without its attractions and advantage, even under present or prospective conditions. There will be much and wearisome monotony of scenery and people to be encountered, in addition to the vexations already indicated; but still it will be soon within the possibilities for an impassioned long-distance tourist to encircle the globe by this route, through the cool regions of about the 55th parallel, even within the narrow limits of a summer's holiday, when ordinary circumnavigation in the hot latitudes is a long, spun-out misery, which should be rigidly avoided. Reckoning from New York to St. Petersburg, *via* Hamburg or Bremen, by the German express steamers, at ten days; the rail journey to Chita or Stretensk, as the case may be, at no more; and the boat voyage down the Shilka and Amoor Rivers, *with the favoring current*, to occupy no greater period, the voyager from New York should reach Vladivostock in about a month. From there to Yokohama will absorb but a few days; the crossing of the Pacific some fifteen or twenty more; and hence there should remain, out of a second month, nearly ten days to devote to a journey home across the American continent.

On the way through Eastern Siberia our traveller may perhaps meet many of the indigenous natives, of the curious Kirghiz, Buriat, Gold, Manchurian, or Chinese types, and perhaps find opportunity to scrutinize here and there one of the few remaining Russian convict-stations; while the already great and constantly growing traffic of the Amoor River will be always of exceeding interest. But such a rapid journey presupposes that only voyagers of the swift, globe-encircling sort are to be considered, and that any contemplative study of ethnological and geographical features will by these be studiously neglected, as well as all quest or regard for what is commonly known as local color. Tourists of this kind will hardly pause to reflect that the Amoor has been the route followed by all the waves of migrating Mongolian folk who have swarmed in past ages to the West and altered its geography

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and history; or that one paramount result of the Trans-Siberian Railway must be to effect a stupendous modern reflex tide, which incidentally will link together the wide-spread provinces, or "Governments," of the Czar's vast empire, and thus bring Russia herself, instead of her pioneer settlements merely, up to the Pacific Coast, and, indeed, within the very heart of China. Nor will the political effect of a finished and rapidly working railway, covering the vast distance from St. Petersburg to Port Arthur, when finally in full action and engaged in transporting the swarming Russian forces, with bristling readiness, to meet and adjust any future Eastern-Asiatic troubles, unduly concern our tourist traveller. Indeed, for even those of the more reflective or observant kind, there is, as yet, no sufficient light in which to prefigure or safely speculate upon these possibilities. A few years more of history, with perhaps incidental outbreaks of grave international complication, must come to pass and adjust themselves, before the complex conditions met or created by the great Russian railway which we are here considering can reasonably be estimated.

This much, however, is at least assured: The vast province of Manchuria, which the Russians now appear to be in the way of ultimately acquiring and mean to tie fast, by the new Trans-Manchurian branch of what they style their "Great Siberian Railway," is a magnificent prize,—one of enormous inherent value, whether as affording trade-outlet or room for Imperial expansion, quite aside from its providing, as it does, the already fortified, commanding, and ice-free harbor of Port Arthur, in what may be the very storm-centre of international struggle over China's partition.

To us Manchuria seems a mere geographical expression, suggesting some vague, sparsely settled, and frigid northern area, of but little value or interest. But the Russians have long known this great province—with an area of 362,310 square miles, with a population of twenty millions of hardy, industrious, and easily managed people, and prolific resources of agricultural, pastoral, and mineral possibilities—to be one of the most valuable of all those heretofore under Chinese control. To win Manchuria will be well worth the years of skilful and persistent labor which the Russians thus far have expended; and it will be equally worth whatever further efforts may be required, pending the completion of the railway, in order thus to close and secure their grip upon it.

CLARENCE CARY.

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THE UTILITY OF MUSIC.

An eminent American novelist was once asked what he thought of music. "Oh," he replied, "I see no harm in it." Most persons regard music as a mere plaything,—harmless enough, but of no special use to anybody. Such will be surprised to learn in how many different ways music is, and has been, useful to mankind at all times and in all stages of civilization.

The most obvious channels of usefulness are the industrial and professional. Music supports millions of men and women. The Paris Grand Opéra pays salaries to about 700 persons,—singers, players, dancers, costumers, carpenters, scene-painters, and others,—who receive from this one source nearly $500,000 a year, of which the Government contributes $160,000; thus officially recognizing the utility of music in social life. Germany and Austria have about seventy opera-houses, some of which employ nearly as large a force as the Paris institution. According to the "London Musical Directory," there were in that city a few years ago 4,000 music-teachers, with 7,000 more in the provinces; making 11,000 music-teachers for so small a country as Great Britain. In the theatres of Germany, in which music is only a side-show, 5,000 musicians are engaged. The United States Census for 1890 gives the number of music-teachers in this country as more than 62,000, of whom more than 34,000 are women. The editor of a musical trade-paper informs me that, by a pretty accurate estimate, the number of persons employed in the United States in connection with piano- and organ-factories, music-stores, in tuning, etc., is about 75,000. This would represent a total of about 140,000 persons who in this country make their living by music; but I fancy the real number, direct and indirect, is nearer 250,000.

It may be argued that these figures do not prove the value of music itself, any more than it might be said that whiskey is useful because it gives employment to thousands of barkeepers. I admit the pertinence of this objection, and will therefore proceed to show what other claims music has to be considered a useful and desirable art.

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If we look at primitive races, we are surprised to find how much practical use even the lowest savages make of music. Indeed, the utilitarian element is here so prominent that the artistic side seems often to disappear from view. Wild tribes find music a great stimulus to work. The narratives of explorers abound in allusions to this function of music. In his splendid work on Borneo, published a year or two ago, Mr. Roth quotes Collingwood, who says, in describing one of his trips:—

"The boatmen, as usual, enlivened the way with their songs, some of which were wild and musical. They all joined in the chorus. . . keeping time with their paddles. The song was cheerful and inspiriting, and *seemed to help them along.*"

Roth also says that "Mr. Grant preferred his boatmen to sing, *for it made them pull better.*" The African explorer, Winwood Reade, found that his negroes, when he ordered them to row, began to sing, as an aid in overcoming their natural laziness. James Grant, in his "Walk Across Africa," says that when the negroes who formed his escort were cleaning their rice, they were always supported by singers, who accompanied the work by stamping their feet and clapping their hands. According to W. Davis, the Keres in New Mexico often used a bagpipe while at work, keeping time to its music. Thus in all parts of the world, and at all times, the value of music as an aid and a stimulus to work has been abundantly attested.

Many savages use drums and other instruments for signalling purposes. The Kaffirs play on pipes made of bone or ivory, to call their cattle from a distance. The Maruns of Sierra Leone have what Wallaschek aptly calls *Leitmotive*, fixed calls for each of their friends, by means of which they can summon them at any time—a very serviceable arrangement, especially on hunting expeditions.

The usefulness of such musical signals in *war* naturally suggested itself at a very early date. Certain horn-calls are played in the Ashantee army to indicate the position of the chief during a battle. An African negro never mistakes the meaning of a drum-beat; knowing instantly whether it summons to war or merely to a dance. The ancient Mexicans struck two bones together as a signal of attack. The Congo negroes are so skilful in the use of the rattles, that, by different ways of shaking them, they can tell the warriors behind when they are exposed to danger. Sir Samuel Baker says:

"There is a peculiar bird in the forests of Unyoro which utters a shrill cry. The natives imitate this cry with their whistles of antelope horn. I had noticed that previous to an attack from an ambuscade we had always heard the call of this bird."

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To the present day, in all the armies of the world, such musical war-signals are considered not only useful, but absolutely indispensable. The Infantry Drill Regulations of the United States Army give the music and significance of more than sixty trumpet-signals,—calls of warning, of assembly, of alarm, of service, with such names as "guard-mounting," "drill," "stable," "to arms," "fire," "retreat," "church," "fatigue," "attention," "forward," "halt," "quick time," "double time," "charge," "lie down," "rise," etc., besides a dozen or more drum-and-fife-signals all of which must be known to the soldiers, to whom they are a definite language, in the sense of Wagnerian *Leit-motive*. Everyone is familiar with such expressions as "drumming up recruits," "drumming out deserters," and so on.

Besides its importance for signalling purposes, there are no fewer than five other uses for music in the army. A few words about each of these must suffice. Zöller, the African traveller, says that "among all savage and half-civilized races, song and dance are considered as indispensable aids to military training as drilling and drumming in our armies." The marvellous precision with which these primitive races execute their war-songs and dances has been commented upon by many admiring explorers; and as the value of perfect drill and coöperation are well understood, music, which supplies the regularity of rhythm, is seen to be of paramount importance. When our armies parade, they always do so to the measured beat of military band or drum and fife.

Another very curious use of music in war is suggested by the word "panic." The historian, Rowbotham, says that "all panic is derivable from trumpet-like sound, if we may trust the derivation of the word, which refers the first panic to the time when the great god Pan put to flight an army by a sudden shout." Many savages use wild songs and shouts, or drums and horns, to inspire terror and to create a panic in the enemy's ranks. So horrible is the sound of this music, both in itself and by its bloody associations, that it is said the Spanish settlers in some parts of South America to this day cannot hear the awful trumpets of the Indians without being frightened. It is interesting to note that Homer represents the Trojans as going to battle with howling war-cries, while the Greeks are silent, and that Thucydides makes Brasidas say, "They are cowards who think they can frighten us by their loud shouting"; thus indicating that the more civilized Greeks did not resort to this method of creating a panic. It is believed that one cause of the defeat of the Chinese in their last war was that they at first

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relied too much on the effect of their war-gongs to frighten away the Japanese.

This use of music is obsolete in our armies. Not so the employment of melodies to rouse the courage of the soldiers and stir their flagging energies. Grey says that in Australia four or five old women can, with their singing, stir up forty or fifty men to commit any bloody deed; and Wallaschek justly says of primitive music that, instead of softening manners, it too often " inspired the savages with a desire for fighting, it aroused their anger, excited their fanaticism, and, by accompanying their war-dances also in time of peace, it aroused their lust for war." For this reason it is among warlike nations that early music is most developed. The Spartans, the most warlike of all the Greeks, were remarkable for their devotion to music. Tyrtæus, seven centuries before Christ, induced them to use the martial trumpet; and his ardent patriotic songs helped the Spartans to many of their victories. In the Bible there are frequent references to the encouragement given to warriors by music, as, for instance, in " Chronicles," where the victory over Jeroboam is attributed to the encouragement derived from the sounding of the trumpet by the priests. It would be superfluous to add anything regarding the miracles of patriotic or fanatic valor wrought by such modern tunes as the " Marseillaise" or " Die Wacht am Rhein."

A military writer says that the drum in the army is used " especially for inspiring the soldiers under the fatigue of march or in battle." This function of military music reminds one of the primitive custom of singing in order to facilitate work. It is recognized by the greatest authorities. Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley, for instance, wrote not long ago, in the preface to the " Soldier's Song Book," that

"Troops that sing as they march will not only reach their destination more quickly and in better fighting condition than those who march in silence, but, inspired by the music and words of national songs, will feel that self-confidence which is the mother of victory."

The German army includes more than 10,000 military musicians, able-bodied men who might as well be soldiers. We may feel sure that the great and shrewd commanders of the German army would not employ in times of war such an enormous number of musicians unless they believed that in this way these players could do more good than an equal number of fighting-men. In other words, the generals fully appreciate and indorse the utility of music. Even in times of peace there is a use for these musicians; for they make excellent bands,

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which, at their daily parades and weekly concerts, not only edify the military men, but entertain the populace, who thus get some return for the taxes they have to pay to support the army.

Summing up the evolution of war music, we see that its original function of inspiring terror and creating a panic was gradually abandoned; while its usefulness as an aid in drilling, in tactics, in signalling, in arousing courage and patriotic enthusiasm, in sustaining flagging energies, and in providing entertainment in times of war and peace, is now more fully acknowledged than ever.

The horrific use of war music, though obsolete, has a special interest, inasmuch as it suggests the curious fact that another very important function of music—the *religious*—also lay for a long time in its use as an inspirer of terror. Ellis relates, in his "Polynesian Researches," that in Tahiti it was customary to place a gigantic drum in front of a temple. This drum was liable to be beaten at any time as a signal that the priests were getting ready for a bloody human sacrifice on the altars. As no one in the village knew whom these wily and covetous priests might have selected for their next victim, the sound of this drum must have struck terror into every soul,—a dread more awful even than the military terror, because it came in the dead stillness of night, and there was not the excitement of war to counteract it.

Du Chaillu relates that when the people of Mayolo's clan for the first time heard a musical-box, they took to their heels in great alarm, believing that there must be a devil in it. This calls to mind the important fact that early religion had a great deal more concern with the devil than with God. Primitive men, even when they have an idea of a benevolent God, are apt to argue that, since he is naturally good and kind, he may be ignored, as he will do them no harm; whereas the wicked and mischievous devil, who pokes his nose into everything, must be either propitiated with song and sacrifice or frightened away with noise. Everybody has heard of the terrific din which the Chinese raise with their gongs and other noisy instruments when there is an eclipse. They do this in the hope of frightening away the demon, who, they think, is trying to devour the sun or moon. A similar custom prevails among South American Indians and in other parts of the world. Religious music, in its earliest manifestations, is thus largely devil-music.

As the religious attitude gradually changed from a desire to propitiate or frighten the devil, or to incite his devotees to excesses, into

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a longing to adore a benevolent God, the music associated with it also became more elevated, its utility more obvious and commendable. This is best illustrated by the ceremonies of that religious race *par excellence*, the ancient Hebrews. It is significant that music receives much more attention in the Bible than any other art, evidently because in ancient days the affinity between musical and religious emotion was already felt. We find the Hebrews singing triumphal songs of thanksgiving on the banks of the Red Sea, after their deliverance from their Egyptian pursuers. The Prophetess Miriam led a procession of women chanting in chorus,

> "Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously;
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

Would one say that such music, on such an occasion, was nothing more than "a harmless pastime"? Did it not meet a deep-felt want in the hearts of the Hebrews, to be thus able to give vent to their feelings? Is not music the most powerful of all emotional safety-valves, and would not this function alone entitle it to the claim of being one of the most useful things in the world?

With the exception of Mahomet, who would have no music in his mosques, nor even bells to summon the pious to prayer, the mediæval and modern religious leaders seem all to have appreciated the utility of music; and their utterances on this subject may be regarded as the highest expert evidence. St. Augustine confessed that it was the chants of the monks at Milan that converted him to Christianity; and he also bears witness to the superior power of music, when he says of the "jubilees" at the close of some Gregorian chants (where many notes are sung to the same syllable), that "their object is to paint the fervor of affections, the glow of the heart, excessive joy, inner cheerfulness, *emotional qualities which words cannot express.*" Even the austere Calvin admitted that "music possesses a mysterious power of moving the heart"; and he held that, "of all gifts with which the Creator has blessed man to serve him as a recreation and comfort, music may be regarded as the first, or at least one of the most elevated." That Luther ranked music next to theology is well known; and in language more forcible than elegant he declares that those who do not love song are "blockheads who ought to be treated to the bawling of donkeys, the barking of dogs, and the squealing of pigs,"—which is almost as strong language as Shakespeare's declaration that he who loves not music is "fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."

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Mediæval church music affords one of the best tests of the power of music *per se*. In the songs of minstrels, from Homeric times to the present day, as well as in the innumerable folk songs of all nations, it is always open to dispute how much of the effect produced on the feelings is due to the melody, and how much to the sad or joyful words to which it is sung. But in the old church music, though words were used, they were unintelligible to the congregation, because they were Latin; hence the deep feelings aroused must have been due to the music alone.

While religious music will doubtless live as long as religion itself, there is one branch of it—if music it can be called—which is luckily becoming obsolete: I refer to bells and chimes. I shall never forget the look of distress with which a famous organist once said to me that whenever he heard a set of chimes he wished he could put his ears in his pocket. In these days of one-dollar nickel watches, bells are no longer needed to inform people when the service begins. They are, moreover, a decided nuisance, and often a dangerous one; for they have killed many invalids whose life depended upon a few hours' sleep, which the bells murdered. In New York, bell-ringing has been frequently stopped on account of complaints to the Board of Health. If it seems desirable to have a means of summoning worshippers to church, why not adopt the delightful old custom that is still observed in some South German villages and in the city of Stuttgart? There four trombone-players ascend a church-tower three times a day and play a solemn chorale. In all my musical experiences I have never heard anything more thrilling than those majestic harmonies in the air, that seemed to come straight from heaven. If our churches would adopt this custom, and these celestial sounds became associated with religious experiences, they might arouse the dormant devotion of many a one who otherwise would pass the church-door by.

If we now leave the theological for the *medical* faculty, we find that among the primitive races the function of the priest is commonly combined with that of the medicine-man. That is to say, the same man who undertakes to conciliate or frighten the devil also pretends that he can, with his musical orgies, expel the demon who is supposed to be responsible for a case of illness. Many African tribes have special musical doctors who play instruments, ring bells, and perform various foolish antics around their unhappy patients. In British Columbia a doctor of this class has a band of assistants who, while he sings to the patient inside the house, intone a chorus outside, beating time on the low roof

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with sticks. The Walla Walla Indians make convalescents sing by the hour, which is not a bad idea; for singing expands and strengthens the lungs, and leads to deep breathing, the best of all tonics. Belden, who lived twelve years among the Indians of our Western plains, relates how a medicine-man tried to cure a girl who had been bitten by a rattlesnake:

"The doctor was singing vigorously and rattling a gourd over the girl's head; then he would take a drum made of raw hide and beat it industriously, raising his humdrum tone to a shrill key, when he would resume his gourd and guttural song."

Of course the girl would have died had not Belden sucked her wound and administered plenty of whiskey.

These medicine-men make the same mistake that is made by the individuals in our community, who comically call themselves "Christian Scientists." Mind and music cannot cure snake-bite or pneumonia, but they can cure, or at least mitigate, illness that is due largely to mental depression and worry. Music cannot cure insanity, because that is a disease of the brain, just as consumption is a disease of the lungs, and jaundice, of the liver. But the insane can be calmed and temporarily benefited by music and other entertainments. The French physician, Salpierre, had a hospital for the insane, in which a band of music frequently played. He claimed that this greatly benefited the patients. Other medical writers have testified that music arrests the violent paroxysms of passion or weeping to which these unfortunates are subject.

Probably the best-authenticated instance of the medical value of music is found in the records of the mediæval epidemics of tarantism. Those bitten by the ground-spider, or tarantula, usually became hysterically excited, going about dancing and laughing like madmen. Music was found to be the only thing that affected them. At first it increased their excitement, causing them to scream and dance more wildly; but presently they sank down exhausted and the spell was broken. It was supposed that the perspiration induced by the violent exercise expelled the poison; but a medical writer concludes that in most cases the disease itself was purely imaginary and mental, the hysterical phenomena being caused by an epidemic fear, rather than by the bite of a tarantula.

Lenz relates that the tam-tam beating of the Ashuka medicine-men in West Africa made some of the tribe ill and frantic with excitement, so that they ran about on all fours and behaved like raving maniacs. Conversely, music often hath "charms to soothe the savage breast."

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Australian mothers sing their children to sleep when they cry. Australian songs are short; and their monotonous repetition is apt to produce a hypnotic effect, as was noted by Grey. Sir Samuel Baker came across an African chief who took a great fancy to the musical-box, because, as he explained to his visitor, "one does not require to study it, and it can be set going at night to play you to sleep when you are too drunk to play it yourself." The use of song as a hypnotic, which to the present day every mother resorts to instinctively, suggests the true medical function of music. We are too apt, in speaking of medicine, to have in mind pills and powders only, forgetting that, especially in the case of nervous troubles, the body is often most easily cured by way of the mind, and that a soul medicine is often more effective than soothing syrup and chemicals. From this point of view we may also, with perfect propriety, refer to *mourning* songs and *funeral* marches under the head of medical music. It is well known that passionate lovers of music are much fonder of sad strains than of lively measures. Why? Because there is in æsthetic melancholy a solace which joy does not afford. It seems as if, on hearing funeral music, our real grief, which is painful and heartrending, were converted into æsthetic sadness, which, like tears, is soothing and helps to heal the wounds. Thus we can see why at all times and everywhere music is associated with the rites of burial and mourning. Even the Australians, the lowest of all savages, are moved to tears by the music they make at their funerals. I find in my own case that the sight of a funeral *cortège* may leave me quite indifferent, while a funeral march instantly moves me to tears of sympathy; and I believe this to be the general experience.

If thus we take the word "medical" in the wider sense of soothing, healing, hygienic, or stimulating, we get a glimpse of other vistas of usefulness. Music has often cured me of headache; and I believe others have had a like experience. In one of his early newspaper letters from Paris, Wagner relates how the violinist, Vieuxtemps, came to him in a dream and played until he had cured his headache. I have also found that music often stimulates the brain to extra exertions. One afternoon, during a concert in Brooklyn, I had such a lucid hour that I mentally sketched the plan for a whole book, the architecture of which had bothered me for a long time. During my student days in Berlin I had the pleasure of spending much of my time with Prof. Stanley Hall, who has since become one of our leading psychologists. He often went with me to Bilse's orchestral concerts, because he said they

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facilitated thinking, and enabled him to do some of his most original work while listening to overtures and symphonies. George Sand wrote many of her best pages while Chopin was improvising for her on the piano; and Darwin relates in his Autobiography that in his later years his pleasure in music was apt to be marred by its setting him to thinking too energetically on the scientific subject on which he happened to be at work.

Music is also a potent *moral* agency, because it fosters a love for refined pastimes and weans young people from low and demoralizing pleasures. I think that no boy who loves music will ever torture animals or be a rowdy in school or college. Music is therefore an antidote to vulgarity and crime. The capacity for musical pleasure is also more enduring than other gratifications which many prefer to it. Bach, Handel, Haydn, Wagner, and other composers who reached a good old age were as enthusiastic over their art in their last days as in their youth; and the day before he died Liszt had himself carried from his bed in Bayreuth to the Wagner Theatre that he might once more hear "Tristan and Isolde."

In the *social* life of most races, savage or civilized, music plays a hundred different rôles. Many savage tribes spend half their nights in singing, playing, and dancing; and there is hardly an event in their lives that is not afterward commemorated in simple verse and song. Thus, Ehrenreich tells us that the Botocudos, a tribe of Brazilian Indians, spend their evenings singing improvised songs about the happenings of the day; their topics being such as: "To-day we had a successful hunt." "We killed this or that animal." "Now we have enough to live on." "Venison is good to eat." "Brandy is good to drink." The young folks among the Indians have their courting-flutes, to call their sweethearts to their side at the brook and to express their rapturous longings. Miss Alice C. Fletcher says of the Omaha Indians:—

"Song nerves the warrior to deeds of heroism and robs death of its terrors; it speeds the spirit to the land of the hereafter, and solaces those who live to mourn; children compose ditties for their games, and young men by music give zest to their sports; the lover sings his way to the maiden's heart, and the old man tunefully evokes those agencies which can avert death."

In our own social life is there a single important function at which music is not recognized as a useful ally? Do we not have it at all our weddings, and funerals, in the nursery, in school and church, in the parks, at picnics, at the circus, at political meetings and proces-

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sions—above all, at home, where it does so much to kill the terrible monster, *Ennui?* Can one imagine anything more useful than an art capable of giving so much innocent pleasure to millions,—from the lowest savages to the men of greatest genius? Would anyone say that tailors, cobblers, bakers, are useful, and that Bach, Chopin, and Wagner are useless? Then were Homer and Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe useless. Then are all books and pictures useless, and all the beauties of nature. Strictly speaking, the only really necessary things in the world are food and drink. In China and India hundreds of millions live on rice and tea. Of these even tea is a luxury; for rice and water would suffice. Everything else we have in the world is superfluous; and, that being the case, the question is merely as to the choice of our luxuries, which is a matter of taste and culture.

HENRY T. FINCK.

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THE PHYSICAL FACTOR IN PUBLIC-SCHOOL EDUCATION.

A REVIEW of the progress of the last quarter-century reveals nothing more marked than the development along educational lines—except, perhaps, the remarkable advance of invention in the field of electricity. A conspicuous feature of this educational progress is the "broadening at the base," *i.e.*, the enlargement of the scope of graded school-work and the improvement in methods of teaching and study.

The rapid spread of the Kindergarten; the use of Kindergarten methods in primary grades; the large increase in the right kind of reading-material; the greater attention to language, with a corresponding diminution in the humdrum of number-work; the vivification of history and geography by the tactful teaching of local history and geography; the introduction of elementary science, always enthusiastically received, in whatever form; the awakening of dormant faculties by manual training; a better understanding of the child and child-life by even the average teacher, who cannot have failed to absorb some of the ideas of Dr. Hall,—these and many more are the means that have served to bring about the marked progress of recent years.

Although much has been accomplished in devising new means and in improving methods, it is nevertheless patent, even to the most superficial observer, that these improvements, noteworthy as they are, cannot offset the added requirements placed upon the child by the multiplication of subjects and the increased amount of subject-matter now generally prescribed by school curricula.

That we are *nearing the line of danger* to the physical child, may by some be questioned; that we are *tending in that direction*, none, I think, will deny. It would seem, therefore, to be not only the part of wisdom, but of duty as well, that those charged with the all-important task of preparing courses of study should consider carefully the fact, that every child mind intrusted to their care for development is coördinated with a body the proper care and development of which, in a symmetrical scheme of education, should receive considerable attention.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the public school has taken possession of the child for the purposes of mental education, and that

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his religious education is given over to the church. But who, or what, directs in any proper manner his physical training? It is obviously as important that the physical well-being and development of children should be carefully looked after as that they should be taught that a verb must agree with its subject in person and number, or that they should become skilled in extracting the cube root.

I believe that the modern school should take earnest hold of all questions concerning the physical education of children. That some of the signs of the times in the educational world point in this direction, none will be disposed to question. We hear much of this or that system of physical culture; while military drill has been hailed by many as the panacea for most of the physical and many of the moral blemishes of youth. I have had my day of advocacy of each in turn, and still believe as strongly as ever in the efficacy of most of them. But have our highest, or even our reasonable, hopes been realized? Are not we of the schools doing rather more than our due share in fostering that spirit of unrest and rush which characterizes our American civilization, and is responsible for many of the nervous wrecks that fill our lunatic asylums? I plead for a well-directed physical education as a close coördinate of mental training; and I believe that the time is not far distant when it will be regarded as much the duty of the public school to give the one as the other.

The reasonableness of the proposition conceded, the practical question, how to carry it into effect, confronts us. It is plain that we cannot turn to Old-World methods; for the very genius of our institutions and of American life and customs precludes a resort to army training and service, which so generally prevail in Continental Europe. The conditions that exist with us are so radically different from those of older countries—especially in respect to games and sports—that we are forced to devise new means for the fullest physical development of our youth.

Every well-equipped school system should include in its teaching-force a "Director of Sports." Such Director should be a skilled exponent of the best systems of physical culture; he should be an athlete in the best sense; he should have the military instinct; he should possess a fair knowledge of anatomy and hygiene; he should be a high-minded gentleman, capable of distinguishing between sports that ennoble and those that degrade; in fact, he should be a "born leader." Who can bound the influence for good that such a man might exert? The suggestion starts a train of thought; vision and the imagination become active; and, while yet playing within the range of the practical, we see the co-

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ordination of the mental and physical powers,—each helping the other. Some of the nerve-wearing work of the confined class-room might be transferred to the yard, the playground, the field, or the woods; still more might be rendered much easier of accomplishment under the stimulus suggested.

While the Director of Sports should be the instructor and supervisor of in-door gymnastics and calisthenics, he should give much of his time to out-door sports. Especially should this be the case from May to November. His work should continue through the ordinary summer vacation, and might be made of especial benefit during that period. School-yards should be open, under proper restrictions, for at least a part of the time—say three days per week—during the summer vacation, in order that children might be provided with suitable playgrounds, without being forced to the street, or to trespass upon private property. A step beyond this would be for the town or city to own or lease a field so located as to serve as a common playground for all the schools, or, in the case of large cities, several fields for the use of schools by groups should be secured. Whether the playground be the school-yard of limited dimensions, or the more liberal common field, the sports therein could be supervised in a general way by the Director of Sports.

Though it is not claimed for a moment that such care would be possible as to forestall everything that a refined mother might wish her child to avoid, it is believed that a great improvement might be made as regards the language, tricks, and contentions that are too frequent accompaniments of unwatched sports in the streets, back alleys, and on forbidden fields. While it is not desired that all games should be played under the eye of a director, nor supposed that a majority will be played under rules best calculated to adapt them to the physical capacities of the players, nor that the twelve-year-olds will play Rugby football in clerical garb and with corresponding sanctity, it is nevertheless held that the direct influence of a director of sports of the right mould, and his indirect influence exerted through boys whom he has reached, may be reasonably expected to lead to conditions that must make for better physical development, for nobler manhood and womanhood, and, therefore, for purer morals.

Should the advocates of continuous sessions, *i.e.*, sessions extending through the summer months, prove their proposition, and secure the adoption of the scheme, how mightily effective the work and the influence of the Director of Sports might be made! The continuous-

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session plan, when urged with the view of prolonging the existing order and method of teaching and study for even a week beyond the present general limit of ten months, I regard as a fine bit of insanity. It would be far better to shorten the school-year—especially for children below the third year in school—to nine, or even to eight, months. While I would not advocate the continuous-session plan in order to make a larger opportunity for physical education, I may say, in passing, that, in my opinion, no such innovation can ever be made permanent unless it gives a large share of attention to the physical well-being and training of the children.

Were a change in the direction indicated to be attempted, the school curriculum should be made up of at least two parts radically different from each other: one providing for work along present lines, always as much improved as possible, and requiring for its acomplishment the months from November to April; the other, a course of stu ly covering the period from May to October, and giving much time to the cultivation of the physical, including the study of nature at first hand, through excursions into fields and woods, under the guidance of a teacher who

> "Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

Such a course would give space for well-directed in-door and out-door exercises, and would raise many sports and games, which now serve only as pastimes, to the dignity of educational forces.

There is as yet no just appreciation of the true educational value of sports thus directed; nor is the influence upon morals that may be exerted through the right kind of sports sufficiently recognized. I would choose to have a son an athlete and enthusiastically interested in all manly sports, if for no other reason than for the effect upon his moral nature.

All this might mean a more universal application of the great fundamental principle of the Kindergarten. The further that principle is carried, in full adaptation to the needs and capacities of children of larger growth, the better for mankind.

The limits of this paper will allow only this brief exposition of a matter that should receive—and, I believe, will receive, within a very few years—the serious attention of progressive educators.

EVERETT C. WILLARD.

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THE PRIMARY-EDUCATION FETICH.

It is some years since the educational world was more or less agitated by an attack upon the place occupied by Greek in the educational scheme. If, however, Greek occupies the place of a fetich, its worshippers are comparatively few in number, and its influence is relatively slight. There is, however, a false educational god whose idolaters are legion, and whose cult influences the entire educational system. This is language-study—the study not of foreign language, but of English; not in higher, but in primary education. It is almost an unquestioned assumption, of educational theory and practice both, that the first three years of a child's school-life shall be mainly taken up with learning to read and write his own language. If we add to this the learning of a certain amount of numerical combinations, we have the pivot about which primary education swings. Other subjects may be taught; but they are introduced in strict subordination.

The very fact that this procedure, as part of the natural and established course of education, is assumed as inevitable,—opposition being regarded as captious and revolutionary,—indicates that, historically, there are good reasons for the position assigned to these studies. It does not follow, however, that because this course was once wise it is so any longer. On the contrary, the fact, that this mode of education was adapted to past conditions, is in itself a reason why it should no longer hold supreme sway. The present has its claims. It is in education, if anywhere, that the claims of the present should be controlling. To educate on the basis of past surroundings is like adapting an organism to an environment which no longer exists. The individual is stultified, if not disintegrated; and the course of progress is blocked. My proposition is, that conditions—social, industrial, and intellectual—have undergone such a radical change, that the time has come for a thoroughgoing examination of the emphasis put upon linguistic work in elementary instruction.

The existing status was developed in a period when ability to read was practically the sole avenue to knowledge, when it was the only tool which insured control over the accumulated spiritual resources of

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civilization. Scientific methods of observation, experimentation, and testing were either unknown or confined to a few specialists at the upper end of the educational ladder. Because these methods were not free, were not capable of anything like general use, it was not possible to permit the pupil to begin his school career in direct contact with the materials of nature and of life. The only guarantee, the only criterion of values, was found in the ways in which the great minds of the past had assimilated and interpreted such materials. To avoid intellectual chaos and confusion, it was necessary reverently to retrace the steps of the fathers. The *régime* of intellectual authority and tradition, in matters of politics, morals, and culture, was a necessity, where methods of scientific investigation and verification had not been developed, or were in the hands of the few. We often fail to see that the dominant position occupied by book-learning in school education is simply a corollary and relic of this epoch of intellectual development.

Ordinary social conditions were congruent with this intellectual status. While it cannot be said that, in the formative period of our educational system in America, authority and tradition were the ultimate sources of knowledge and belief, it must be remembered that the immediate surroundings of our ancestors were crude and undeveloped. Newspapers, magazines, libraries, art-galleries, and all the daily play of intellectual intercourse and reaction which is effective to-day were non-existent. If any escape existed from the poverty of the intellectual environment, or any road to richer and wider mental life, the exit was through the gateway of books. In presenting the attainments of the past, these maintained the bonds of spiritual continuity, and kept our forefathers from falling to the crude level of their material surroundings.

When ability to read and write marked the distinction between the educated and the uneducated man, not simply in the scholastic sense, but in the sense of one who is enslaved by his environment and one who is able to take advantage of and rise above it, corresponding importance attached to acquiring these capacities. Reading and writing were obviously what they are still so often called —the open doors to learning and to success in life. All the meaning that belongs to these ends naturally transferred itself to the means through which alone they could be realized. The intensity and ardor with which our forefathers set themselves to master reading and writing, the difficulties overcome, the interest attached in the ordinary routine of school-life to what now seems barren,—the curriculum of the three R's,—all testify

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to the motive-power these studies possessed. To learn to read and write was an interesting, even exciting, thing: it made such a difference in life.

It is hardly necessary to say that the conditions, intellectual as well as social, have changed. There are undoubtedly rural regions where the old state of things still persists. With reference to these, what I am saying has no particular meaning. But, upon the whole, the advent of quick and cheap mails, of easy and continuous travel and transportation, of the telegraph and telephone, the establishment of libraries, art-galleries, literary clubs, the universal diffusion of cheap reading-matter, newspapers and magazines of all kinds and grades,—all these have worked a tremendous change in the immediate intellectual environment. The values of life and of civilization, instead of being far away and correspondingly inaccessible, press upon the individual—at least in cities—with only too much urgency and stimulating force. We are more likely to be surfeited than starved: there is more congestion than lack of intellectual nutriment.

The capital handed down from past generations, and upon whose transmission the integrity of civilization depends, is no longer amassed in those banks termed books, but is in active and general circulation, at an extremely low rate of interest. It is futile to try to conceal from ourselves the fact that this great change in the intellectual atmosphere —this great change in the relation of the individual to accumulated knowledge—demands a corresponding educational readjustment. The significance attaching to reading and writing, as primary and fundamental instruments of culture, has shrunk proportionately as the immanent intellectual life of society has quickened and multiplied. The result is that these studies lose their motive and motor force. They have become mechanical and formal, and out of relation—when made dominant—to the rest of life.

They are regarded as more or less arbitrary tasks which must be submitted to because one is going to that mysterious thing called a school, or else are covered up and sugar-coated with all manner of pretty devices and tricks in order that the child may absorb them unawares. The complaint made by some, that the school curriculum of to-day does not have the disciplinary value of the old-fashioned three R's, has a certain validity. But this is not because the old ideal has been abandoned. It is because it has been retained in spite of the change of conditions. Instead of frankly facing the situation, and asking ourselves what studies can be organized which shall do for

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to-day what language-study did for former generations, we have retained that as the centre and core of our course of study, and dressed it out with a variety of pretty pictures, objects, and games, and a smattering of science.

Along with this change in the relation of intellectual material and stimulus to the individual there has been an equally great change in the method and make-up of knowledge itself. Science and art have become free. The simplest processes and methods of knowing and doing have been worked out to such a point that they are no longer the monopolistic possessions of any class or guild. They are, in idea, and should be in deed, part of the social commonwealth. It is possible to initiate the child from the first in a direct, not abstract or symbolical, way, into the operations by which society maintains its existence, material and spiritual.

The processes of production, transportation, consumption, etc., by which society keeps up its material continuity, are conducted on such a large and public scale that they are obvious and objective. Their reproduction in embryonic form through a variety of modes of industrial training is entirely within the bounds of possibility. Moreover, methods of the discovery and communication of truth—upon which the spiritual unity of society depends—have become direct and independent, instead of remote and tied to the intervention of teacher or book. It is not simply that children can acquire a certain amount of scientific information about things organic and inorganic: if that were all, the plea for the study of the history and literature of the past, as more humanistic, would be unanswerable. No; the significant thing is that it is possible for the child at an early day to become acquainted with, and to use, in a personal and yet relatively controlled fashion, the methods by which truth is discovered and communicated, and to make his own speech a channel for the expression and communication of truth; thus putting the linguistic side where it belongs—subordinate to the appropriation and conveyance of what is genuinely and personally experienced.

A similar modification, almost revolution, has taken place in the relation which the intellectual activities bear to the ordinary practical occupations of life. While the child of bygone days was getting an intellectual discipline whose significance he appreciated in the school, in his home life he was securing acquaintance in a direct fashion with the chief lines of social and industrial activity. Life was in the main rural. The child came into contact with the scenes of nature, and was

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familiarized with the care of domestic animals, the cultivation of the soil, and the raising of crops. The factory system being undeveloped, the home was the centre of industry. Spinning, weaving, the making of clothes, etc., were all carried on there. As there was little accumulation of wealth, the child had to take part in these, as well as to participate in the usual round of household occupations. Only those who have passed through such training, and, later on, have seen children reared in city environments, can adequately realize the amount of training, mental and moral, involved in this extra-school life. That our successful men have come so largely from the country, is an indication of the educational value bound up with participation in this practical life. It was not only an adequate substitute for what we now term manual training, in the development of hand and eye, in the acquisition of skill and deftness; but it was initiation into self-reliance, independence of judgment and action, and was the best stimulus to habits of regular and continuous work.

In the urban and suburban life of the child of to-day this is simply a memory. The invention of machinery, the institution of the factory system, the division of labor, have changed the home from a workshop into a simple dwelling-place. The crowding into cities and the increase of servants have deprived the child of an opportunity to take part in those occupations which still remain. Just at the time when a child is subjected to a great increase in stimulus and pressure from his environment, he loses the practical and motor training necessary to balance his intellectual development. Facility in acquiring information is gained: the power of using it is lost. While need of the more formal intellectual training in the school has decreased, there arises an urgent demand for the introduction of methods of manual and industrial discipline which shall give the child what he formerly obtained in his home and social life.

Here we have at least a *prima facie* case for a reconsideration of the whole question of the relative importance of learning to read and write in primary education. Hence the necessity of meeting the question at closer quarters. What can be said against giving up the greater portion of the first two years of school life to the mastery of linguistic form? In the first place, physiologists are coming to believe that the sense organs and connected nerve and motor apparatus of the child are not at this period best adapted to the confining and analytic work of learning to read and write. There is an order in which sensory and motor centres develop,—an order expressed, in a general way,

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by saying that the line of progress is from the larger, coarser adjustments having to do with the bodily system as a whole (those nearest the trunk of the body) to the finer and accurate adjustments having to do with the periphery and extremities of the organism. The oculist tells us that the vision of the child is essentially that of the savage; being adapted to seeing large and somewhat remote objects in the mass, not near-by objects in detail. To violate this law means undue nervous strain: it means putting the greatest tension upon the centres least able to do the work. At the same time, the lines of activity which are hungering and thirsting for action are left, unused, to atrophy. The act of writing—especially in the barbarous fashion, long current in the school, of compelling the child to write on ruled lines in a small hand and with the utmost attainable degree of accuracy—involves a nicety and complexity of adjustments of muscular activity which can be definitely appreciated only by the specialist. As the principal of a Chicago school has wittily remarked in this connection, "the pen is literally mightier than the sword." Forcing children at a premature age to devote their entire attention to these refined and cramped adjustments has left behind it a sad record of injured nervous systems and of muscular disorders and distortions. While there are undoubted exceptions, present physiological knowledge points to the age of about eight years as early enough for anything more than an incidental attention to visual and written language-form.

We must not forget that these forms are symbols. I am far from depreciating the value of symbols in our intellectual life. It is hardly too much to say that all progress in civilization upon the intellectual side has depended upon increasing invention and control of symbols of one sort or another. Nor do I join in the undiscriminating cry of those who condemn the study of language as having to do with mere words, not with realities. Such a position is one-sided, and is as crude as the view against which it is a reaction. But there is an important question here: Is the child of six or seven years ready for symbols to such an extent that the stress of educational life can be thrown upon them? If we were to look at the question independently of the existing school system, in the light of the child's natural needs and interests at this period, I doubt if there could be found anyone who would say that the urgent call of the child of six and seven is for this sort of nutriment, instead of for more direct introduction into the wealth of natural and social forms that surrounds him. No doubt the skilful teacher often succeeds in awakening an interest in these mat-

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ters; but the interest has to be excited in a more or less artificial way, and, when excited, is somewhat factitious, and independent of other interests of child-life. At this point the wedge is introduced and driven in which marks the growing divorce between school and outside interests and occupations.

We cannot recur too often in educational matters to the conception of John Fiske, that advance in civilization is an accompaniment of the prolongation of infancy. Anything which, at this period, develops to a high degree any set of organs and centres at the expense of others means premature specialization, and the arrest of an equable and all-round development. Many educators are already convinced that premature facility and glibness in the matter of numerical combinations tend toward an arrested development of certain higher spiritual capacities. The same thing is true in the matter of verbal symbols. Only the trained psychologist is aware of the amount of analysis and abstraction demanded by the visual recognition of a verbal form. Many suppose that abstraction is found only where more or less complex reasoning exists. But as a matter of fact the essence of abstraction is found in compelling attention to rest upon elements which are more or less cut off from direct channels of interest and action. To require a child to turn away from the rich material which is all about him, to which he spontaneously attends, and which is his natural, unconscious food, is to compel the premature use of analytic and abstract powers. It is wilfully to deprive the child of that synthetic life, that unconscious union with his environment, which is his birthright and privilege. There is every reason to suppose that a premature demand upon the abstract intellectual capacity stands in its own way. It cripples rather than furthers later intellectual development. We are not yet in a position to know how much of the inertia and seeming paralysis of mental powers in later periods is the direct outcome of excessive and too early appeal to isolated intellectual capacity. We must trust to the development of physiology and psychology to make these matters so clear that school authorities and the public opinion which controls them shall have no option. Only then can we hope to escape that deadening of the childish activities which led Jowett to call education "the grave of the mind."

Were the matter not so serious it would be ludicrous, when we reflect how all this time and effort fail to reach the end to which they are specially consecrated. It is a common saying among intelligent educators that they can go into a schoolroom and select the children

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who picked up reading at home: they read so much more naturally and intelligently. The stilted, mechanical, droning, and sing-song ways of reading which prevail in many of our schools are simply the reflex of the lack of motive. Reading is made an isolated accomplishment. There are no aims in the child's mind which he feels he can serve by reading; there is no mental hunger to be satisfied; there are no conscious problems with reference to which he uses books. The book is a reading-lesson. He learns to read not for the sake of what he reads, but for the mere sake of reading. When the bare process of reading is thus made an end in itself, it is a psychological impossibility for reading to be other than lifeless.

It is quite true that all better teachers now claim that the formal act of reading should be made subordinate to the sense of what is read,—that the child has first to grasp the idea, and then to express his mental realization. But, under present conditions, this profession cannot be carried out. The following paragraph from the report of the Committee of Fifteen on elementary education states clearly enough the reason why; though, as it seems to me, without any consciousness of the real inference which should be drawn from the facts set forth:—

"The first three years' work of the child is occupied mainly with the mastery of the printed and written forms of the words of his colloquial vocabulary,—words that he is already familiar enough with as sounds addressed to the ear. He has to become familiar with the new forms addressed to the eye; and it would be an unwise method to require him to learn many new words at the same time that he is learning to recognize his old words in their new shape. But as soon as he has acquired (before three years) some facility in reading what is printed in the colloquial style, he may go on to selections from standard authors."

The material of the reading-lesson is thus found wholly in the region of familiar words and ideas. It is out of the question for the child to find anything in the ideas themselves to arouse and hold attention. His mind is fixed upon the mere recognition and utterance of the forms. Thus begins that fatal divorce between the substance and the form of expression, which, fatal to reading as an art, reduces it to a mechanical action. The utter triviality of the contents of our school "Primers" and "First Readers," shows the inevitable outcome of forcing the mastery of external language-forms upon the child at a premature period. Take up the first half-dozen or dozen such books you meet with, and ask yourself how much there is in the ideas presented worthy of respect from any intelligent child of six years.

Methods for learning to read come and go across the educational arena, like the march of supernumeraries upon the stage. Each is her-

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alded as the final solution of the problem of learning to read; but each in turn gives way to some later discovery. The simple fact is, that they all lack the essential of any well-grounded method, namely, relevancy to the child's mental needs. No scheme for learning to read can supply this want. Only a new motive—putting the child into a vital relation to the materials to be read—can be of service here. It is evident that this condition cannot be met, unless learning to read be postponed to a period when the child's intellectual appetite is more consciously active, and when he is mature enough to deal more rapidly and effectively with the formal and mechanical difficulties.

The endless drill, with its continual repetitions, is another instance of the same evil. Even when the attempt is made to select material with some literary or historic worth of its own, the practical outcome is much like making "Paradise Lost" the basis of parsing-lessons, or Cæsar's "Gallic Wars" an introduction to Latin syntax. So much attention has to be given to the formal side that the spiritual value evanesces. No one can estimate the benumbing and hardening effect of this continued drill upon mere form. Another even more serious evil is the consequent emptiness of mind induced. The mental room is swept and garnished—and that is all. The moral result is even more deplorable than the intellectual. At this plastic period, when images which take hold of the mind exercise such suggestive motor force, nothing but husks are provided. Under the circumstances, our schools are doing great things for the moral education of children; but all efforts in this direction must necessarily be hampered and discounted until the school-teacher shall be perfectly free to find the bulk of the material of instruction for the early school-years in something which has intrinsic value,—something whose introduction into consciousness is so vital as to be personal and reconstructive.

It should be obvious that what I have in mind is not a Philistine attack upon books and reading. The question is not how to get rid of them, but how to get their value,—how to use them to their capacity as servants of the intellectual and moral life. The plea for the predominance of learning to read in early school-life because of the great importance attaching to literature seems to me a perversion. Just because literature is so important, it is desirable to postpone the child's introduction to printed speech until he is capable of appreciating and dealing with its genuine meaning. Now, the child learns to read as a mechanical tool, and gets very little conception of what is worth

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reading. The result is, that, after he has mastered the art and wishes to use it, he has no standard by which to direct it. He is about as likely to use it in one way as in another. It would be ungrateful not to recognize the faithfulness and relative success with which teachers, for the last ten or fifteen years, have devoted themselves to raising the general tone of reading with their pupils. But, after all, they are working against great odds. Our ideal should be that the child should have a personal interest in what is read, a personal hunger for it, and a personal power of satisfying this appetite. The adequate realization of this ideal is impossible until the child comes to the reading-material with a certain background of experience which makes him appreciate the difference between the trivial, the merely amusing and exciting, and that which has permanent and serious meaning. This is impossible so long as the child has not been trained in the habit of dealing with material outside of books, and has formed, through contact with the realities of experience, habits of recognizing and dealing with problems in the direct personal way. The isolation of material found in books from the material which the child experiences in life itself—the forcing of the former upon the child before he has well-organized powers of dealing with the latter—is an unnatural divorce which cannot have any other result than defective standards of appreciation, and a tendency to elevate the sensational and transiently interesting above the valuable and the permanent.

Two results of our wrong methods are so apparent in higher education that they are worth special mention. They are exhibited in the paradox of the combination of slavish dependence upon books with real inability to use them effectively. The famous complaint of Agassiz, that students could not see for themselves, is still repeated by every teacher of science in our high schools and colleges. How many teachers of science will tell you, for example, that, when their students are instructed to find out something about an object, their first demand is for a book in which they can read about it; their first reaction, one of helplessness, when they are told that they must go to the object itself and let it tell its own story? It is not exaggerating to say that the book habit is so firmly fixed that very many pupils, otherwise intelligent, have a positive aversion to directing their attention to things themselves,—it seems so much simpler to occupy the mind with what someone else has said about these things. While it is mere stupidity not to make judicious use of the discoveries and attainments of others, the substitution of the seeing of others for the use of one's own eyes is

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such a self-contradictory principle as to require no criticism. We only need recognize the extent to which it actually obtains.

On the other hand, we have the relative incapacity of students to use easily and economically these very tools—books—to which most of their energies have been directed. It is a common experience with, I will not say only the teachers of undergraduate students, but of graduate students,—candidates for advanced degrees,—to find that in every special subject a large amount of time and energy has to be spent in learning how to use the books. To take a book and present an adequate, condensed synopsis of its points of view and course of argument, is an exercise not merely in reading, but in thinking. To know how to turn quickly to a number of books bearing upon a given topic, to choose what is needed, and to find what is characteristic of the author and important in the subject, are matters which the majority of even graduate students have to learn over again for themselves. If such be the case,—and yet attention to books has been the dominant note of all previous education,—we are surely within bounds in asking if there is not something radically wrong in the way in which books have been used. It is a truism to say that the value of books consists in their relation to life, in the keenness and range which they impart to powers of penetration and interpretation. It is no truism to say that the premature and unrelated use of books stands in the way. Our means defeat the very end to which they are used.

Just a word about the corresponding evils. We have to take into account not simply the results produced by forcing language-work unduly, but also the defects in development due to the crowding out of other objects. Every respectable authority insists that the period of childhood, lying between the years of four and eight or nine, is the plastic period in sense and emotional life. What are we doing to shape these capacities? What are we doing to feed this hunger? If one compares the powers and needs of the child in these directions with what is actually supplied in the regimen of the three R's, the contrast is pitiful, tragic. This epoch is also the budding-time for the formation of efficient and orderly habits on the motor side: it is preeminently the time when the child wishes to do things, and when his interest in doing can be turned to educative account. No one can clearly set before himself the vivacity and persistency of the child's motor instincts at this period, and then call to mind the continued grind of reading and writing, without feeling that the justification of our present curriculum is psychologically impossible.

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It is simply a superstition: it is a remnant of an outgrown period of history.

All this might be true, and yet there might be no subject-matter sufficiently organized for introduction into the school curriculum, since this demands, above all things, a certain definiteness of presentation and of development. But we are not in this unfortunate plight. There are subjects which are as well fitted to meet the child's dominant needs as they are to prepare him for the civilization in which he has to play his part. There is art in a variety of modes—music, drawing, painting, modelling, etc. These *media* not only afford a regulated outlet in which the child may project his inner impulses and feelings in outward form, and come to consciousness of himself, but are necessities in existing social life. The child must be protected against some of the hard and over-utilitarian aspects of modern civilization: positively, they are needed, because some degree of artistic and creative power is necessary to take the future worker out of the ranks of unskilled labor, and to feed his consciousness in his hours of contact with purely mechanical things.

Those modes of simple scientific observation and experiment which go under the name of "nature-study" are calculated to appeal to and keep active the keenness of the child's interest in the world about him, and to introduce him gradually to those methods of discovery and verification which are the essential characteristics of modern intellectual life. On the social side, they give the child an acquaintance with his environment,—an acquaintance more and more necessary, under existing conditions, for the maintenance of personal and social health, for understanding and conducting business pursuits, and for the administration of civic affairs. What is crudely termed manual training—the variety of constructive activities, which, begun in the Kindergarten, ought never to be given up—is equally adapted to the characteristic needs of the child and to the present demands of associated life. These activities afford discipline in continuous and orderly application of powers, strengthen habits of attention and industry, and beget self-reliant and ingenious judgment. As preparation for future social life, they furnish insight into the mechanical and industrial occupations upon which our civilization depends, and keep alive that sense of the dignity of work essential to democracy. History and literature, once more, provide food for the eager imagination of the child. While giving it worthy material, they may check its morbid and chaotic exercise. They present to the child typical conditions of social life, they exhibit the

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struggles which have brought it into being, and picture the spiritual products in which it has culminated. Due place cannot be given to literature and history until the teacher is free to select them for their own intrinsic value, and not from the standpoint of the child's ability to recognize written and printed verbal symbols.

Here we have the controlling factors in the primary curriculum of the future,—manual training, science, nature-study, art, and history. These keep alive the child's positive and creative impulses, and direct them in such ways as to discipline them into the habits of thought and action required for effective participation in community life.

Were the attempt suddenly made to throw out, or reduce to a minimum, language-work in the early grades, the last state of our schools would undoubtedly be worse than the first. Not immediate substitution is what is required, but consideration of the whole situation, and organization of the materials and methods of science, history, and the arts, to make them adequate educational agencies. Many of our present evils are due to compromise and inconsistency. We have neither one thing nor the other,—neither the systematic, all-pervasive discipline of the three R's, nor a coherent training in constructive work, history, and nature-study. We have a mixture of the two. The former is supposed to furnish the element of discipline and to constitute the standard of success; while the latter supplies the factor of interest. What is needed is a thoroughgoing reconciliation of the ideals of thoroughness, definiteness, and order, summed up in the notion of discipline, with those of appeal to individual capacities and demands, summed up in the word "interest." This is the Educational Problem, so far as it relates to the elementary school.

Change must come gradually. To force it unduly would compromise its final success by favoring a violent reaction. What is needed in the first place is, that there should be a full and frank statement of conviction with regard to the matter from physiologists and psychologists and from those school administrators who are conscious of the evils of the present *régime*. Educators should also frankly face the fact that the New Education, as it exists to-day, is a compromise and a transition: it employs new methods; but its controlling ideals are virtually those of the Old Education. Wherever movements looking to a solution of the problem are intelligently undertaken, they should receive encouragement, moral and financial, from the intellectual leaders of the community. There are already in existence a considerable number of educational "experiment stations," which represent the out-

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posts of educational progress. If these schools can be adequately supported for a number of years they will perform a great vicarious service. After such schools have worked out carefully and definitely the subject-matter of a new curriculum,—finding the right place for language-studies and placing them in their right perspective,—the problem of the more general educational reform will be immensely simplified and facilitated. There will be clear standards, well-arranged material, and coherent methods upon which to proceed. To build up and equip such schools is, therefore, the wisest and most economical policy, in avoiding the friction and waste consequent upon casual and spasmodic attempts at educational reform.

All this amounts to saying that school reform is dependent upon a collateral wider change in the public opinion which controls school board, superintendent, and teachers. There are certain minor changes, reforms in detail, which can be effected directly within the school system itself. But the school is not an isolated institution: it is one of an organism of social forces. To secure more scientific principles of work in the school, means, accordingly, clearer vision and wiser standards of thought and action in the community at large. The Educational Problem is ultimately, that society shall see clearly its own conditions and needs, and set resolutely about meeting them. If the recognition be once secured, we need have no doubts about the consequent action. Let the community once realize that it is educating upon the basis of a life which it has left behind, and it will turn, with adequate intellectual and material resources, to meet the needs of the present hour.

JOHN DEWEY.

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CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND HER INFLUENCE IN IMPERIAL COUNCILS.

ALTHOUGH still a colonial dependency, the Dominion of Canada, which was formed in 1867 out of Provinces isolated from each other for a century, has assumed the virtual sovereignty of nearly half a continent, so far as its internal or local government is concerned. It also enjoys an influence in all Imperial affairs affecting its interests which is hardly understood, and is almost resented, by those Americans who are not acquainted with its political and material evolution, or with the exact nature of the Imperial policy, which has so extended the rights and privileges of the Dominion that it has become practically a semi-independent nation. That astute statesman, Sir John Macdonald, who was for so many years Prime Minister, and did so much to make the Dominion a powerful section of the Empire, once characterized its position as that of "a nation within a nation,"—in other words, a dependency exercising many of the attributes of a nation under the guidance and protection of the Imperial Power to which it is subject as regards its foreign relations. As this subject is one of considerable interest, I propose, in the present paper, to state some facts which will, I hope, make plain, in a measure, what is now obscure in the minds of a majority of the people of the United States.

Canada's position in the Empire has been won only after years of struggle, during which some bitterness at times existed between the British Government and sections of the people in consequence of the ignorance that too often prevailed in the parent state with respect to colonial conditions and necessities. For three-quarters of a century after the close of the War of Independence Canadian interests were sacrificed either to the desire of the parent state to conciliate the United States, or through the incapacity of English statesmen and diplomatists to grapple with the colonial questions intrusted to their care. Canadian territory has been invaded time and again by "Patriots" and "Fenians" without any compensation having ever been made for the injury inflicted on a friendly people; rebellion has been stimulated, and advocates of annexation have been encouraged; and large tracts of ter-

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ritory which should now belong to the Dominion have been given up to the persistent demands of the United States. When there was no Canadian federation,—when there were to the north and east of the United States only a number of isolated Provinces having few common sympathies or interests except their attachment to the Crown and Empire,—the United States had too often its own way when questions of controversy affecting the Colonies arose between England and the ambitious Federal Republic. The public men of that country eventually began to consider these dependent countries as valuable simply for their trade, or for the opportunity they afforded to their sharp diplomatists of getting the better of English statesmen when it was a question of obtaining a slice of territory or some advantages in the fishing-grounds of British North America, which, happily for the Dominion, have not so far suffered the fate of Oregon or the once disputed territory in Maine.

On the other hand, with the steady growth of an Imperial sentiment in the parent state, with the great territorial expansion of the Provinces under one Dominion, with their political development which has assumed even national attributes, the old condition of things, that made the Provinces the shuttlecock of skilful American diplomacy, has passed away; and the statesmen of the Canadian federation are at last consulted, and exercise almost as much influence as if they were members of the Imperial Council in London. A remarkable contrast exists between the old restricted colonial policy, which allowed the British-American Provinces little or no influence in Imperial councils, and that liberal Imperial spirit which has gathered strength so rapidly within a quarter of a century,—a spirit which is stimulating the development of a new nation to the north of the Federal Republic, whose dream of a "manifest destiny," which was to grasp a whole continent, is not likely to be realized in the present temper of Canadians or of Imperialists across the Atlantic.

I shall refer only very briefly, in this paper, to the history of the relations between the United States and Canada previous to the federal union of 1867, which enabled isolated and weak Provinces to assume an influential position in the British Empire. Canadians came out of the War of 1812–15 with a confidence that they had never felt before, and with a conviction of their ability to maintain themselves in security by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. The only advantage they gained from the War was the Convention of 1818, which restored to the Provinces the greater part of the fisheries, which had been prac-

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tically given away by the treaty of 1783. Then came the Canadian rebellion of 1837–38, when a number of so-called American "Patriots" kept the frontier of Canada for months in a state of fever by reckless raids, and the two countries were brought to the verge of war. In 1842 Mr. Alexander Baring, afterward Lord Ashburton, gave up to the astute diplomacy of Mr. Daniel Webster eleven thousand square miles, which had been long claimed by the Province of New Brunswick, and which now form a large portion of the State of Maine. In 1846 followed that settlement of the Oregon difficulty by which was ceded to the United States the magnificent region now divided among the present States of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. As a result of this same treaty, San Juan and other islets and islands in the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island were actually given up at a later time to the American Republic.

The Fishery Question, which had loomed up dangerously more than once since 1818, was temporarily settled in 1854 by the Reciprocity Treaty, which lasted until 1866, when it was repealed by the action of the Washington Government itself. At that time there was notoriously existent in the Northern States a strong desire to punish Canadians for their sympathy with the Confederate States,—a sympathy entirely exaggerated. It was also believed that reciprocal trade had become so necessary to the Provinces—to those in the East especially —that they would eventually agree to a measure of trade which would be more favorable to American interests. Indeed there were some American politicians who openly advocated the using of the Question as a means of bringing about annexation. As a matter of fact, the Canadian authorities, during the War of Secession, took every possible precaution to prevent desperate men from violating the neutrality of their territory, and even paid a large sum of money in acknowledgment of their alleged responsibility in the case of the St. Alban's Raid —an episode of which they had no knowledge whatever. Secretary Seward wrote at this critical moment that "the President regards with sincere satisfaction the conduct and proceedings of the Canadian authorities."

Contemporaneously with the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty came the raids of the Fenians—bands of men who did dishonor to the cause of Ireland under the pretence of striking a blow at England through Canada, where Irishmen have always found happy homes, free government, and honorable positions. The United States authorities never moved until it was too late to prevent the blood of Canadians being

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shed. The repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, together with these invasions, helped to stimulate public sentiment in favor of a political union which would enable the Provinces to take common measures for their general security and development.

In 1867–68 the first Parliament of United Canada met at Ottawa, and the Provincial Legislatures at their respective seats of government; and the Dominion of Canada entered on a career of political and industrial development which is now making its influence felt over half a continent. Before and since the union Canada has made frequent efforts to renew a commercial treaty with the United States. In 1865–66 Canadian delegates were prepared to make large concessions, but were unable to come to terms, chiefly on the ground that the imposts which it was proposed by the Committee of Ways and Means to lay upon the products of the British Provinces were such as, in their opinion, would be " in some cases prohibitory," and certainly would " seriously interfere with the natural course of their trade." In 1869 Mr. Rose, Finance Minister, was anxious to enter into new negotiations; but in 1870 President Grant, in his Message to Congress, declared himself emphatically against any renewal of a treaty of reciprocity.

All this while the question of the fisheries was at issue; and the efforts of the Canadian authorities to enforce their license system and other regulations of their fishing-grounds were almost useless. The result of the correspondence, which continued for several years, was the Washington Conference, or Commission, of 1871, which, in its inception, was intended to settle the Fishery Question primarily, but which actually gave the precedence to the "Alabama" difficulty, then of most concern, in the opinion of the London and Washington Governments. The questions arising out of the Convention of 1818 were not settled by the Conference, but were practically laid aside for ten years by an arrangement providing for the free admission of salt-water fish into the United States on the condition of allowing the fishing-vessels of that country free access to the Canadian fisheries. The question of reciprocity was not considered. The Fenian claims were abruptly dismissed; although, had the same principle of "due diligence" that was laid down in the new rules for the settlement of the "Alabama" dispute been applied to this question, the Government of the United States would have been mulcted in heavy damages.

One important feature of this commission was the presence, for the first time in the history of treaties, of a Canadian statesman, Sir John Macdonald, whose efforts to obtain full consideration for Canadian

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questions were hampered by the desire of the majority of the English commissioners to adjust the "Alabama" controversy. If, finally, the treaty proved to be at all favorable to the Dominion, it was largely owing to the reference to a commission of the question, whether the United States ought not to pay the Canadians a sum of money as the value of her fisheries over and above any concessions made her in the treaty. The result was a payment of $5,500,000 to Canada and Newfoundland, to the infinite disappointment of some politicians of the United States, who had been accustomed to come off best in all bargains with their neighbors. Nothing shows more clearly the measure of the local self-government at last won by Canada, and the importance of her position in the Empire, than the fact that the English Government recognized the right of the Dominion Government to name the commissioner who represented Canada on an arbitration which decided a question of such deep importance to her interests. We see then that, as Canada gained in political strength, she obtained an influence in Imperial councils which Mr. Fish resented, and was able to obtain that consideration for her interests which was entirely absent in the days of her infancy and weakness.

During the existence of the Washington treaty the Canadian Government sent Mr. George Brown—a prominent leader of the Liberal party, and manager of the Toronto "Globe,"—to Washington, with the object of arranging, if possible, a measure of reciprocity; but, though he was ready to make the largest possible concessions,—far beyond those of 1854,—the proposed arrangement was never taken up by the Senate; being, instead, quietly dropped. With the expiry of the treaty of 1871 on July 1, 1885, the relations between Canada and the United States again assumed a phase of uncertainty. Canada adhered to the letter of the Convention of 1818, and to her legal rights, which revived when the United States would not continue the treaty of 1871. The Canadian people had again and again shown every disposition to yield a large portion of their just rights, in return for a substantial commercial arrangement and a due acknowledgment of the value of their fisheries.

Then came the proposed treaty of 1888, in which Sir Charles Tupper—one of the ablest Canadian statesmen, and now leader of the Conservative Opposition in Parliament—took a leading part. At the opening of the Commission he proposed in general terms, as a basis of action, a mutual arrangement for freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada; but it was immediately refused

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by the United States Commissioners. However, the Commission finally and unanimously agreed to a treaty which was necessarily a compromise, but which, if eventually carried out, would permanently have settled the Fishery Question on equitable terms; but it never received the approval of the Senate, where Mr. Cleveland's political friends were in the minority. Happily no difficulty of a serious character has in these later years existed in connection with the Canadian fisheries, owing to the adoption of a *modus vivendi* between the two countries immediately interested.

While these events were transpiring Canada had extended her government from Prince Edward Island to British Columbia, and had made steady strides in the path of national development. As a sequel to the acquisition of British Columbia, the Canadian Government was in course of time called upon to urge the interests of Canada in the Bering Sea difficulty, that had arisen between England and the United States on account of the forcible and illegal capture of Canadian vessels on the high seas. As an English statesman, determined to maintain the interests of a great section of the Empire, Lord Salisbury has paid every respect to the opinions and suggestions of the Canadian Ministry in relation to a matter which deeply affects Canada, and has so far pursued a course, throughout all the phases of the question, which has done much to strengthen the relations between the parent state and its dependency. Not only were the suggestions of the Canadian Government respected and followed at the very commencement of the dispute, but, when the matter came at last to be adjusted by arbitration, an eminent prime minister of the Dominion, the late Sir John Thompson, —who, it will be remembered, died suddenly at Windsor Castle—was clothed with all the responsibility and dignity of an Imperial representative. Very recently Lord Salisbury refused to take any step with regard to this vexed Seal Question which did not meet with the full approval of the Canadian Government.

The part that Canada has taken in this matter is in itself an illustration of her importance in Imperial councils and of the vastness of her territorial domain, which now stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For many years the indifference of English statesmen and the ignorance which, until relatively recent times, prevailed with respect to the value of Canada as a home for an industrious people, retarded her material and political development. Isolated Provinces, without common aspirations or national aims, had no influence over Imperial councils in matters which were arranged by English diplomatists.

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More than once, when discontent reigned and hope was absent, the ability of Canada to hold her own on this continent seemed, in the opinion of not a few, to be steadily on the decline. But self-government in all matters of local concern changed the gloomy outlook to one of brightness and hope; and a spirit of self-reliance developed itself among statesmen and people until confederation united all the Provinces in a Union, which alone could enable them to resist the ambition of their restless neighbor.

Despite all the powerful influences that have fought against Canada, she has held her own in America. At present a population of 5,000,000 (against 1,000,000 in 1840), with a total trade of $250,000,000 (against $25,000,000 in 1840), and with a national revenue of nearly $40,000,000 (against $700,000 in 1840), inhabits a Dominion of seven regularly organized Provinces, and of an immense territory, now in course of development, stretching from Manitoba and Ontario to British Columbia, whose mountains are washed by the Pacific Ocean. This Dominion embraces an area of 3,519,000 square miles, including its water surface, or very little less than the area of the United States with Alaska, or a region measuring 3,500 miles from east to west, and 1,400 miles from north to south. The magnificent valley, through which the St. Lawrence River flows from the Lakes to the ocean, is now the home of prosperous, energetic, and intelligent communities, one of which was founded nearly three centuries ago. A remarkable system of waterways, consisting mainly of the Red, Assiniboine, and Saskatchewan Rivers, extends through the plains of the territories as far as the base of the Rocky Mountains, and fertilizes a region whose capabilities for the production of foods is probably not surpassed on this continent. The mountainous country to the north of Lake Superior is rich in gold, copper, nickel, and other valuable minerals, which are already attracting the attention of enterprise in Europe and America. The gold-mines of British Columbia are most productive; and the great bulk of the precious metal still lies buried in the rocks of that immense Province. The coal-mines of Vancouver have no rivals on the Pacific Coast; while those of Nova Scotia and the Territories are capable of infinite development. The treasure of gold now attracting capital and people to the dreary country through which the Yukon and its tributaries flow seems to be inexhaustible, and must add largely to the population and wealth of the Dominion, which, year by year, sees its resources increasing in extent and value. The fisheries have long been the envy of the United States; and the agricultural production is as

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great as that of the most favored sections of that country. Its climate and resources—the best springs of a nation's energy and wealth—are those of the Northern, Middle, and Western States.

No dangerous question like slavery exists to complicate the political and social conditions of the Union, and, although there is a large and increasing French-Canadian element in the Dominion,—the heritage of the old French *régime* in America,—its history so far should not create fear as to the future, except perhaps in the minds of sectarian pessimists, who too often raise gloomy phantoms of their own imaginings. Whilst this element naturally clings to its national language and special institutions, yet, under the influence of a complete system of local self-government, it has taken as active and earnest a part as the English element in establishing and strengthening the confederation.

The expansion of the African race in the Southern States is a question of the future for the Federal Republic, which its statesmen will find much more difficult than any that Canadian statesmen have to solve on account of the existence of a French nationality, who possess the lively intelligence of their race, exercise all the privileges of self-government, and, above all things, well comprehend that their true interests lie in a prosperous Canadian federation, and not in union with a country where they would eventually lose their national identity.

The whole history of Canada proves that there has been always among the people, not merely an attachment to England and her institutions, but a latent influence, which in times of peace, as in times of peril, has led them onward in a path of national development which with every decade has diverged more and more from the United States. The statesmen and people generally of that country have been always remarkably ignorant, not only of the history, but of the political institutions and of the political sentiments of the Canadians; and they have never appreciated the tendency of this political development, which is in the direction of a new nationality not inferior to the United States in many of the elements of a people's greatness.

In Canada, as in other parts of the world where representative institutions exist, Democracy, as a form of government, has made its influence felt in the enlargement of political rights and in the extension of the franchise; and unhappily sometimes in the Dominion, as in the neighboring country, it partly obscures and misleads public opinion in moments of bitter political controversy. Fortunately the principles upon which Canadian government is based are sound; and political morality is, on the whole, higher than in the United States. The Fed-

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eral Union gives expansion to the national energies of the whole Dominion: at the same time it affords every security to the local interests of each member of the Federal compact. In all matters of Dominion concern, Canada is a free agent. While the Queen is still the head of the executive authority, and can alone initiate treaties with foreign nations (that being an act of complete sovereignty), and while appeals are still open to her Privy Council from Canadian courts within certain limitations, it is an admitted principle that, so far as Canada has been granted legislative rights and privileges by the Imperial Parliament,—rights and privileges set forth explicitly in the British North America Act of 1867,—the Dominion is practically sovereign in the exercise of all those powers, so long as they do not conflict with the treaty obligations of the parent state or with Imperial legislation directly applicable to Canada with her own consent.

It is true the Queen in council can veto acts of the Canadian Parliament; but that supreme power is exercised only under the conditions just stated, and can no more be constitutionally used in the case of ordinary Canadian statutes affecting the Dominion solely than can the power of the Sovereign to veto the acts of the Imperial Parliament—a Crown prerogative still existent, but not exercised in England since the days of Queen Anne, and now considered inconsistent with modern rules of parliamentary government. England exercises a certain supervision over the affairs of the Dominion through a governor-general, who communicates directly with an Imperial secretary-of-state; but in every matter directly affecting Canada,—as, for instance, in the negotiations respecting the fisheries and Bering Sea,—the English Government acts in unison with the Canadian Ministry, whose statements are carefully considered, since they represent the sentiments and interests of the Canadian people, who, as subjects of the Empire, are entitled to as much weight as if they lived in the British Isles.

In a limited sense there is already a loose system of federation between England and her dependencies. The central Government of England, as the guardian of the welfare of the whole Empire, coöperates with the several governments of her colonial dependencies, and, by common consultation and arrangement, endeavors to come to such a determination as will be to the advantage of all the interests at stake. In other words, the conditions of the relations between England and Canada are such as to insure unity of policy as long as each government considers the interests of England and the Dependency as identical, and keeps in view the obligations, welfare, and unity of the Empire

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at large. Full consultation in all negotiations affecting Canada, representation in every arbitration and commission that may be the result of such negotiations, are the principles which of late years have been admitted by England in acknowledgment of the development of Canada and of her present position in the Empire; and any departure from so sound a doctrine would be a serious injury to the Imperial connection, and an insult to the ability of Canadians to take a part in the great councils of the world.

The latest assurance that Canadians have had of the desire of English statesmen to pay every possible respect to the wishes and feelings of Canada, where her interests are immediately affected, was given by the recent decision of the British Government to "denounce" all commercial treaties which hamper the free action of the Canadian Parliament with respect to trade, and to allow no such treaties to be made hereafter except with the consent of the Dominion itself.

Under these conditions of self-government, which allow such full expansion to colonial action in all matters affecting the welfare of the country,—conditions which give Canada a large measure of the sovereignty belonging to an independent nation,—the connection between Great Britain and her dependency is necessarily strengthening as the years pass by, and may yet lead to a federation of the Empire on a basis which will preserve all local rights and at the same time insure a strong and workable central organization. One thing is quite certain: a party favoring annexation to the United States has no *raison d'être;* and the man would be bold indeed who should step on a public platform in Canada and urge a scheme so repugnant to people now enjoying so many advantages as an influential Dominion of the British Empire.

We see then, slowly developing to the north of the Federal Republic, a new nation possessing all the rights of local self-government over what is really an imperial domain of illimitable resources, occupied by a resolute and industrious people, animated by a sentiment of loyal attachment to the British Crown and to British institutions, having a perfect confidence in their ability to hold their own on this continent in the future as they have done in the past, even amid obstacles far greater than any that now seem before them. As I have endeavored to show in this paper, their relations with the United States have not been always satisfactory, owing generally to the selfish feelings which have too frequently animated their neighbors in the making of treaties

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and in other matters directly affecting the interests of these united British Provinces. Canadians can assuredly review their past history with pride, although the pride may sometimes be mingled with humiliation; for it cannot be denied that they have always yielded to the desire of the parent state to conciliate and pacify their American neighbors; that on all occasions they have been ready to settle questions of national difference on principles of equity or compromise; and that they have never exhibited a retaliatory spirit, even when they have had positive causes of grievance against a government which has not been invariably fair and friendly in matters of treaty and legislation. The history of the Alien Labor Act of the United States shows that for years Canada has suffered from the temper in which the Act has been worked, to the inconvenience and injury of a large class of the Canadian people; and yet the passing of a retaliatory measure was delayed in the hope that this and other difficult questions would be soon adjusted on terms satisfactory to both peoples. Even now the law relating to this matter on the Canadian statute-book—also passed most reluctantly—has never been brought into full operation, as there has been always a latent hope that our neighbors by their legislative action would render it unnecessary.

Many such instances of Canadian forbearance might be adduced, to show the cautious and generous policy of Canadians in regard to the Federal Republic. They are willing to settle in a just and generous spirit all questions that may lead at any time to unpleasant and dangerous controversy. All they ask is, that their neighbors meet them half-way, and not in the uncompromising temper of a great nation too confident in the numerical superiority of seventy-five millions of people. Canada and England regard their interests on this continent as common to both, and to be defended at all hazards, when it is a question of national dignity or national integrity. Though the Canadians are numerically insignificant, in comparison with the many millions of people to the south, still they are animated by the same spirit of self-reliance and stern resolution so eminently characteristic of the British race which has developed the strength of the Federal Republic.

Conscious of the success that must be the reward of courage and energy, Canada enters on the future with confidence and tranquillity. She asks nothing from her great competitor except that consideration, that justice and sympathy which are due to a people whose work on this continent has only just begun, and whose achievements may yet be as remarkable as those of the great federation on their borders. The

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same mysterious Providence that has already divided the continent of America, as far as Mexico, between Canada and the United States, that in the past prevented their political fortunes from becoming one, still forces the Canadian communities with an irresistible power to press onward until they realize those high conceptions which some statesmen already imagine for them in a not very distant future. These conceptions are of a still closer union with the parent state, which shall increase their national responsibilities, and at the same time give the Dominion a direct share in the central councils of the Empire, in which even now she holds so influential a position, under the liberal system of government controlling the relations between Great Britain and her dependency, and which enables the parent state and the Dominion to work together with so much harmony on all questions affecting their common welfare.

While the Canadian people aim to realize this noble conception of a United Empire,—by no means such a phantasm as some practical politicians deem it to be,—they would fain hope that the statesmen to whom may be intrusted the destinies of the great republic to the south will themselves sympathize with such imperial aspirations, and will labor to bring their own citizens to believe that, though a federation of the world must ever remain a poet's dream, an alliance of all English-speaking communities for common defence would assuredly be a guarantee not only for the security of this continent, but also for the peace and happiness of all civilized nations. JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT.

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WEATHER FORECASTING.

To those who are familiar with the application of meteorological science to weather forecasting, and with the material benefits accruing to the commerce and industry of the United States from timely warnings of marine storms, frosts, and cold waves, it will be interesting to note that, at the time of the founding of the first of the Thirteen Colonies, at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, practically nothing was known of the properties of the air, or of methods for measuring its phenomena. To-day, at about two hundred stations in the United States, electrically recording automatic meteorological instruments measure and transcribe for each moment of time the temperature, the air pressure, the velocity and direction of the wind, the beginning and ending of rainfall, the amount of precipitation, and the sunshine or cloud.

That we live in an age of great intellectual acumen, and that he is indeed a wise prophet who can outline, even dimly, the possibilities of the next century, is effectively shown by the development of meteorological science within the recollection of the present generation; although one must admit that in the making of weather forecasts—valuable as these in general are—we have not advanced much beyond the empirical stage. Nor have we any prospect that we shall ever attain the accuracy acquired by the astronomers in predicting the date of an eclipse or the occurrence of celestial events.

It was not until 1643, twenty-three years after the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, that Torricelli discovered the principle of the barometer, and rendered it possible to measure the weight of the superincumbent air at any spot where the wonderful, yet simple, little instrument might be placed. Torricelli's great teacher, Galileo, died without knowing why nature, under certain conditions, abhors a vacuum; but he *had* discovered the principle of the thermometer. The data from the readings of these two instruments form the foundation of all meteorological science. Their inventors as little appreciated the value of their discoveries as they dreamed of the great Western empire which should first use their instruments to measure the inception and development of storms.

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As early as 1738 Dr. John Lining, of Charleston, South Carolina, kept a record of the daily temperature in this country. The accurate thermometers of Fahrenheit had then been in use but a few years; and, compared with the fine instruments now used for measuring temperature, the error due to imperfect mechanical construction was probably considerable. About one hundred years after the invention of the barometer, viz., in 1747, Benjamin Franklin, patriot, statesman, diplomat, and scientist, divined that certain storms had a rotary motion and that they progressed in a northeasterly direction. It was prophetic that these ideas should have come to him long before anyone had ever seen charts showing observations simultaneously taken at many stations. But, although his ideas in this respect were more important than his act of drawing the lightning from the clouds and identifying it with the electricity of the laboratory, yet his contemporaries thought little of his philosophy of storms; and it was soon forgotten. It will be interesting to learn how he reached his conclusion as to the cyclonic or eddy-like structure of storms.

Franklin had arranged with a co-worker at Boston to take observations of a lunar eclipse at the same time that he himself was taking readings of it at Philadelphia. Early on the evening of the eclipse an unusually severe northeast wind and rain-storm set in at Philadelphia; and Franklin was unable to secure any observations. He reasoned that, as the wind blew fiercely from the northeast, the storm was of course coming from that direction, and that Boston must have experienced its ravages before Philadelphia. Reports indicated that the storm was widespread. What was the surprise of Franklin, when, after the slow passage of the mail by coach, he heard from his friend in Boston that the night of the eclipse had been clear and favorable for observations, but that a terrific northeast wind and rain-storm began early the following morning. He then sent out inquiries to surrounding stage-stations, and found that at all places southwest of Philadelphia the storm had begun earlier, and that the greater the distance the earlier the beginning, as compared with its advent in Philadelphia. Northeast of Philadelphia the time of the beginning of the storm had been later than at that city; the storm not reaching Boston until twelve hours after its commencement at Philadelphia.

In considering these facts a line of inductive reasoning brought Franklin to the conclusion that the wind always blows toward the centre of the storm; that the northeast hurricane which Boston and Philadelphia had experienced was caused by the suction exercised by an

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advancing storm-eddy from the southwest, which drew the air rapidly from Boston toward Philadelphia, while the source of the attraction—the centre of the storm-eddy—was yet a thousand miles to the southwest of the latter place; that the velocity of the northeast wind increased as the centre of the storm-eddy advanced nearer and nearer from the southwest, until the wind reached the conditions of a hurricane; that the wind between Boston and Philadelphia shifted, and came from the southwest after the centre of the storm-eddy had passed over this region; and that the force of the wind gradually decreased as the centre of attraction passed farther and farther away to the northeast.

Another man whose name is dear to the heart of every patriotic American conducted, in conjunction with his friend, James Madison (afterward Bishop), a series of weather observations, which were begun in 1771 and continued during the stirring times of the Revolution. This was the sage of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson. Madison was near the sea, at the colonial capital, Williamsburg, Virginia: Jefferson was at Monticello, one hundred and twenty miles west. They took simultaneous observations for several years, until the British ransacked Madison's house, and carried off his barometer.

Had the telegraph been in existence, Jefferson and Madison would doubtless have conceived the idea of a national weather service, as they discovered, by comparing observations, that barometric and thermometric changes usually occurred at Monticello four or five hours before they did at Williamsburg.

Contrary to the statements which, I believe, have been made by some historians, the Fourth of July, 1776, was a cool day; for the great author of the Declaration of Independence did not fail to read his thermometer in Philadelphia on that day. An examination of his papers in the State Department, made by an official of the Weather Bureau, proved that he took several readings; viz., 6 A.M., 68°; 9 A.M., 72¼°; 1 P.M., 76°; 9 P.M., 73½°. These early observers did not escape the one unfailing vagary that even at this late period haunts the mind by day and induces feverish dreams by night in nearly every person who has not made a study of meteorological data; for in 1781 Jefferson said:

"A change in climate is taking place very sensibly. Both heats and colds are becoming much more moderate within the memory of even the middle-aged. Snows are less frequent and less deep. They do not often lie below the mountain more than one, two, or three days, and very rarely a week. The snows are remembered to have been formerly frequent, deep, and of long continuance. The elderly inform me that the earth used to be covered with snow about three months in every year."

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But Jefferson and his neighbors were mistaken. Never during the period of authentic history has the snow covered the ground in Virginia for periods averaging three months per year for three years in succession. The old inhabitants of Jefferson's time were like those of to-day: they remembered only the abnormalities of the climate of twenty-five or fifty years before; and, in comparing the unusual conditions of long ago with the average of the present, they were deceived. I have known intelligent and truthful men publicly to declare that they *knew, from personal recollection*, that the climate of their particular places of residence had changed since they were boys,—that they had reliable landmarks to show that the streams were drying up, that the precipitation was growing less, and that the winters were becoming milder,—notwithstanding the fact that carefully taken observations of temperature and rainfall for each day for the previous hundred years showed no alteration of climate at such places. Of course, wide variations, sometimes extending over periods of several years, had occurred; but a deficit at one time was made up by an excess at another. To be sure, changes must have taken place during geologic periods; but these have been so slow that it is doubtful whether man in his civilized state has occupied the earth long enough to discover an appreciable quantity. Quite accurate records of the opening of navigation in the rivers of Europe and of the time of vintages for five hundred years show no change in the average data of the first ten years as compared with the average of the last ten; and the date-palm, the vine, and the fig-tree flourish as luxuriantly to-day in Palestine as they did in the days of Moses. Dried plants have been taken from the mummy-cases of the Pharaohs exactly similar to those now growing in the soil once trod by those ancient monarchs.

The matter of change of climate is very important to our sub-arid West, to the States whose normal rainfall is just enough to produce a profitable crop. Some years ago, when the tide of immigration was strong, there were several years of rather more than average rainfall in regions that theretofore had had too little rainfall for profitable agriculture. These two conditions were accidentally coincident; but the fact probably gave rise to the theory that civilization brings an increase in precipitation. It was thought that the breaking of the virgin soil, making it more permeable, and thereby conserving the scant deposit of moisture; the planting of trees and the propagation of vegetation, by restricting the run-off and by drawing up the moisture from below the surface of the ground through roots; the enormous quantities of aque-

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ous vapor injected into the air by the combustion incident to a teeming population,—had all combined to increase the rainfall and to render the sub-arid plains more responsive to the efforts of the husbandman. No one with even a spark of that fellow-feeling which " makes us wondrous kind" can fail to regret that this theory is not founded upon fact. But a moment's thought will indicate to the physicist that the volume of superincumbent air is so great, and its capacity for moisture so enormous, that the additional vapor of water evaporated as above described, great though it be, is ineffectual to change appreciably the amount of rainfall which nature beforehand had ordained should be precipitated.

The size of continental areas, the topography of the land surface, the proximity of large bodies of water, and the direction of the prevailing winds, are all factors in determining the precipitation of a region; and it is probable that the feeble efforts of man will never be able materially to modify the result.

If the Rocky Mountains were eroded down to the height of the Appalachian chain, the vapor-laden winds from the Pacific would blow inland, and probably cause copious rainfall as far east as Colorado, Western Kansas, and Western Nebraska. But these are changes which can be accomplished only in long geologic periods.

During the first half of the nineteenth century—nearly a hundred years after Franklin's northeast rain-storm—Redfield, Espy, Loomis, Henry, and other American scientists laboriously gathered by mail the data of storms after their passage, and demonstrated their principal motions to be much as Franklin had supposed. In 1855 Prof. Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, constructed a daily weather-map from observations collected by telegraph and nearly simultaneous. He did not publish his forecasts, but used his large wall-map for the purpose of demonstrating the feasibility of organizing a Government weather service. If there were no other achievements to the credit of the grand institution founded in this country through the benevolence of the English philanthropist, James Smithson,—who, by the way, never gazed upon our fair land,—the work of the Smithsonian Institution in connection with practical meteorology should always accord it a warm place in the hearts of those who believe that the crowning achievements of science consist in giving to the world knowledge which results in the saving of human life, the amelioration of the sufferings of humanity, and the acceleration of the wheels of commerce and industry.

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Although American scientists were the pioneers in discovering the progressive character of storms, and in demonstrating the practicability of weather services, the United States was only the fourth country to give legal autonomy to a weather service. Holland established a weather service, with telegraph reports and forecasts, in 1860; England followed, with a smaller service, in 1861; and France, in 1863. But none of these countries has an area, from which observations can be collected, great enough to give such a synoptic picture of storms as is necessary in the making of useful forecasts. It would require an international service, embracing all the countries of Europe, to equal ours in extent of the area covered and in the accuracy of its forecasts.

The vast region now included in the scope of the Weather Bureau system of observations embraces Canada and the Gulf of Mexico; the whole having an area extending two thousand miles north and south, three thousand miles east and west, and so fortunately located in the interest of the meteorologist as to include an important arc on the circumpolar thoroughfare of storms of the northern hemisphere. Simultaneous observations, collected twice daily by telegraph from about two hundred stations, distributed throughout this great area, render it possible at several central offices, where all the reports are received, to present to the trained eye of the forecaster a wonderful panoramic picture of atmospheric conditions. Every twelve hours the kaleidoscope changes, and a new graphic picture of actual changes is shown. The movements of the storm-centres and cold-wave areas are noted, and estimates made as to their probable course during the next twenty-four hours. Where else can the meteorologist find such an opportunity to study storms and atmospheric changes? The widely differing elevation, topography, temperature, humidity, and aridity of the broad region under observation offer unequalled conditions for the study of the mechanical phases of storm development and progression—so far as such can be profitably studied with observations taken only at the bottom of the ocean of air surrounding the earth. Our storms and cold waves can be studied during their inception at an average altitude of five thousand feet above sea-level, under conditions of extreme aridity; they can be observed later, as they come down almost to sea-level in the Mississippi Valley and reach a more humid atmosphere one thousand miles from the place of their birth; and, finally, they can be seen as they reach the extremely humid air of the Atlantic Ocean, fifteen hundred miles farther east.

The great winter storms which originate south of the Japanese

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Islands, and cross the Pacific Ocean, come under our vision as they successively surmount the formidable Rocky Mountains with but little diminution of energy, sweep across the continent with increasing force and heavy precipitation, and, within three days, pass beyond our meteorological horizon at the Atlantic seaboard, to be heard from occasionally three days later as boreal ravagers of Northern Europe.

The great anticyclones, or high-pressure areas, which constitute the American cold waves, drift into our territory from the Canadian Northwest Provinces, and are studied under rapidly changing conditions during three thousand miles of their course. The high-pressure eddy, with all the convectional principles of the cyclone reversed, may be said not to depend upon the land of its birth for the cold it brings; for a strong vortical and anticyclonic motion at the centre is continually bringing down the cold air from above. In other words, our cold waves are not, as was once supposed, masses of heavy air chilled by flowing over the snow and ice-fields of the Arctic Ocean, and transported to our central valleys with such rapidity of translation as to retain much of their original frigidity.

In 1870, and for some years thereafter, our forecasts and storm warnings were looked upon by the press and the people more as experiments than as serious statements. The newspapers especially were prone to comment facetiously on the forecasts; and many were clamorous for the abolition of the service during the first years of its existence. There was some ground for the criticisms. We knew nearly as much about the mechanics of storms at that time as we do to-day; but we had not —by a daily watching of the inception, the development, and the progression of storms—trained a corps of expert forecasters, such as now form a part of the staff of the Chief of the Weather Bureau, and from which he himself was graduated. After a time mariners began to note that danger-signals were, in the great majority of cases, followed by heavy winds; and they reasoned that it were better to take precaution against forecast storms that never came than to be unprepared for those which did come.

It is a fact that many times, by the operation of forces not indicated by the surface-readings, the barometer at the centre of a storm begins to rise, and the velocity of the whirling mass to decrease. In such cases the storm-signals placed in advance of the storm-centre would fail to give the proper information. Again, the storm-centre may suddenly acquire a force not anticipated, or it may pursue a track considerably divergent from the normal for the location and season.

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In this case, also, the forecasts may warn some cities that fail to receive the effects of the storm. The staff of the Weather Bureau, which includes many able meteorologists, has not failed to make a study of the peculiarities of the several types of storms occurring in different localities during the various seasons of the year, their line of travel, and the force that they may be expected to attain. The comparative merits of those who, by natural ability, were best fitted correctly and quickly to correlate in their minds the conditions shown on a meteorological chart, and to make accurate deductions therefrom as to the development, movement, and force of storms, have been tested by competitive examinations. This line of study and competition has resulted in improved forecasts; so that mariners now universally heed the storm-warnings, horticulturists and truck gardeners make ample provision against frost, and shippers of perishable produce give full credence to the cold-wave predictions. Of the many West Indian hurricanes which have swept our Atlantic seaboard from Florida to Maine during recent years not one has reached a single seaport without danger-warnings having been sent well in advance of the storm; and no unnecessary warning has been issued. The result is that no disaster of consequence has occurred. Large owners of marine property estimate that one of these severe storms traversing our Atlantic coast in the absence of danger-signals would leave not less than $3,000,000 worth of wreckage. On two occasions a census was taken immediately after the passage of severe hurricanes, to determine the value of property held in port by the danger-warnings sent out in advance of the storms. In one case, the figure was placed at $34,000,000; in the other, at $38,000,000. Of course this does not represent the value of property saved. It simply shows the value of property placed in positions of safety as a result of the danger-signals and warning messages sent to masters. On January 1, 1898, an extensive cold wave swept from the Rocky Mountains eastward to the seaboard. Estimates secured from shippers in one hundred principal cities indicated that property valued at $3,400,000 was saved as a direct result of the predictions sent out.

There is hardly a daily paper that does not publish weather forecasts in a prominent place; and there is scarcely a reader who fails to note the predictions. The utility of these forecasts to the agriculture, the commerce, and the industry of the country is so great that it may be interesting to note more in detail the methods by which observations are collected, forecasts made, and meteorologic information disseminated.

Our Weather Bureau maintains about two hundred regular mete-

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orological stations, each in charge of a trained observer, advantageously located geographically for the taking of observations. The transmission of reports is accomplished with remarkable rapidity by means of an effective arrangement of telegraphic circuits. Observations from all parts of the United States and Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are collected at Washington within thirty minutes after the observers have read the station instruments and filed their observations. Synoptic charts are prepared in the central offices at Washington and Toronto, and at many of the large stations at which reports are received; and by nine o'clock (Seventy-fifth Meridian time) the charts are complete. The chart of greatest value to the forecaster contains for each station the temperature, barometric pressure, wind direction and velocity, weather conditions,—whether raining, snowing, cloudy, partly cloudy, or clear,—and the amount of precipitation, if any. Lines, called "isobars," are drawn for each one-tenth of an inch of barometric pressure, bounding the areas over which the air is respectively lightest and heaviest. These areas are called "highs" and "lows"; but they are only relative terms, as on one map the highest pressure may be over two inches in excess of the lowest, while on the map of another day the difference may be less than one inch.

Several other charts are prepared in the Forecast Room of the Central Office at Washington, as follows: Temperature-change map, showing the maximum and minimum temperature at each station, with changes from the day before and changes from the normal; barometer-change map, showing twelve- and twenty-four-hour changes and changes from the normal; cloud map, indicating the character, nomenclature, quantity, and movement of clouds; and a map showing wet-bulb and dry-bulb temperatures, with differences between the two.

If the student of the weather maps will pay close attention to them each day, he will find that the highs and lows move across the country in almost regular succession. If the high be a decided one, it will cover a territory one or two thousand miles in width, the weather within its influence will be cold and clear, and the winds will have a general tendency spirally outward from the centre in a direction corresponding to the movement of the hands of a watch. The low is the opposite of the high in almost all its characteristics. It is usually attended by clouds, rain or snow, and high winds. The winds within the influence of the low blow spirally inward in a direction contrary to those under the influence of the high. The lower the barometer and the steeper the gradient, the more rapid is the whirl. These are some

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of the characteristics of lows. Those of like class take nearly the same course, and produce about the same results; but they do not always move with the same rapidity. No exact rule in regard to them can be laid down. Empirical reasoning, and intimate association with the charts, day after day and year after year, in the main equip the successful forecaster for his important functions.

Just as the eddies in a river go whirling down-stream, so are cold-wave eddies (highs) and rain-storm eddies (lows) carried eastward by the general movement of the upper atmosphere in the latitudes of the United States. It is important that the fundamental principles of these eddies be understood, since the weather changes experienced from day to day depend almost wholly upon the development and drift of these high-pressure and low-pressure eddies, or, as they are better known, highs and lows. The two eddies are easily distinguishable the one from the other; for, while travelling eastward in the same general direction, they rotate in opposite directions. The high-pressure eddy always follows in the track of the low-pressure eddy. In the high-pressure eddy—in which the air is cold and clear, and in which the degree of cold is nearly proportional to the rise of the barometer—the air is drawn downward near the centre of the eddy, and forced outward in all directions from the centre along the surface of the earth. This eddy at times is two thousand miles in diameter. In the low-pressure eddy—in which the air is warm, humid, and often rainy, or snowy—the surface air is drawn inward from all directions toward the centre. Thus, the alternate passage of highs and lows controls our weather conditions.

About six-sevenths of our low-pressure eddies move from the Rocky Mountains eastward. They vary from gentle whirls to storms of considerable intensity. Their average diameter is about one thousand miles. The West Indian hurricane, which comes up from the Tropics and skirts along our Atlantic shore-line, has a diameter of rotation less than one-half that of the usual low-pressure eddy; but its velocity of rotation is much greater. Many of these hurricanes have a diameter of only three or four hundred miles; but their velocity of rotation is very often one hundred miles per hour, although their rate of translation, as they move northeast along our coast, is seldom greater than thirty miles per hour.

Twenty-five years ago mariners on our Great Lakes and seaboard depended on their own weather-lore to warn them of coming storms. Then, although the number of craft plying on our waters was much less than now, every severe storm that swept the Lakes or Atlantic Coast

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left destruction and death in its wake; and for days afterward the dead were cast up by the receding waves, and the shores were lined with wreckage. Happily this need not now be the case; for the Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture is ever watching the changes of atmospheric conditions, and giving to the mariner warning of coming storms. Each observer telegraphs instantly to the Central Office whenever the instruments at his station show unusual agitation. By this means the inception of many storms is detected, when the regular morning and evening reports fail to give notice of their origin.

Some idea of the vast interests floating on the Atlantic Coast may be had when it is stated that 5,628 transatlantic steamers, with an aggregate of 10,076,148 tons, and 5,842 sailing craft, aggregating 2,105,688 tons, enter and leave ports on the Atlantic seaboard during a single year. The value of their cargoes is more than a billion and a half of dollars. Our coastwise traffic also is enormous. In one year more than 17,000 sailing vessels and 4,000 steamers enter and leave ports between Maine and Florida. Their cargoes are estimated to be worth $7,000,000. From these facts, one can roughly measure the value of the marine property which the Department of Agriculture, through the work of the Weather Bureau, aims to protect by giving warning of approaching storms.

It is the dream of the meteorologist that some day he will be able accurately to forecast the weather weeks and months in advance. But, so far, this much-to-be-desired object can be realized only in a dream. What a wonderful conservation of human energy would result were it possible to tell the farmer when the great corn and wheat belts would have abundant rain during the next growing season, or when droughts would parch the vegetation; or truthfully to inform the planter of the South that the approaching season would be favorable or unfavorable to the production of cotton! Effort could be withheld in one part of the country, and prodigious energy exerted in another.

When our extensive system of daily observation has been continued for another generation, a Kepler or a Newton may discover such fundamental principles underlying weather changes as will make it possible to foretell the character of coming seasons. If this discovery be ever made, it will doubtless be accomplished as the result of a comprehensive study of meteorological data of long periods covering some great area like the United States. At any rate, we are certainly now laying the foundation of a great system which will adorn the civilization of future centuries.

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At the present time I know of no scientific man who essays to make long-range weather predictions; and I would especially caution the public against the imposture of charlatans and astrologists, who simply prey upon the credulity of the people. As storms of more or less intensity pass over large portions of our country every few days during the greater part of the year, and as it is seldom that the Weather Report does not show one or more storms as operating somewhere within our broad domain, it is easy to forecast thunderstorms about a certain time in July, or a cold wave and snow about a certain period in January, and stand a fair chance to become accidentally famous as a prophet. You may select any three equidistant dates in January, and forecast high wind, snow, and cold for New York city, and stand a fair chance of having the fraudulent forecast verified in two out of the three cases; provided that you claim a storm coming the day before or after one of your dates to be the storm which you expected.

I believe it to be impossible for anyone to-day to make a forecast, based fairly upon any principles of physics or upon any empiric rule in meteorology, for a greater period than one or two days in winter, or for more than two or three days in summer; and there are times in winter when the movements of air conditions are so rapid that it is extremely difficult to forecast even for the space of one day. The Weather Bureau takes the public into its confidence in this matter, and does not claim to be able to do more than it is possible to accomplish.

Having reached the highest degree of accuracy possible with our present instrumental readings, it becomes necessary to invade new realms, if we desire to improve the character of the forecast and to make it of greater utility. I have long realized this, and several years ago determined systematically to attack the problem of upper-air exploration, with the hope of being able ultimately to construct a daily synoptic chart from simultaneous readings taken in free air at an altitude of not less than one mile above the surface of the earth. During the past ten years there has been much discussion as to the best means of improving weather forecasts by readings secured at high levels. Many stations have been established on mountain peaks; but, unfortunately, the observations from these places have been of little use to us in making the daily forecast.

It is my opinion that plans previously advocated by many for isolated investigations in the upper air by means of free and uncontrollable balloons, by observers in balloons, or by independent kite-stations striv-

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ing for very great flights, were of little value in getting the information absolutely necessary to the more accurate determination of the mechanics of storms. It is my belief that the only feasible plan is that of simultaneous observations at such uniformly high level as can be attained with kites at many stations. With only a moderate surface wind our improved kites will now ascend easily to the height of one mile or over, and will carry up an automatic instrument, mainly of aluminum, weighing about two pounds, which records temperature, pressure, humidity, and wind velocity.

The Weather Bureau intends to establish tentatively fifteen or twenty stations between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains during the present spring, and to make special effort to secure observations at the same hour at a high level from all the stations, so that the meteorological conditions at that altitude may be compared with those prevailing at the surface of the earth. If we are successful in attaining the desired altitude at enough of our stations each day to give the data from which a synoptic chart can be constructed, we shall then be able to map out not only the vertical gradients of temperature, humidity, pressure, and wind velocity, but also the horizontal distribution of these forces at two levels,—one at the earth's surface, and the other at the height of one mile. It may be that after this work is done only negative knowledge will be acquired; but, even then, the work will not have been in vain. It will be an instructive study to note the development and progression of storms and cold waves at this high level. At that altitude the diurnal variations cease; there is but little change between the heat of midday and that of midnight; so that storm conditions may be measured without the confusing effects due to immediate terrestrial radiation.

The temperature readings already secured by our use of kites show that in the summer season we live in an extremely thin stratum of warm air; that on the hottest day an ascent of only five hundred feet in free air would place a person in a comfortably cool atmosphere; that the temperature at an altitude of three thousand feet is slightly higher at midnight than at midday; and that changes of wind and of temperature begin at high levels sooner than on the surface of the earth.

It is a problem for the engineer of the twentieth century, how to utilize this information so as to give relief during the protracted hot spells of summer to the dense population of great cities, and so that one need not travel to the seashore in order to reach a temperature that is conducive to health and comfort. WILLIS L. MOORE.

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CENTRAL AMERICA: ITS RESOURCES AND COMMERCE.—II.

HONDURAS.

THE population of Central America is probably less than it was at the beginning of the century; and, while all the states have advanced more or less in civilization, none of them has made nearly as much progress as its natural wealth and commerce would justify. Honduras, for example,—perhaps the most primitive spot on the western hemisphere,—is as far behind the age as Korea or Algiers. Commercial stagnation has been its normal condition for three-quarters of a century; and the indolence and indifference of the people have been disturbed only by political insurrection. Nowhere exist greater inducements to labor: nowhere else can so much be produced with so little effort. The vast resources of the country present a very tempting opportunity for capital and enterprise; for nearly every acre can be made to yield a profit.

The area of Honduras is about the same as that of Ohio; and the population is supposed to number about 300,000. There has been no census, however, for a quarter of a century. Along the Caribbean Coast repeated attempts have been made to introduce colonies of immigrants and to utilize a vast productive area that is there offered gratis; but, beyond the cutting of timber, very little has been done. A few mines have been opened; and a short railway has been built: but the former have not proved profitable; and the latter has not been continuously operated. Owing to the absence of transportation facilities, the interior of the country is beyond the reach of markets. The only wagon-roads in the country were built for military purposes. In this respect, the people are no further advanced than they were a hundred years ago. There is a fine fluvial system. Few countries have such convenient water facilities for both power and transportation; and Honduras has fine harbors on both coasts. The people of the country, however, are too indolent to utilize them; and the insecurity of the Government offers no inducement to foreigners to risk their

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money and labor. The credit of the country has been destroyed by the diversion of public funds and borrowed money into the pockets of the officials, and for military purposes. A loan was made some years ago in England for the construction of a railway between the two oceans; and the work was begun. Although the money was estimated by the engineers to be abundant for all proper purposes, it was exhausted before a dozen miles of track had been laid; and it has been impossible to secure additional funds, because this debt has been repudiated. The total foreign indebtedness of the Government is now about $80,000,000, upon which no interest has been paid since 1872.

There are no recent trade statistics; but, from the returns of the countries with which Honduras has commercial relations, it appears that its foreign trade amounts to about $2,000,000 a year; the imports and exports being very nearly equal. The former are chiefly cotton goods and other forms of wearing-material, hardware and other manufactures of iron, boots and shoes, leather and stationery, wine and beer. The principal exports are coffee, fruits, drugs, and dyewoods.

Last year, two concessions were granted by the Honduras Government to American syndicates, which, if carried through, will materially aid in the redemption of that country. One of these syndicates—composed of capitalists and railway men of prominence, including John Jacob Astor, Benjamin F. Tracy, Dr. W. Seward Webb, Chauncey M. Depew, and President Ingalls, of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway—was given permission to operate and extend the only existing railway across Honduras, with a very liberal grant of land. It was also granted a monopoly of banking privileges, with authority to act as fiscal agent of the Government, to supervise the collection of its revenues, and to act as the depositary of the national funds. Another syndicate is given a monopoly of the import and export of cattle, with a grant of several million acres of excellent grazing-land in the foothills of the mountains; the idea being to make an enormous ranch for the purpose of raising cattle for export, and to supply canning-factories similar to those of Chicago. It is claimed that beef of a superior quality can be raised in Honduras at less than one-third its cost in the United States, and that the climate and grass are distinctly favorable to that industry. If the gentlemen who have engaged in these contracts are serious, and have the courage to assume the risks which attend the investment of capital in a country that is frequently disturbed by revolutions, they will doubtless reap a rich reward, and immigration will be attracted from other parts of the world.

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NICARAGUA.

As an example of the evils of personal politics, Nicaragua stands preëminent. It has been the theatre of war almost continuously ever since the country was discovered. There is no country of equal area upon which so much human blood has been wasted, or so much wanton destruction committed, in the settlement of questions that involved only the ambition of men or the rivalry of cities. For half a century three towns contended for the seat of government; and, although Managua is now the residence of the President, Granada and Leon have never recognized it as the capital.

Nature having blessed Nicaragua with wonderful resources, peace and industry would make the country prosperous beyond comparison; but so much attention has been paid to politics that there has been little time left for anything else. Scarcely a year has passed without a revolution; and during the seventy-five years of its independence the Republic has had five times as many rulers as it had in the three centuries during which it was under the dominion of Spain. It is a land of volcanic disturbances, physical, moral, and political; and the mountains and the men between them have contrived to keep up an almost continuous commotion.

The population is less than when independence was declared; and wealth has decreased even more rapidly. Owing to the frequency of revolutions the people find it necessary, for mutual protection, to live in towns; and they waste much time in coming and going between their homes and the plantations upon which they labor. There is only one road in the country suitable for carriages; and that is in very bad condition. Parallel with this highway is a railroad, which was built some years ago by the Government during an exceptional period of peace, and was paid for with bonds upon which the interest has been neglected. This railway is now offered for sale; and it is understood that an English syndicate has arranged for its purchase. The proceeds, however, will scarcely pay the bonds and accrued interest. The present Government, in order to raise funds to maintain itself in power, has recently granted several important concessions, which may cause complications in the future.

At present there is a reign of terror in the country. The President, Gen. Santos Zelaya, obtained control of the government by the usual method, and is attempting to maintain himself against the con-

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spiracies of his rivals by a despotic policy which has driven many of the leading citizens into exile, and has caused a general feeling of unrest. Lacking confidence in the loyalty of his fellow-countrymen, or for some other reason, President Zelaya has given the command of his troops and the administration of his government to aliens,—mostly exiles from Colombia,—who are naturally distrusted by the people, and hated by the politicians who covet the places they fill. The treasury is empty; industries have been so much interrupted by political disturbances that the people are unable to pay taxes; and the accumulations of the wealthy have either been reduced or concealed through the fear of confiscation or forced loans.

President Zelaya is charged with, or at least suspected of, having furnished the means for a revolutionary expedition against the neighboring republic of Colombia some months ago. There is no doubt that he supplied Gen. Alfaro with money and munitions of war to prosecute a successful revolution in Ecuador; and he is at the present time involved in complications with Costa Rica. He imprisoned the consul of that Government at Managua on a charge of conspiracy, and has refused to pay an indemnity or even to apologize. He charges the Government of Costa Rica with having furnished an asylum for his enemies, and with aiding a revolutionary movement against his authority, which occurred a few months ago and was undoubtedly organized on that side of the border. The Costa-Rican Government disavowed the responsibility, and claims to have strictly observed the laws of neutrality. But the irritation is so great that active hostilities, which may involve the whole of Central America, may occur at any time. If war does come, Costa Rica will have the moral, if not the military, support of Guatemala, Colombia, and the conservative element in Ecuador. President Zelaya has sustained himself with great difficulty for several months; and a foreign war will furnish a favorable opportunity for the Opposition in his own country to overthrow him.

In mines, forests, fisheries, and pastoral resources Nicaragua has been bountifully blessed by nature; but, if peace can ever be made permanent, its future wealth will come from the development of its agricultural lands. The forests are of great value, not for timber alone, but for rubber, drugs, and dyewoods. The mines produce gold, silver, copper, and some of the rarer metals: but they are worked by primitive processes; and political disturbances as well as lack of transportation facilities prevent their full development. The agricultural lands are divided into large estates, which are operated upon the same plan

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that prevailed among the planters of the South before the Rebellion. The people are extravagant and usually anticipate their incomes; so that the crop of nearly every *estancia* is mortgaged to the commission-merchant before it is harvested, and the planter is compelled to take any price that is offered him. He borrows money to pay his laborers and provide them with food, as well as to meet his own personal expenses, or draws upon his credit at the nearest mercantile establishment. The peon is in debt to the planter, the planter to the merchant, the merchant to the exporter; and the latter conducts his business with funds furnished by his correspondents in New York, London, or Hamburg. And so it goes on year after year. Each person involved in the transaction spends, in advance of its receipt, as much or more money than he makes; conducts his business on paper, like speculators in the stock-market; meets deficits with mortgages; and causes the country to grow poorer each year, with no possible hope of redemption except by an influx of fresh blood and capital.

Accurate commercial statistics are not available; but the exports of coffee, chocolate, bananas, hides, rubber, timber, and other articles reach something like three millions in gold every year, and are exchanged for a similar amount of wearing-apparel and other necessaries of life which are not produced in the country. The number of the population is also unknown; but it is supposed to be about 300,000. Of this total the whites of pure Spanish blood do not exceed 25,000; the remainder being of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, and full-blooded Indians from the Atlantic Coast. The latter number several thousand. The education of the people is neglected; the latest return giving only sixty schools, with a nominal attendance of 2,500 pupils. There are two universities of considerable reputation, both under the direction of the Church; but the sons of wealthy families are usually sent to Europe to be educated.

The prolonged consideration of the inter-oceanic canal has given Nicaragua a notoriety and an interest in the minds of North Americans that do not pertain to the other Central American states; and the people of that country cannot be blamed for an impatience concerning the intentions of the United States. For three centuries or more the project has been under discussion; and it is nearly seventy-five years since negotiations were begun with our Government. The first survey was made in 1826 under the auspices of De Witt Clinton; and in 1849 a concession for its construction was granted to Cornelius Vanderbilt and his associates. Since that time surveys, concessions, and contro-

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versies have been numerous and prolonged; but there has been very little practical work of construction.

The existing concession was granted in 1887, and continues for twelve years, with the privilege of renewal for one hundred years. It is expected that when Congress receives the report of the Walker Commission, which is now revising former surveys, the United States Government will either undertake the project or abandon it. A slight gleam of hope was recently afforded by a visit to Nicaragua of the syndicate of engineers and contractors who are now engaged upon the great drainage canal of Chicago; their object being to inspect the route and estimate the cost of construction of the inter-oceanic canal. These gentlemen went down "for business"; and since their return it is understood that, if certain amendments to the concession are made, they will submit a proposition to the Canal Company and to our Congress, to construct the canal for a certain sum of money in cash or bonds; furnishing whatever security may be required for the completion of the work within a given time limit. While there is no doubt of the ability and financial resources of the syndicate in question, at this writing they have not disclosed their intentions. The construction of the canal will certainly revolutionize the commercial, social, and political condition of Nicaragua; but there is very little encouragement to hope for a revival of prosperity until it is completed. The insecurity of property and the uncertainty of peace forbid immigration, and prevent the investment of capital in ordinary enterprises.

Costa Rica.

Costa Rica is the *Cinderella* of the Central American sisterhood. It was a neglected child during Spanish domination; existing in complete abandonment, regardless of its material resources. Until its independence had been established there was not a printing-press, a public building, a road, a bridge, nor a temple worthy of religion; only a few primary schools existed within the limits of the province; so that now the country is without a single institution, or monument, or even a ruin, by which the Colonial period may be remembered. Costa Rica was the first of the Central American states to effect emancipation from the Spanish and Colonial laws, and one of the first countries of Spanish America to adopt the modern mode of political being and enter herself in the list of free nations. After independence was accomplished, in 1821, the five states—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Hon-

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duras, Nicaragua, and Salvador—remained united for several years under a single government. It was a stormy and turbulent union. Anarchy prevailed in Nicaragua; and there were wars between Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras, to compel the compliance of unwilling members of the family. Much blood and much treasure were wasted in the argument; and finally, there being no hope of peace, Guatemala seceded from the confederation, and the others followed.

Costa Rica was the last of the line; and it was not until 1841 that she made any pretensions to independent sovereignty. Since then, she has enjoyed almost continuously the blessings of peace. For the last thirty years she has not suffered the shock of a *pronunciamento;* and her presidents have been elected by ballot under constitutional regulations. She has never interfered in the affairs of her neighbors, although her good offices have often been exercised in the settlement of their differences. It was through her aid that Walker and his fellow filibusterers were overcome and driven from Nicaragua; and, although there have been frequent misunderstandings, she has never engaged in a war. It is also remarkable that although the percentage of foreigners among her population is larger than that of any of the neighboring states, no claim has ever been presented to Costa Rica for damages or injury caused by the arbitrary acts of her authority against a citizen of another nation. Elisée Reclus, the famous *savant*, in his "Géographie Universelle," calls Costa Rica "a model republic"; and in many respects she sets an example worthy to be followed by the other Latin-American states.

Costa Rica suffers from a scanty population; for, although it has increased 50 per cent in fifteen years, the total does not exceed 300,000. But, next to Uruguay, the little country has the largest amount of foreign commerce *per capita* of any of the American states. In the United States, according to recent calculations, foreign trade averages $26.52 *per capita:* Costa Rica shows an average of $68.66. Taking the commercial power, therefore, as $68.66 per inhabitant, it is obvious that she needs only 1,500,000 inhabitants—the population of Guatemala—to reach a foreign trade of $100,000,000 a year. In 1896—the latest year for which we have complete statistics—her exports were $5,597,727, gold, and her imports, $4,478,812; while, for the first six months of 1897, her exports were $4,666,160.

Coffee is the chief product of the country; Costa Rica having been the first of the Central American states to develop its culture. A large quantity of fruit is shipped to the United States, with which a weekly

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steamship connection exists. Most of the coffee goes to Europe; not more than one-third of it to the United States. The greater part of Costa Rica's imported goods come from England, France, and Germany. This is chiefly due to the fact that her importing and exporting merchants are Europeans, and exchange their invoices for bills of lading for coffee exported to the European market. Recently, however, quite a number of Americans have settled in Costa Rica; and the relations between the two countries will thereby be much benefited.

The educational system of Costa Rica is more extensive and better sustained than that of any other of the Central American republics. The primary schools are free, and are supported by the Government under a system similar to that of the United States. A compulsory education law is in force, except in the very sparsely settled districts, where its operation would be a hardship to the people. The reports of the Bureau of Education at Washington show that there is a larger percentage of the population attending school in Costa Rica than in any other American country except Uruguay, and that the number and improvement of the schools have kept pace with the advancement of the country in other respects. In 1886 there were 260 primary and secondary schools, with an average attendance of 20,000 pupils. In 1897 there were 353 schools with an average attendance of over 30,000. There are colleges for both sexes, as well as a national university supported by the Government, with faculties of law, medicine, surgery, and engineering, which is attended also by students from the neighboring states. The Government pays for the tuition of a certain number of students at foreign universities as an encouragement and reward for those who distinguish themselves in their studies, and to provide instructors for its own schools in branches of science and art that are undeveloped in Costa Rica.

The railway system of Costa Rica is small as regards mileage; but it unites the centres of production with the Atlantic. A line to the Pacific Ocean is now under construction by Gen. J. S. Casement, of Ohio, who expects to complete it during the present year. This will be the first inter-oceanic railway of Central America, although Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua have all undertaken a similar enterprise, which to a Northern observer seems easy of accomplishment and absolutely necessary to the prosperity of those countries. Enough money has been loaned to these four republics for that purpose to build a dozen lines; and their foreign debts mostly represent unfulfilled promises to complete the line.

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Costa Rica was the first of the Central American states to extend the telegraph and the telephone to all its centres of population, and to introduce electric lights, underground sewers, and other modern improvements into its cities. The people are progressive and proud of their achievements. They love peace and order; and although there are occasional political disturbances, it is more difficult to start a revolution in Costa Rica than in any other country between the Mexican border and the Isthmus. Property is safe; the presence of foreigners is welcome; and the Government offers liberal inducements for the investment of capital and the settlement of its public lands.

The resources of the country are similar to those of Nicaragua. There is an abundance of timber and mineral deposits; the valleys have a deep and fertile soil for agriculture; while on the northern frontier is a large area of grazing-land capable of sustaining millions of cattle. The water-power is abundant and convenient, and by-and-by Costa Rica will increase her wealth by the introduction of mechanical industries; but labor is so scarce, and the cultivation of the soil so profitable, that thus far these opportunities have been neglected.

With the exception of the United States, Costa Rica is the only country in America that maintains a gold standard of money; and it has an excellent foreign credit, which has been secured by the punctilious observance of its obligations, the prompt payment of its interest, and the honest and economical management of its finances. Rafael Yglesias, the President, has just been elected to a second term, according to the custom of the country; and if he continues the wise administration of affairs that hitherto has marked his career, the immediate future promises rapid advancement for the little republic.

The people of the United States, instead of monopolizing the foreign trade of their nearest neighbors, enjoy not more than one-half of it. This commercial phenomenon is, however, easily explained. We have been so absorbed in our national development that, until recently, our merchants and manufacturers have not cultivated foreign markets, but have left them to the profit of European tradesmen, who are now firmly intrenched, and possess facilities which will take us years to acquire. Such commerce as we have is the result of the natural law of commercial gravitation; but little of it is due to enterprise. The lack of knowledge concerning the requirements of the Southern markets, and the ignorance and indifference of our manufacturers in filling such orders as they receive, have seriously handicapped the

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efforts of the Government, the commercial organizations, and private individuals, to improve these conditions. Our people are now beginning to find out that their customers in Central and South America are not a race of barbarians, but people of refinement, accustomed to the highest luxuries of life, and that Europeans understand and comply with their tastes and prejudices in such a manner as to leave little risk in their trade. Until we adopt the same methods with which they have won the commercial control of the Latin-American countries, we shall not be able to compete with them. The English, the Germans, and the French have branch houses and direct agencies in charge of partners at all the principal ports and commercial centres; while, with a few exceptions, our merchants and manufacturers deal through commission houses, which buy and sell where they can make the most profit.

There is no doubt of the superiority or the popularity of American goods, or that we can compete in prices and patterns with the rest of the world; and, wherever permanent systematic efforts have been applied, our merchants have usually been successful. But too often those efforts have been spasmodic, and have been resorted to during periods of commercial depression in the United States, for the purpose of disposing of stocks of goods unsalable there. As soon as an active home demand has returned, the effort to obtain a foreign trade has too often been abandoned. Trade is a plant of slow growth. Our neighbors in the Southern republics have national peculiarities like ourselves. They are satisfied with their present commercial arrangements. We are seeking their trade: they are not seeking ours. Therefore, the concessions, if any are required, must be made by us.

Another serious obstacle is the refusal of American merchants and manufacturers to extend the credits which are expected by the slow-paying customers of Central and South America, and which are offered them by our rivals in Europe. A lack of acquaintance and a lack of banking facilities naturally result in a lack of confidence; and until we can buy and sell goods in Central and South America without going to London to settle the exchanges, we cannot expect to do business without some friction. An international bank, with branches in the principal cities of the western hemisphere, to afford direct facilities for exchange, is absolutely essential to the improvement of our trade.

Our Central American neighbors have had a rather unpleasant experience in commercial negotiations with the United States, owing to the eccentric policy of our Government, and its shifting attitudes caused

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by frequent changes of administration. President Arthur made a series of commercial treaties to obtain advantages for our exporters in certain American markets. He considered them of great value; but Congress did not so regard them. After prolonged and rather humiliating dissensions the Senate ratified a very important treaty with Mexico; but the House of Representatives positively refused to enact the legislation necessary to carry its provisions into effect. And yet, we complain that we have so little trade with Mexico! The treaties with Cuba, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo were not ratified, although they had been sought by our Government.

President Arthur sent commissioners about the same time to initiate reciprocity arrangements with all the republics of Central and South America, and gave them the treaties that had been made with Mexico and Santo Domingo as models to guide them in their negotiations. They informed nine or ten of the governments that the United States was earnestly desirous to enter into reciprocal agreements, and returned home. During their absence, however, there had been a change in the home administration; and the new President not only discredited the commissioners who had been sent out by his predecessor, but notified the countries with which they had been negotiating that the disposition and policy of the United States had been misrepresented.

Again, in 1891, we sought to renew the relations which President Cleveland had so rudely interrupted, and succeeded in enticing a number of the more friendly countries of Central America into commercial arrangements under which valuable discriminations were made in favor of our merchandise. Our advances were accepted in good faith, and were responded to with cordial concessions. But, before the new arrangements had passed beyond the experimental period, the political complexion of Congress was changed; and in 1894 all the arrangements, in which we had taken so much pride, and from which we anticipated so much profit, were revoked, presumably at the dictation of the Sugar Trust, which at that very moment was standing in our courts as a defendant to answer the charge of the Attorney-General, that it existed in violation of law and was hostile to the welfare of our people. None of the usual diplomatic formalities was observed. Although each agreement contained the method by which it could be terminated at the instance of either party, our Government did not even take the trouble to advise those friendly nations that there was any dissatisfaction on our part.

It is another curious commercial phenomenon that the planter of

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Guatemala can ship his coffee to Hamburg, Havre, or Liverpool more cheaply than he can get it to New York; and this condition will continue until lines of railway are constructed to the Caribbean Coast. All merchandise to and from New York must be transshipped twice at the Isthmus; and it costs more to convey a bag of coffee from the ship to the shore than to transport it six thousand miles in the hold of a steamer. This is even more embarrassing in the transportation of ordinary merchandise, because freight is roughly handled on the Isthmus, and fragile goods are often damaged and destroyed. The cheap steamships which ply between the Central American ports on the Pacific and the great entrepots of Europe are very economically managed. They can carry large cargoes for their tonnage, because they have no waste room, and can offer rates for return cargoes which the American steamers cannot meet, because of their more expensive maintenance and the excessive charges on the Isthmus.

The time may come when the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, the extension of railway lines to the northern coast, and the patient application of the ordinary rules of trade by American merchants may simplify the problem and overcome the obstacles that now exist. But the future development and prosperity of Central America depend upon peace, honest government, and internal improvements. Capital is too timid to undertake enterprises in countries where nearly every political campaign ends in an armed revolution, where presidents are able to accumulate fortunes in a few years upon small salaries, and where commerce is carried on by means of ox-carts.

WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS.

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JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION.

Is journalism, *i.e.*, the work of collecting news, writing editorials, and furnishing correspondence for daily newspapers, worthy the serious attention of educated young men seeking a permanent occupation that will yield an income sufficient for present needs and the necessary provision for old age? Men of long experience say authoritatively that it is not; and I am able to produce trustworthy data to support this assertion.

Regarding the matter from a practical point of view, what is the financial prospect confronting a young man who has chosen newspaper writing for his occupation? What has he to sell, after having acquired the technical training in a newspaper office without which he cannot hope to reach any satisfactory standard of success? He has labor, experience, and ability. These are his stock in trade. What of the market in which to offer them? What is its size, and what are its circumstances and conditions?

There are in the United States about 2,200 daily newspapers. Of this number some 2,000 are published in the smaller cities and in towns; and the writing for the great majority of them is done by their owners, sometimes aided by bright boys and young men who are paid a small weekly salary. These papers are the primary schools from which come many of the capable workers of the great dailies; but they are not consumers of the work of professional journalists, and, therefore, may be properly excluded from consideration here.

In cities of less than 100,000 population the pay of reporters ranges from $5 to $20 a week, according to individual experience and ability. Editorial salaries rarely exceed $30 a week; and usually the editor has exacting managerial duties to perform in addition to his daily labor of reflecting the light of his wisdom in "leaded brevier." In these communities there are few salary prizes worth seeking by qualified young men. Hours are long; and duties are extremely laborious. If a writer has talent for work in some particular line, he must of necessity develop it outside the time which he is compelled to devote to routine work. His paper ought, of course, to be the bene-

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ficiary of his special ability; but usually it is not, because the owner or business office cannot realize that there is "any money in it," as compared with what the same writer can accomplish for the concern in the perfunctory gathering of the ordinary local news of the day and place. Moreover, political and commercial reckonings so often conspire to suppress that freedom of enterprise, thought, and expression without which no newspaper can ever become truly great, that there is little opportunity for individualism along any lines except those of wit, humor, the war in Europe, Queen Victoria's health, the Emperor William's vagaries, and others equally innocuous.

It is, then, to cities of more than 100,000 population that the newspaper writer must go in search of that compensation which will mean for him and his family anything more than a living of the most ordinary kind. These cities are New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, Buffalo, Minneapolis, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Baltimore, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Cleveland, New Orleans, Pittsburg, Detroit, Milwaukee, Jersey City, Louisville, Providence, Rochester, Omaha, St. Paul, Kansas City, Denver, Indianapolis, and Allegheny. The number of English daily newspapers published therein, according to the latest statistics, is 178; and they constitute practically the entire American market in which the professional writer may offer his newspaper service either for a salary or "on space."

Exclusive of New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and, possibly, San Francisco, the conditions and rewards of service in the writing departments of daily newspapers are about the same. Trustworthy figures have been collected showing the approximate expenses of the home editorial staffs of seven-day papers, *i.e.*, papers which issue Sunday editions, in the cities of Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, New Orleans, Omaha, Washington, Pittsburg (including Allegheny City), Minneapolis, Cincinnati, St. Paul, and Milwaukee. Inquiries made in these eleven cities show that the largest average annual salary paid in any one is $1,421.16; the lowest, $914.16. The annual salary average of editors and reporters for all the cities is $1,109. The largest weekly salary average in any one city is $27.22; the lowest, $17.58. The greatest number of editorial employees on any one paper is 37; the smallest, 15. The largest weekly pay-roll is $903; the smallest, $318. These statistics apply exclusively to the staffs of writers—editors and reporters—in the home offices, and do not include regular or casual correspondents.

The better and more experienced editors, of course, receive salaries

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much above the average; but many writers are compensated at a figure far below it. Managing editors in some of these eleven cities are paid $60 weekly; in others, $40. It is possible that some may be paid as much as $80; but there is room for doubt. Editorial writers get from $25 to $50 a week; experienced reporters from $20 to $30; and reporters wholly or partly inexperienced from $6 to $15. On the newspapers of minor cities the inexperienced writers—young men who are passing through the various stages of their newspaper education—largely outnumber those who may be termed trained. The number of the latter is kept down to the lowest possible limit, because they are expensive luxuries. The managing editor, a couple of editorial writers, the news editor or night editor, the exchange editor, the Sunday editor,—so called because he looks after the special matter for the Sunday issue,—the city editor, the chief telegraph editor, the financial editor, and two or three experienced reporters usually constitute the quota of well-trained men. It is a fair estimate to put the weekly salaries of these writers thus:

Managing Editor	$50	Exchange Editor	$35
First Editorial Writer	40	Sunday Editor	35
Second Editorial Writer	30	Telegraph Editor	25
News Editor	35	Financial Editor	25
Reporters, each			$25

Are these salaries alluring to the educated young man in search of a profitable lifetime occupation? It is not probable that they will undergo any marked change for the better, if one may judge from existing conditions, chiefly because those who must pay them—oppressed and harassed by business rivalry that never sleeps—in most cases cannot afford to make them better. And here it may be truthfully interjected that this keen competition for business,—circulation and advertising,—while it has reduced the price of newspapers to readers, has, at the same time, in many instances had the deplorable effect of weakening the courage and minimizing the independence of editorial management. The struggle for the advertising favors of business men and corporations has made editors excessively prudent in their comments touching schemes prejudicial to the public welfare, in which such men and corporations may be financially interested. This is notably the case in municipal affairs.

In no city of this country (not including the seven great cities already named), where there are as many as five daily newspapers of

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creditable standard, are there altogether more than forty or fifty editorial places with salaries ranging from $1,200 to $4,000 a year. Of $4,000 salaries there are very few, say one to each paper; and probably this is an overstatement. How does this compare with the rewards offered to capable and industrious members of the three learned professions in the same city—clergymen, lawyers, and doctors? The question excites a smile, and answers itself at once in every newspaper worker's mind. In every town in the United States of from 5,000 to 10,000 population there are lawyers and physicians with professional incomes exceeding $5,000 annually. In large cities $5,000 incomes in these callings are very numerous; and there are many ranging from $10,000 to $20,000. An income of $50,000 to $200,000 for a lawyer is not rare. Many lawyers will not even consent to take part in a case until a retaining fee of $1,000 to $5,000 has been paid. A fee of $1,000 for a surgical operation is common. So is a fee of $25 for a medical consultation that occupies but fifteen minutes. The incomes of many architects, engineers, artists, and authors are nowhere duplicated among newspaper writers. A painter gets $10,000 for a single portrait; an author, $10,000 in royalties from a single book; an architect, $10,000 commission on a single building.

No one has ever heard of such rewards in journalism, excepting possibly from some of the romancers of New York city. The possibilities of journalism are not to be compared with those of the occupations indicated; nor are all of them combined to be balanced for a moment, as regards their financial rewards, with the countless opportunities in this country for acquiring wealth or competence in the allied functions which constitute commerce, trade, and industry. Clergymen's salaries harmonize more nearly with those of newspaper workers; but the high-class men of the pulpit are better paid than the high-class men of the press.

The reader will now understand the compensative value of newspaper-writing outside the great cities,—that the average money consideration for service, as shown by the foregoing statistics, is not more than $1,200 a year, and that the highest salary does not equal the income of a capable country lawyer or doctor. It is in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Brooklyn, St. Louis, and, possibly, San Francisco—and in these alone—that men trained to news-gathering and writing, and the executive and other details of newspaper work and management, win big salary prizes; but even here the great salaries are few—salaries of $10,000 or $15,000 to editors who have no

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share in the profits of the publications by which they are employed. Editorial writers command from $2,500 to $5,000; considerably more approximating the smaller than the larger sum. New York pays well comparatively for good reporting, which explains why competent men are continually drifting to that city from all parts of the Union. Many assignment reporters get salaries of from $40 to $60 a week; copy editors, from $35 to $50; but hundreds of writers earn only from $20 to $30 a week, and even less.

In the 27 cities already named, being those whose populations exceed 100,000, there are 178 English daily newspapers, great and small, from the "New York Herald" down to the little class journals which deal in the financial gossip of Wall Street, the live-stock statistics of Chicago, the mining interests of Denver and San Francisco, and the limited commercial and industrial affairs of other cities. Here, then, anyone contemplating the pursuit of daily journalism for a livelihood, if that be all he wants, or for fame and fortune in addition, if he be inclined toward ambition and avarice, can see clearly and exactly the extent of the field for the exercise of his qualities as a journalist. It includes just 27 cities and 178 papers. And much of this field is as unproductive of professional pleasure or profit as would be the lava-beds of Modoc Land to the plough of the farmer. It would be liberal indeed to estimate at 5,000 the total number of salaried employees on these 178 papers,—an average of about 30 to each. Of these 5,000 editors, news-gatherers, and writers of various kinds, there are probably not 20, disconnected from proprietary relations with the papers which they serve, who receive salaries of $10,000 a year or more. There are not 300 receiving salaries of $5,000 a year; there are not 500 more receiving salaries of $3,000 to $5,000; the additional number receiving $2,500 does not exceed 500; while the others are compensated on a scale running as low as the $300 stipend paid to the newly hired 'prentice hand, who is chiefly valuable for his "leg talent,"—his capacity for covering ground in the collection of routine news of minor importance,—and who, in some cities, is known technically to the craft as a "legger." It is probably no exaggeration to say that the combined annual incomes of the lawyers in the one city of New York exceed the aggregate annual salaries of all the newspaper writers in the 27 large cities of the United States.

Does the novice dream of reputation also in the fields of journalism? It is a dream indeed! He will too often find his hopes ruthlessly crushed between the upper millstone of a ceaseless grind of

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nerve-wearing work and the nether millstone of fear on the part of his employer, that the acquisition of some measure of popularity, the enhancement of professional reputation in the public esteem, may involve an increase in the office pay-roll. There is no hope of literary laurels for the writer who sticks to the ranks of newspaper workers, because, first, newspapers have little use for writings of a distinctively literary character, and, second, the training that fits a writer for journalism largely unfits him for literature, and *vice versa*. There is a fellow-feeling between the author and the newspaper man, but no real professional kinship. Dickens, Kipling, Howells, Villard, Hawthorne, Stevenson, Hay, Blaine, Saxe, Whitman, Harte, Twain, Taylor, Murray, Barrie, and less brilliant luminaries, abandoned the profitless moiling of news and editorial service to harvest fame and fortune in other fields, most of them as authors—writers of books. Richard Harding Davis, E. W. Townsend, and Opie Read are following in their footsteps. Many more are doubtless destined to some degree of effulgence in the literary galaxy.

The book-writer looks for a profitable following among readers who number millions. If he succeeds, all is well with him. The newspaper writer is the hired and often servile dependant of a journal whose existence rests wholly upon the patronage of the circumscribed region wherein it circulates; and the amount of his salary depends no more on his own capacity than on the ability of his employer to induce people to buy the paper, and business men to advertise in it. The book-maker is in business for himself: the other is not. The right to write a book for money—a book of course with a proper motive—is just as clear as the right of a merchant to sell honest goods for money. The book may not always be "literature"; but if it has the selling quality, and lifts the author above want, it certainly works some good to him and to the world, and therefore needs no further justification.

There are few celebrated editors. They may be counted on one's ten fingers. The reputations which some of them enjoy are due as much to their positions as publishers as to their ability as editors or writers, —possibly even more. There is not a newspaper man of national distinction in Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburg,—no, not in four-fifths of the 27 cities. Nevertheless, there are many very able men at work in this editorial arena; and the public good they are doing in their line of duty is incalculable. The public at home knows something of them; but the public away from home knows them not. They cannot break through the all-

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powerful impersonalism of the press. Why does this impersonalism —this rigid suppression of individuality in editorial management— exist? Because it is an essential element of the policy that makes the business office the ever-dominating power in nine-tenths of our newspaper establishments. When the elder Bennett—courageous, sagacious, broad-minded, with a keen news instinct ever alert and far-reaching—issued the "Herald" from a New York cellar, having for his desk a board resting upon barrels, there was in its inception no "business office" to hamper his great powers. If there had been, the "Herald," likely enough, never would have been heard of. Mr. Bennett's comprehensive foresight included both the editorial and business functions in their proper order and relation. He understood their interdependence; but he understood further that it was utterly out of the question to place his enterprise on a successful financial basis without first making it an editorial success. Many journalistic ventures have gone to pieces on this rock; but Mr. Bennett's was not one of them. His "business office" followed editorial success as an easy and perfectly natural growth; and, of course, its lines fell in pleasant places. The "Herald" has ever since held to the central idea of its originator—business management subordinate to and supplementing judicious editorial management. And the newspaper does not exist, entitled to be called "great," that has not this conception solidly enwrapped in every thread of its warp and woof.

But, outside the big cities, there is another, and in some sense larger, domain, now to a great extent unoccupied and undeveloped, where the efficient journalist may win a measure of local reputation that will gratify his natural feeling of pride, where he may acquire dignities, honors, and worldly goods, and where there is a wider and freer scope for the exploitation of individual journalistic qualities than may fall to his lot in the great centres of population. This domain comprises the towns and small cities of the United States of from 5,000 to 15,000 population. It is true that many of these now have their own daily papers some of them; but, despite this fact, the ground is still practically virgin in most places, because those who occupy it do not know how effectively to plough, to sow, and to reap. Nobody perceives this so clearly as the experienced exchange editor, through whose hands pass the extraordinary publications produced in this territory. Why should this rich soil lie fallow while so many trained journalists are maintaining hand-to-mouth existences in the large cities, earning precarious livings by occasional "assignments," or the accept-

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ance of casual "space" articles; or, if regularly employed, are in constant peril of dismissal, because of changes in heads of departments, necessitated by the demands of the proprietors for something "new"?

The invention of the marvellous type-setting machine, the improvement of press-room facilities, and the cheapening of printing-paper, with the development of the star-route postal service of the Federal Government, regularly making daily mail-deliveries at many thousands of small post-offices, have doomed sooner or later to extinction the weekly "country paper" in every county that has a town of 5,000 population. The country daily will take its place. It is fast doing so now. The farmer, the cross-roads merchant and blacksmith, the denizens of towns, villages, and hamlets, will get diurnally, instead of weekly, the record of local news and gossip in which they are especially interested,—the doings of their county court and county officers, affairs of borough councils, town-market quotations, results of home elections, births, marriages, deaths, sermons, lectures, spelling-bees, school celebrations, accidents, fires, robberies, murders, political chat, —and they will get it at the subscription price of two dollars a year or less.

Moreover, their news will be served to them more intelligently, with broader understanding, than at present, because abler men are seeking rural journalism on account of its increased profitableness, its enhanced power, dignity, and influence. Enlarged and frequent circulation is stimulating advertising by country merchants.

Furthermore, it is becoming manifest that discerning farmers are beginning to see what they never saw before—the money-wisdom of offering for sale and exchange through their papers the surplus products of their lands. These and other perceptible resources awaiting encouragement and development by the new country editor with trained understanding will assure and accentuate the further success of rural daily journalism, and will keep away from the cities much of the capacity, ambition, energy, and industry that now find their way thither to engage in a struggle which is too often hopeless and dispiriting, and the rewards of which are rarely commensurate with the heavy expenditure that is made to gain them.

Of the possible effect of this suggested renaissance of rural journalism on the life of the people and nation, on politics, religion, trade, literature, industry, and education, it is needless here to speculate, albeit the vista it raises before one's eyes is at once both inviting and gratifying. Perhaps it may be allowable to sweep the perspective long

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enough to perceive that such journalism means enlarged freedom and fairness of editorial expression, and the abatement of partisan prejudice and rancor, political, social and religious—a boon of priceless value to the material and intellectual welfare of mankind. Self-interest will show the editor that his enterprise will prosper most when patronized by "all sorts and conditions of men." This will tend to independence. It will lead him to tell the truth when necessary,—to expose the perversions and hypocrisies of pseudo-public teachers and politicians. His readers will inevitably absorb his views, if convinced of their honesty and accuracy. No public service could be rendered surpassing in value popular emancipation from the slavery of obliquitous partisanship in any direction.

When these shackles shall have been broken there will come a great uplifting in the character of American statesmanship; our national blood will feel the inspiration of a new life; and there will be a fresher tone and keener zest in every hope and aspiration allied with the prosperity, happiness, and perpetuity of the Republic.

WALTER AVENEL.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN DRAMA.—I.

In speaking of the German drama, it is necessary to refer to German history; for the dramatic poetry of a nation stands in close organic relation to its historical development. In the term "dramatic poetry" I do not include those ephemeral productions designed merely to provide an evening's entertainment. No rules of art can be applied to the latter genre, which, ever since the existence of the theatre as a business, has flourished side by side with real dramatic art, and is regulated merely by the condition of the market and by the principle of supply and demand. I refer to this species of dramatic "literature" in order that those who do not share my opinions may not controvert them by adducing examples from it.

Whether the fine arts are subject entirely to national influence or not, is a question open to debate. I personally incline to the belief that a German will always paint differently from his English or French colleagues. It is an indisputable fact, however, that lyrical poetry must be national. Every lyric breathes the spirit of its native soil. The *dramatis personæ* of every narrative poem are countrymen of the author.

Dramatic poetry, however, is more closely associated with the life of the people than any other; and it is, therefore, the most intensely national of all. In every lyrical poem we behold the personality of the author. In the drama, on the other hand, we hear the voice of the entire nation; and herein lies the secret of its strength. It is a mistake to suppose that the dramatic poet exercises his power because he incorporates his own thoughts into individuals who address us. On the contrary, his power lies in the fact that the people themselves, who fill the auditorium, have, without knowing or suspecting it, taken an active participation in completing the drama. Thus it comes about that the drama has at all times been closely associated with the fate of the nation among which it arose; and the fate of a nation is synonymous with its history. For this reason, the historical drama is the proper standard; and every deviation from it is detrimental to the character of the genre. In this connection, however, it

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is necessary to bear in mind that every nation has an internal as well as an external history,—a history of culture as well as a political one,—and that a drama does not cease to be national because it draws its material from the former source. From this it follows—and a glance at the history of literature will bear out the assertion—that the dramatic poetry of civilized nations has always followed a course parallel with their historical development.

Upon the completion of the Persian wars, the glorious dramas of Æschylus storm in upon us like the victorious cry of youthful Greece. They are followed by the ripe manhood of the dramas of Sophocles. From this period we can trace the gradual decline of Hellenism, and the pessimistic view of life attendant upon it, through the dramas of Euripides; while, at last, those of Aristophanes resound with the shrill laughter of despair.

The conquest of the Moors by Spain was followed by the most glorious epoch of the Spanish drama, with its conspicuous representatives, Calderon and Lope de Vega. When England, under the powerful sway of Queen Elizabeth, determined to become a mighty factor in the politics of the world, there sprang up in her midst the powerful race to which Marlowe and his associates belong; while in the centre of this group, rising like a mighty tree amid the underbrush, we behold the mysterious figure of Shakespeare. Without the Wars of the Roses, a Shakespeare would have been impossible. Had there never been a Merrie England, and had the ear of Shakespeare not possessed the faculty of hearing the shouts and the laughter of an entire people, we should never have heard of *Falstaff*. All England, with its power and fame, is preserved in the dramas of Shakespeare, as in a golden shrine.

When France rose to power under Cardinal Richelieu, to attain its zenith under Louis XIV, it gave birth to the great dramatists, Corneille and Racine, and to the historiographer of its manners, Molière. And when the spirit of Germany, which had required a hundred years to recover from the effects of the Thirty Years War, was once more resuscitated through the efforts of Frederick the Great,—whose great deeds attracted the attention of the whole world,—there arose in the midst of her the dramatists, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. So the land which had so long remained quiet became the voice of Europe. Here, then, we have at last arrived at that country whose present standing, as regards the drama, I have undertaken to sketch in this article.

It has become a commonplace to compare the drama with the crea-

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tion of the sculptor; but this comparison, like that of many other commonplaces, is false. The effects of plastic art are produced by a single figure; while the laws of the drama demand a central figure, that of the hero, who is to be viewed in relation to those about him, with whom he usually stands in conflict. The drama presents a group: the figure of the sculptor represents a momentary situation, to which his work is forever bound. Motion is the principle of the drama,—a steady development from the beginning to the end, from the base to the summit. There is only one art, therefore, with which the drama may be compared; and that is architecture. As, in the drama, the idea of the author is built up before us from act to act, until the fate of the hero is decided, so, in contemplating a work of architecture, there appears the idea of the builder, rising in moving lines, story above story, until the roof is reached, and the structure stands before us as an organic whole. Although apparently different, the materials which the architect and the dramatic writer use—building-stones and facts—are in reality closely related. So long as these stones are lying about scattered upon the earth, they are mere dead blocks, which tell us nothing, and their appearance must be regarded as purely accidental. As soon, however, as the hand of the architect shapes them into a building, they become imbued with life, and eloquent of a great idea. The same may be said of the material of the dramatist. So long as, upon the wide field of history, we meet with scattered facts lying about loosely, they are devoid of meaning to us. When, however, these facts are so arranged by the hand of the poet that they assume the harmonious form of the drama, we recognize in them the widest relation to the entire historical development of the race. Both building-stones and historical facts—architecture and the drama—are subject to the same law, the law which regulates and prescribes their outline.

When regarded from this point of view, the assertion which I have made above, as to those elements in the character of the Germanic race, which render a perfect development of the dramatic art an extremely difficult matter, will be better understood. For not only the German nation, but the various branches of the Germanic races generally, lack the proper conception of form. Mood and color, not beauty of outline, are their proper elements.

In order to understand this more perfectly, let us compare the two great sources from which all the other poetry of the European nations emanates, the mythology of the Greeks and that of the Germans. The

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gods and goddesses of the Greeks—Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, Hephæstus, Hero, Aphrodite, and all the others—are tangible, strongly defined, personal beings. On the other hand, Wodan, Locki, Thor, Freya, Baldur, and all the other deities of the Germans are only conceptions of elementary forces, more or less corporealized or personified. All the actions of the Greek deities are human. The gods enter into the closest association with man; gods descend to love women; and goddesses are beloved of men. This cannot be said of the Germanic deities, whose stature transcends that of the human race and whose deeds are colossal. Colossal also are the battles that they wage among themselves and against the giants. Above the earth are the clouds, from which storm, rain, and hail descend, and through which, also, the sunlight penetrates. Yet the gods that dwell above them never descend in bodily form to the earth below. Leaving aside the question as to which of these conceptions is the most profound, the fact remains, that the Greek has been the most serviceable to art. The Greek deities descended to earth, they revealed their features and their form, and permitted themselves to be portrayed in colors as well as in marble and bronze. They lived in the midst of mankind, who erected dwellings for them in the shape of wonderful temples. The German never beheld his gods: they lived in heights removed from human gaze. When he wished to pray to them he went out into the primeval forest, or upon the boundless heath. The Greek mode of thought was corporeal and concrete; the German, abstract. The Greek always found among his own surroundings—in the contour of his mountains and the outline of his coast—as well as in the harmonious proportions of the human body itself, the models for the creations of his phantasy. He never penetrated beyond his immediate horizon. The German, on the other hand, ever sought to penetrate beyond his environment; and form was to him but a fetter. For this reason art revealed itself to the Greek; and he bequeathed it to us: while the world of ideas lay open to the German, who ever loved to explore the depths of the universe; and he bequeathed to us his great philosophical systems.

Unfortunately, however, the German could not master that form of art which requires definite outlines. It is true that during the sixteenth century England had found the path to it. But here the Anglo-Saxon blood had been fused with the Norman-Romanic; and the legacy of Greece had, to some extent, descended to the Romanic nations. The German, however, with his pure racial attributes, lacked this sense of form; and, furthermore, he was not in the position of the Eng-

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lishman, who could gaze back upon an uninterrupted national development. For German history has not moved uniformly onward in one direction, but has advanced in zig-zag lines; occasionally rising and falling with startling abruptness. Amid such a chaotic condition of affairs, how could it be possible for the German poet to find the broad and harmonious historical outlines requisite for the drama? At a period when every member of the nation had a different aim in view, how could it be possible to find a note which might stir a responsive chord in every breast?

With the passivity of despair, therefore, the German abandoned all dramatic projects. The apparent exceptions to this rule, the productions of a Kaspar von Lohenstein and of an Andreas Gryphius—the plays of the latter being of a somewhat higher order—serve only to bear out my assertion. They are not dramas in the true sense of the term. In the German soul, however, there are conflicting elements incomprehensible to the foreigner. There is a perpetual inward strife, which, while it sometimes deeply wounds the susceptibilities of the individual, nevertheless serves to maintain the integrity of the nation as a whole. This inward struggle is caused by the circumstance that the German, while tenaciously clinging to his nativity, nevertheless aspires to a wider sphere; and the faculties which he develops enable him to realize his aspirations. It is only from this point of view that so powerful a dramatic genius as Friedrich Schiller can be understood. When we compare the poetic content of Schiller's works with that of Shakespeare's, we must admit that the dramas of the former appear somewhat abstract and doctrinal beside the rich colors and tangible forms of the latter. It is here that the German element in Schiller manifests itself. But there is another element within the man which transcends the purely national one,—an element which enables him to build up the great structure of the drama in such a way that he may be said to rank beside the greatest Greek and Romanic dramatists. Whoever desires to convince himself of the truth of this assertion should carefully read the trilogy "Wallenstein" from beginning to end. The manner in which the thread of the narrative is here woven into the dramatic fabric is marvellous.

It is characteristic of Germany, however, that, as soon as the mighty figure of Schiller stepped into the foreground, that other racial attribute, to which I have referred,—the element that clings so tenaciously to its nativity,—manifested its power in the conflict which was instituted against Schiller by the so-called Romantic school.

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This conflict, which is notable for the passionate hatred with which it was waged, is not characteristic of an epoch merely, but may be said to be typical of Germany itself. For it represents the combat of two powerful elemental forces in the arena—totally dissimilar forces existing in the soul of the same nation. Nor did this conflict cease with Schiller and the Romanticists. It has been continued, with brief interruptions, to the present day; and it is still raging with unabated vigor.

The Romanticists understood perfectly well that element in Schiller which transcended the confines of nationality; and this element became the object of their hatred. They everywhere emphasized the weak points in Schiller's nature, his abstractions and his rhetorical style; but his dramatic power of construction they consciously, or unconsciously, overlooked. It appeared to them unworthy of notice; for their aim was to revive the nation's past history, not only by drawing their material from this source, but by presenting it in a distinctively German form. As such a form did not exist, however, they were compelled to invent one—with disastrous results. For, while there were among the Romanticists not only intelligent, but highly intellectual persons and excellent critics, there was not one possessed of creative genius in the highest sense, not one who could hold a candle to Schiller. This they instinctively realized. They, therefore, played out their two trump-cards, Shakespeare and Goethe; but in their hands both were misapplied. Of Schiller's relation to Shakespeare I have already spoken; and it is only necessary to mention that Goethe, "the great Goethe," would not condescend to be used as a cudgel against Schiller. Indeed, two of the noblest characteristics of Goethe were his magnanimous appreciation of Schiller's genius and his readiness to acknowledge the greater constructive ability of the latter. As a result of the malicious procedure of the Romanticists, however, the two foremost poets of Germany, Goethe and Schiller, who, in life, had ever been united by a friendship rarely equalled, were represented to the people as opponents, one of whom must needs be condemned and ostracized, in order that the other might be respected and beloved.

During the further progress of this movement, another phenomenon appeared,—a phenomenon closely affecting the intellectual life of Germany. I refer to the line of demarcation between the opinions and sentiments of the educated classes and those of the people at large. This marked distinction first became apparent during the sixteenth century; and its influence has continued to the present day. To the

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people, who unconsciously follow their sure and unerring instincts, Schiller remained the great, beloved, national poet. Among the educated classes, however, who were easily influenced and intimidated by a few leaders, it became the fashion to shrug the shoulders at the mention of Schiller's name. How pernicious the influence of such conditions upon the literature of a nation must be, need not be emphasized here. As a consequence of them, the poets lost touch with the spirit of the people and with those deeper forces that ever furnish inspiration for the drama. This became apparent in the decades following Schiller's death, when a feeble experimentation and a painful groping for material of every description supplanted the uniformly powerful dramatic impulse which had always guided Schiller. This deplorable tendency manifested itself particularly in the productions of a school designated as "Jung Deutschland" ("Young Germany"),—a school which arose during the later years of Goethe's life, and flourished after his death.

The poets of that generation found nothing in the contemporaneous history of the fatherland to inspire them. Indeed, the prevailing condition was one of despair. The great movement of the Wars of the Liberation was over; and contemptible political intrigues had robbed the people of the fruits of their heroic uprising. Germany was in a disgraceful state of retrogression. Externally she was a picture of impotency, without unity or strength sufficient to build up even the foundations of the state; and within she was sundered into thirty-six so-called confederate states, some of which were, so to speak, no larger than a nutshell,—all, however, being inspired by the single desire of sacredly maintaining their separate existence. Beneath the polished exterior of this crumbling structure, which was everywhere propped up by artificial means, the utterings of a discontented people, conscious of the indignities imposed upon it, and solicitous for national union, began to be heard. But the desire of the people, which thus manifested itself, was followed by a conspiracy of the rulers, who felt that their interests were threatened, and who now, with the cruelty of cowardice, sought to stem the tide of popular discontent.

It is difficult for those not of German birth to realize the utter misery to which a great people, eminently endowed, was condemned during many decades. It is necessary, however, to form a conception of the conditions of that time, in order to understand the tremendous enthusiasm aroused when a single statesman, endowed with sufficient courage and sagacity to understand the voice of the people, finally rescued the nation by a "revolution from above."

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At the time, however, that "Young Germany" was active, this man had not yet made his presence and influence felt. The adherents of this school were therefore actuated by one sentiment only, that of longing,—the longing to escape from the conditions that surrounded them. But this longing was not brightened by a single ray of hope; nor was it centred upon a definite goal. It seemed inconceivable that any one of these numerous states should stretch forth a helping hand to rescue the country at large, or that a power should arise capable of welding the various members into one body.

For this reason the poets of the period engaged in an aimless, painless, and indefinite search for material. That righteous indignation, which has so frequently been a source of dramatic inspiration, was now converted into gloomy discontent. Germany appeared like a corpse—its forms of government effete and obsolete. In place of these there hovered before the imagination of the people the vision of a German Republic, a form of government essentially foreign to the spirit of the German people.

Owing to the fact that the great men of the nation had temporarily died out, the people began to believe that such had never existed, and seemed to become entirely oblivious of the glorious past of their native land. It was only beyond the confines of Germany that they still found great men and broader conditions; and, consequently, all their admiration was centred upon what they found abroad. This international sentiment had nothing whatever in common with Rousseau's great idea of a fraternity of mankind—an idea which had so powerfully inspired Schiller. On the contrary, it was the result of that poverty which seeks abroad the sustenance which it cannot find at home. Thus we can understand the absence of cohesion and unity which characterizes the dramas of this period. It is true that there was no dearth of dramatic production. Indeed, a multitude of plays were written; but their quality was out of all proportion to their number. How completely the conception of the true dramatic element had been lost becomes apparent when we consider that, while all efforts to dramatize the great German legend had hitherto been lamentable failures, the professional dramatists of the time nevertheless shrugged their shoulders as they passed the man who so earnestly worked and wrought beside them—the man who, ignored and treated with contempt by his colleagues, had really mastered the material presented in the legend and successfully dramatized it. I refer to Richard Wagner, who not only towers above the school of which

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I have spoken, but who is undoubtedly the greatest dramatist since Schiller.

Without entering into a discussion of the other musical dramas of Wagner, I merely wish to point out the marked difference between *his* conception of the *Nibelungen* legend and that of his predecessors and contemporaries. All these dramatists had chosen the "Nibelungenlied" as the basis of their work. None of them recognized that this song itself was but a later arrangement of the original legend, and that their dramas were but arrangements based upon an arrangement. All these, even the early writer of the "Nibelungenlied" himself, failed to grasp the true dramatic kernel which must be sought in the relation between *Siegfried* and *Brunhilde*. All had placed the emphasis upon the conflict between the Burgundians and the Huns, while the relation between *Siegfried* and *Brunhilde* was merely hinted at.

The only one, therefore, who had the gift to perceive the tragic element lying at the root of the action, the only one who could grasp this material and build up his drama upon it, was Richard Wagner, whose peculiar word-combinations were so frequently greeted with scornful laughter by the professional dramatists, who did not seem to have the faintest idea of the great power of conception displayed in Wagner's work. He was the only one who perceived the true spirit of the legend, and stripped it of all its historical accessories in which it had been clothed. With the decisiveness of genius, he removed the scene of action from its historical environment, and placed it once more upon a prehistoric stage among gods and men of gigantic mould. Taking *Siegfried* and *Brunhilde* as his central figures, he built up a drama which to-day commands universal admiration, while the *Nibelungen* dramas of those who once looked down upon him are either dead and forgotten, or only occasionally revived.

The opposition of the dramatists alone, however, might have been pardonable; for it is an old saying that "one potter does not praise the wares of another." Much more strongly to be condemned was the attitude of the critics. In this regard, Germany is in an unfortunate position,—a position which can be understood only when we consider that the deepest instincts of the German people are essentially undramatic. Whoever does not instinctively recognize the laws of dramatic art cannot appreciate these when embodied in the works of another. As the critics of the Romantic school failed to appreciate the dramatic power of Schiller, so, at a later period, the critics failed to perceive the great genius of Wagner; and, as regards criticism, the same

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general conditions may be said still to prevail in Germany. There are many newspapers, and many dramatic critics; but each of these has his own particular conception of dramatic art. It is not the broad fundamental law of the drama, but some petty personal theory, that furnishes the standard of criticism. In this way the public itself becomes confused; its judgment becomes disturbed; and its natural receptive instincts are destroyed.

But enough of this. We are still at the gateway of the new era; and people grow tired of waiting before closed doors. Out of the heavy atmosphere, which since the year of 1848 had hung over Germany like a dull, leaden weight, there suddenly came a thunderbolt. Over the land which had become unproductive, copious showers fell. Like the violent beating of a mighty eagle's pinions, the soul of the nation awoke, roused by the hope of a new life. Such was the year 1866. It is true that this rainfall was red and warm as human blood. It is true, also, that the rolling thunder seemed to portend the crash of doom, the final blow which fate had reserved to shatter completely the national fabric. But these visions were deceptive; and those who entertained them proved to be short-sighted. A mighty hand had opened the flood-gates through which this stream of blood had poured forth; and this hand was strong enough to close them. The pilot capable of guiding the helm of the drifting ship had come: the statesman who knew how to trim his sails so as to catch the powerful gale of popular favor had at last appeared—Von Bismarck.

ERNST VON WILDENBRUCH.

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The Forum

JUNE, 1898.

OUR WAR WITH SPAIN: ITS JUSTICE AND NECESSITY.

THE United States and Spain are at war with each other. The fact is deplorable; and who is to blame for it is an important question. This question cannot be properly answered without a more extended review of the relations of Spain and the United States to Cuba, and of the character of the war which Spain has been waging there, than can be given in a magazine article. Enough may be said, however, to indicate all this sufficiently for present purposes.

The Island of Cuba has belonged to Spain, with the right to determine its government. It was the duty of Spain, however, to provide a just government, and the right of the Cubans to seek their independence, whether the government provided by Spain was just or unjust. People have a right to be independent and to govern themselves if they so desire; and it is no answer to say that they are already well governed. But when they are unjustly governed and grievously oppressed, this right is accentuated, and their struggle for freedom and self-government naturally and properly commands sympathy as well as respect. Such would be the views of the United States with regard to any case, but especially so with respect to Cuba. That island lies at our door. It belongs to the western hemisphere. It is a part of the American system. The Monroe Doctrine covers and applies to it. On this account no other nation would be allowed by us to interpose in its affairs. England, France, Germany, and all the other Powers so understand. The result is that, whatever responsibility may arise for other nations in respect to the progress of events in Cuba, it is all our own. Our relation

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is special; and our duty is special. With these premises in mind, consider what has happened in Cuba.

The government of the Island by Spain has been, for the last fifty years, of the most arbitrary, unjust, oppressive, and inefficient character. The inhabitants have been practically denied all voice and representation in their affairs; their taxes have been out of all proportion to their ability to pay; and they have been allowed no substantial returns therefor. Educational facilities have been grossly inadequate; there have been no public improvements,—not even ordinary highways,—scarcely more than a pretence of the most ordinary sanitation, and no sufficient protection to either life or property; and yet the revenues exacted in recent years have amounted to about $25,000,000 to $28,000,000 annually. When it is recalled that the total population of the Island, including all classes and nationalities, Cubans, Spaniards, negroes, together with Americans, Europeans, and other foreigners, is but about one and one-half millions,—most of them very poor,—it will be seen how enormously disproportionate the burden is; but it is not until the details of the system of taxation enforced are considered that its insufferable character is made fully manifest.

In addition to heavy taxation upon all classes of real and personal property, the inhabitants are subjected to special taxes and license fees of every character and description. They are taxed upon each window, upon each pane of glass in each window, upon each chimney, and upon each door. Every note, check, bill, draft, receipt, deed, mortgage, or other paper-writing is taxed; and so is every kind of occupation, privilege, right, franchise, and business transaction, even to the entering of a name upon a hotel register. All appeals for relief have been denied; and, instead of showing mercy and help, Spain has grown steadily more heartless, indifferent, and exacting. Her penal laws have been enforced with a cruelty that can scarcely be exaggerated. Executions, banishments, imprisonments, fines, and forfeitures have been appallingly frequent and terrifying in character. Our fathers rebelled for just cause in 1776: the Cubans have a thousand times better cause than they.

In addition, therefore, to the inherent right of independence, the Cuban struggle is a rebellion against tyranny, oppression, robbery, and wrong greater than has ever been endured by any people capable of resistance, and of such a nature as to command the profound sympathy of all who love justice and liberty. It is impossible for any fair and properly informed mind to have the slightest sympathy with Spain in

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her effort to subdue the insurrection, no matter how fairly she may conduct the war in that behalf.

But her wretched government of the Island was but a fitting prelude to the atrocious war that has followed. It has from the beginning been marked with unusual waste, destruction, savagery, and disregard of the rules of civilized warfare; but the climax in this chapter of wickedness was reached when the policy of "reconcentration" was entered upon. The President, in his Annual Message of December 6, 1897, justly characterized it as a policy of extermination. Such it was; and such it was intended to be. The order inaugurating this policy was promulgated by Gen. Weyler on February 16, 1897; but it had been doubtless previously approved—as it was subsequently and repeatedly—by the Spanish Government. It required the *pacificos* to forsake their homes, and the peaceful pursuits whereby they were supporting themselves, and be concentrated in the outskirts of the cities, towns, and villages, where men, women, and children were huddled together under military guard, thousands in a place, with a monstrous inadequacy of food, clothing, shelter, and sanitary conditions. The evident purpose was the natural result. In one year more than two hundred thousand of the victims perished, and more than two hundred thousand others were brought so near to death that most of them will not recover.

The immeasurable inhumanity of this proceeding is not fully appreciated until it is remembered that these people, who were thus deliberately tortured to death, were the subjects of Spain,—not one of them had ever raised a hand against her,—who, whatever their sympathies may have been, remained loyal to the Crown, and were entitled to its protection. They were not insurgents, but *pacificos;* not enemies, but citizens; not a disturbing element, but a quiet, peaceful, law-abiding, and self-supporting peasantry, who had done no wrong to anybody. In all the history of the world there is nothing that approaches their treatment in unprovoked fiendishness and sickening horror. Day after day, for week after week and month after month, the awful story of anguish, misery, and death, with its shocking details, was told to our Government by our faithful Consular officials in Cuba. When that correspondence is published, and all the facts are made known, it will excite the wonder of Christendom that we should have endured such conditions so long and so patiently.

There are other facts to be taken into account in judging the course and final action of the United States. When the war commenced there were many American citizens residing in Cuba, and engaged in business

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there. They owned more than fifty millions' worth of property, all which has been practically destroyed without fault on their part. Many of them have been arrested, imprisoned, and subjected to gross hardships and indignities, and some of them, like Dr. Ruiz, have been brutally murdered, all in violation of treaty rights; and, although thereunto duly requested, Spain has evaded and denied every demand for reparation, or even apology, whether for property, liberty, or life.

When the war commenced we had a trade with Cuba amounting to about $100,000,000 annually. This trade has been destroyed.

The American people naturally sympathize with all who struggle for liberty and independence, but especially with those who are of this hemisphere and our immediate neighbors. The struggle of the Cubans has been so heroic, and against such odds and wrongs, that it has excited the greatest interest and admiration. It has also produced corresponding disquiet among our people, and has made necessary a constant, heavy expense, amounting to several millions of dollars in the aggregate, in order to police our coasts and, in the interest of Spain, enforce our neutrality laws. It would be unreasonable to expect us to submit indefinitely to such burdens and to such injuries to our citizens and their business. We had a right, therefore, to seek to bring about a termination of the struggle. We were an interested party. Our interest was second only to that of Spain. Therefore, on April 6, 1896, we tendered our friendly offices to Spain as a mediator. She rejected them; and the war continued. This tender was renewed by President McKinley, and with the same result.

At length Canovas was assassinated and Sagasta came into power. The latter recognized our interest and our right to relief. He also recognized and acknowledged that the policy of Spain should be reversed. He accordingly promised to institute all proper reforms, both in the prosecution of the war and in the civil government of the Island, and asked that he be given a reasonable time in which to carry his reforms into effect. It was accorded him; but there was no reform, nor any change for the better. On the contrary, the cause of Spain grew day by day more helpless and desperate, until all reasonable hope or expectation of success was gone; while the cause of the insurgents correspondingly improved. Autonomy was a failure, starvation went on, waste and desolation continued, and all to no purpose.

It became difficult for us to maintain friendly relations with Spain. Finally, to relieve the tension and bring about a better feeling, the "Maine" was sent to Havana, and Spain was invited to send one of her

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ships to New York. When the "Maine" reached Havana she was taken in charge by a Spanish official, the Harbor Pilot, and by him stationed at a place where, without warning, she, with two hundred and sixty-six of her officers and crew, was blown up and destroyed by a submarine mine. Submarine mines are acknowledged governmental implements of war. They are not at any time handled by private individuals; and, at the time and place in question, it was a crime punishable by death for any person to be found even in possession of any kind of an explosive. These considerations make it a very strong *prima facie* case—almost conclusive—that the "Maine" was blown up purposely, and by Spanish officials; for it is manifest, as stated by Gen. Lee in his evidence before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that no novice exploded the mine, but a skilled expert, who possessed not only all the facts as to its location and mechanism, but the requisite technical knowledge as well.

Spain recognized the case against her, and sought to escape liability. She disavowed the affair, and undertook to prove her innocence. She might have proved that there were no mines in Havana harbor if such had been the fact; for she had full control of all the evidence on the subject. She could have called whom she pleased; but she took no testimony on that point. All her efforts were in one direction—that of showing that the explosion was within the ship, and an accident. Her Naval Board of Inquiry so found. One fact, conclusively established by our Board of Inquiry, destroys this finding. The bottom of the ship was blown upward, and was found bent from beneath into the shape of an inverted V. No such result could have been produced by an explosion from within: this is self-evident. It completely destroys the accident theory and, with it, the only defence that Spain has sought to make, or ever can make. In view of this it is wholly immaterial what particular person, or persons, pressed the button that exploded the mine. The commanding fact remains that our ship and sailors were destroyed by a governmental agency of war for which Spain was as much responsible as she was for the guns in her forts. It, therefore, follows that not only the act of destruction, but also the act of placing us in danger without warning, was an act of war; and we should have been justified in opening fire on Morro Castle the moment we found the keel-plates on the deck of the ship. But we did not do so. We did what scarcely any other nation would have done. We waited nearly two months for an official report; and then the President politely submitted all these criminating facts to Spain and asked her

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what she would do about them; not doubting, to use his own language, "that the sense of justice of the Spanish nation will dictate a course of action suggested by honor and the friendly relations of the two Governments."

If there was any definite suggestion in this sentence it was, at the most, a prolonged diplomatic controversy resulting ultimately in an international arbitration; and that was not satisfactory. Hence it was that at this point patience seemed to be exhausted, and the Congress gave unmistakable evidence that diplomatic negotiations must cease, and some kind of decisive action be taken to end the war, stop starvation, give the Cubans their independence, and suitably avenge the "Maine." Numerous resolutions were introduced, and were referred to appropriate committees. All were given careful consideration; but no action was taken until the President, in his Message of April 11, submitted his views and made his recommendations. He traced the course of events in Cuba, gave an account of his negotiations with Spain, told how he had exhausted diplomacy without avail, and, therefore, committed the whole subject to the Congress for such action as it might see fit to take. His recommendation was as follows:

"I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the Island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order, and of observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity, and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes."

Upon this presentation of the case, as well as upon all this painful history and these influencing facts, relations, and doctrines, the Congress finally, on April 18, 1898, adopted the following resolutions:

"First.—That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second.—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third.—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth.—That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people."

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Was such action justifiable? In answering this question it is not necessary to discuss what was not done further than may be necessary in order to throw light on the grounds for what was done.

There were many who believed that a declaration of war on account of the "Maine" was the simplest, most justifiable, and most logical action to take; but they were overruled.

There were many who thought that the whole subject should be recommitted to the President, as he had recommended, with power to take such measures as he might deem necessary to end the war, and to establish a stable government in the Island, using the army and navy therefor, if necessary; but they also were overruled.

It was the majority sentiment that (1) there should not be any further diplomatic negotiations; (2) that it was not competent for the Congress to delegate the war-making power to the President, to be used at his discretion in a certain contingency, to wit, the failure of further negotiations ("measures"); and (3) that the Congress was without power to establish a government in a foreign country, for a foreign people, "stable" or otherwise, and that it could not empower the President to do so, and that it would not be good policy to do so, if it could.

For these and other reasons, the President's recommendation in these particulars was not followed; and, instead, the resolutions already quoted were adopted.

On the grounds cited in the preamble—which is an epitomized statement of the whole case—the Congress, by the second and third resolutions adopted, demanded that Spain at once relinquish her authority, and withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and empowered and directed the President to use the land and naval forces, if necessary, to carry the resolutions into effect.

It will be observed that these resolutions cut off all further negotiation. Their mere passage was the demand. In the event of refusal by Spain to withdraw, they left no room for discretion. The President was directed and empowered in such case to employ, at once, the army and navy in the enforcement of the demand. The resolutions had the merit of brevity, explicitness, and unquestioned validity. No exercise of any doubtful or indefinite authority or power was provided for. The beginning and ending of the whole matter was the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards from Cuba. The door was shut against all further propositions of mediation or intervention looking to autonomy, or the continued sovereignty of Spain in the Island on any terms. The resolutions meant the absolute and unqualified independence of the

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Cubans, with the right to establish their own government without let or hinderance from us or anybody else; and they saved us from the perils and responsibilities of establishing a government. That whole subject was left in the hands of the people to whom it belongs. Consistent with all this were the fourth resolution, disclaiming all intentions of acquisition, and the first resolution, declaring that the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

The first resolution was of the highest importance, and was accordingly made the subject of much earnest discussion. The chief insistence of those who opposed it was, however, simply that it declared what was not true. In this behalf they claimed, in all possible forms of speech, that war was still in progress in the Island; that the Spanish army still occupied the fortified cities and all the seaports; and that, if the Cubans were already free and independent, it would not be necessary for us to intervene. To all this it was answered that a people could be free and independent, in the international sense, without having exclusive control of all their country; and that the presence of an enemy in the midst of them was not a test. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war the German army occupied Paris; but nobody ever thought of denying that the French people were internationally free and independent on that account. Similarly it was argued that though the people of Cuba had not driven the Spaniards out of the Island, yet they had resisted the Spanish arms successfully, that Spain was no longer attended with a reasonable hope or expectation of success in her effort to regain her lost sovereignty, and that our whole proceeding was based on the theory that Spain, by her misgovernment and bad conduct, had forfeited not only her sovereignty, but also her right to regain it; for which reason we were proposing to drive her out. The effect of that would be to leave the Cubans free; for, if Spain had lost authority, there was none in the Island, except such as the Cubans might impose upon themselves,—all of which was only another way of saying that they were free and independent. It was further insisted that if, according to the requirements of international law in ordinary cases, there was anything lacking to make the Cubans internationally free and independent, it was supplied by the resolutions to be passed, because, by those resolutions, intervention was provided for; and that meant the unquestioned freedom and independence of Cuba to all who believed in our success. If Spain should retire on demand, the case was clear: if she remained to fight, the result was the same in practical effect, although for a time postponed; while the legal effect would occur immediately, so

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far as we were concerned, because we should be compelled to recognize the insurgents as our natural allies and coöperate with them, and we could not do that and at the same time continue to treat with them as Spanish subjects.

A further argument was based on the fact that the armed intervention proposed was regarded as of such nature that, if Spain refused to abdicate, war would immediately follow, and a declaration to that effect would be necessary, as proved to be the case; but that a declaration of war against Spain would be a declaration of war against all her subjects everywhere. The people of Cuba, including the insurgents, were Spanish subjects in law, and would remain so, in our view, as well as that of Spain and the rest of the world, until we recognized their independence. A declaration of war against Spain, therefore, would be a declaration of war against the Cubans as well as everybody else belonging to Spain; and consequently, as a war measure, and as one of the necessities of the case, at least the people of Cuba should be recognized as independent. This view prevailed. It prevailed because it was justified by the facts, and was made necessary as a collateral proposition by the chief proposition of intervention. Independence must go hand in hand with intervention.

For the same reasons, as well as others, the Republic of Cuba should have been recognized as the true and lawful government of the Island. The progress of events will not only make this manifest, but will shortly compel such recognition, practically, if not formally. The chief objection was stated by the President, as follows:

> "In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government. We would be required to submit to its direction and to assume to it the mere relation of a friendly ally."

A complete answer to this suggestion, in the minds of those who favored such recognition, was found in the fact that, according to all international-law writers, an intervening Power never takes orders from anybody, and in the further fact that the whole situation was of such a character as emphatically to negative the idea that the Cuban Republic, or Gen. Gomez, would embarrass us by the assertion of any such right. This is all that need be said upon that point now.

In this way the question narrowed itself down to whether or not we were justified, under all the circumstances, in demanding that Spain retire from Cuba, and, upon her refusal, in proceeding to eject her by force of arms.

The general rule established by international law is non-interven-

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tion; but the exceptions to this rule have been so often repeated, and on such various grounds, that intervention has become a well-recognized right, if not, in some instances, an acknowledged obligation.

Prof. Lawrence, in his admirable work on "The Principles of International Law," after discussing the right of intervention on the ground of self-interest, says, with special reference to cruelties on account of religion:—

"Should the cruelty be so long-continued and so revolting that the best instincts of human nature are outraged by it, and should an opportunity arise for bringing it to an end and removing its cause without adding fuel to the flame of the contest, there is nothing in the law of nations which will condemn, as a wrongdoer, the state which steps forward and undertakes the necessary intervention. Each case must be judged on its own merits. . . . I have no right to enter my neighbor's garden without his consent; but, if I saw a child of his robbed and ill treated in it by a tramp, I should throw ceremony to the winds, and rush to the rescue without waiting to ask permission." (P. 120.)

In concluding his discussion of the subject, Lawrence says:—

"They [Nations] should intervene very sparingly, and only on the clearest grounds of justice and necessity; but when they do intervene, they should make it clear to all concerned that their voice must be attended to and their wishes carried out." (P. 135.)

All the authorities are to the same general effect.

Applying these rules, the war in Cuba has been of long duration. It is more than three years now since it commenced; and the present is but a resumption and continuation of the ten years' war that ended by the Treaty of Zanjon in 1878. The struggle has been attended by unusual cruelties from the beginning; and the one feature of intentional extermination by starvation of the unoffending non-combatants, to the number of hundreds of thousands, is so inhuman and shocking, and has been now so long continued that, without regard to the commercial and property interests involved, we have "the clearest grounds of justice and necessity" for intervention ever presented.

In the language of Historicus,[1] it is a case where intervention is "a high act of policy above and beyond the domain of law"—which is the equivalent of saying that it has the most sacred sanction of law.

We were justified, therefore, in intervening; and it was our duty, when we did intervene, adopting the words above quoted, to make it clear to all concerned that our voice must be attended to and our wishes carried out.

The resolutions authorizing our intervention meet all these require-

[1] "Letters on Some Questions of International Law.—I."

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ments, and do not go beyond. We could not do less than they propose and do our duty. Under all the circumstances we delayed action longer than we should, and have been less harsh and exacting than we might have been.

Spain lost her sovereignty by her own misrule; and she lost all opportunity to retire with dignity and honor, by obstinately refusing the kindest and most generous offers of mediation and by failing to heed repeated and unmistakable warnings of the inevitable. She had a *legal* right to treat our intervention as an act of war; but she had no *moral* right to do so. She has been in the wrong and at fault from the beginning. The trouble commenced in her own house. She made it a general nuisance, and persisted in so maintaining it long after she had been notified that it had become insufferable. Now, when she has forfeited all the respect of others, and all her rights, and when ejection has become necessary, she resents it as an act of war, and appeals to the world for sympathy. So far, she has not received any; and it is to be hoped she will not. But, however that may be, our only course was to meet war with war. It is a justly dreaded necessity, but not without some compensations. The spirit of patriotism that has been aroused will stir the life-blood of the nation, quicken human activities, and efface sectional divisions. Whether the struggle be long or short, we shall emerge from it stronger, more united, and more respected than ever before.

J. B. FORAKER.

April 28, 1897.

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THE HULL ARMY BILL.

OURS is the only government on earth willing to go from peace to war without making the slightest preparation. Our people boast of the large force of patriotic citizens ready to fight our battles, and forget that, no matter how numerous or how brave our citizen soldiery may be, their efficiency, without organization or arms, on the field of battle would not prove satisfactory to the nation. Fortunately our war with Spain gave us time to organize a land force before the necessity for its active employment became imperative. When the Congress passed the joint resolutions for Cuban freedom,—virtually a declaration of war,—this great nation had no land force worthy of the name; even what it had was handicapped by laws which compelled the organization of the army to be formed on obsolete and utterly inefficient models.

Intelligent officers of the army have long realized the danger of delay in making our regular army a model of perfect organization which could be followed by the organized militia of the States. Grant and Sherman were solicitous that Congress should act. In Sherman's last report as General of the Army he renewed his former recommendations for reorganizing

"the infantry into three battalions, so that each shall be composed of twelve companies; making three battalions of four companies each . . . the National Guard and volunteers of the States would soon follow such organization; and we would have throughout the country these small, handy battalions of four companies, instead of the large, cumbersome regiments of ten companies,—a bad tactical unit, and in practice always scattered."

Sheridan, in 1884 and 1885, as General of the Army, vigorously urged Congress to add two companies to each infantry regiment, and provide for the three-battalion organization.

The Secretary of War, in his Report for 1889, says:

"Nearly every warlike Power has adopted the three-battalion formation for infantry. Persia, China, and the United States are almost alone in adhering to the single-battalion system. The necessity for this formation in the infantry is even greater than in the cavalry and artillery, where it has long been the rule. The reason for the change, always strong, has now, in view of the greater deployment necessary because of the improvements in small-arms, become imperative.

Twelve years ago the report to Congress of officers sent to investigate the

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armies of Europe and Asia, and to suggest what changes should be made in our army to modernize and perfect it, strongly urged the adoption of this system. Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan have recommended it, and it is favored by the leading officers in our present service. From a military standpoint the question does not seem to require evidence or argument, but merely examination and action. With this change and the elimination of the extra first lieutenants of artillery, the organization of the three arms of the service will be, as it should be, uniform and upon one harmonious basis."

China changed after the war with Japan.

Again, in 1890, the Secretary of War strongly urged the reorganization of the infantry, saying, among other things:

"As a military question there is no difference of opinion as to the advisability and necessity of the three-battalion formation for infantry. Every European Power has adopted it; and all of the leading generals of our country—including Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan—have recommended it. Now that our small army can be stationed in larger posts, the conditions of service are fully suited to its use. It already prevails in the other arms of the service, and there are even stronger reasons for it in the infantry; besides, all ought to be uniform. If we were ever met by a military contingency, we should then be forced to adopt it, and without proper preparation."

The following occurs in the Report of the Secretary of War for 1891:

"The question of the three-battalion organization for the infantry has been before Congress, and an account of the great defects of the present system must necessarily be the subject of discussion until remedied by legislation.

. . . . . .

The single-battalion organization of infantry is radically defective and unfit for actual service under present conditions. During the period since the Civil War our infantry organization has remained unchanged, and is now, in respect to the single-battalion feature, obsolete. It is so vicious that the first step, in case of war, must be to abolish it and start anew. It cannot be amended or modified; it is unwieldy, incapable of subdivision either to make or meet attack under methods now prevailing; and the situation grows worse with every improvement of arms. The development of range, rapidity, and accuracy of fire of modern arms has been so great that a smaller and more flexible battalion is essential; for this development makes celerity in handling troops on the field a prime necessity."

The Secretary of War's Report for 1892 says:

"Since the present organization of our infantry was adopted, many changes have taken place in the art of war, resulting, among other things, in a material modification of the form of infantry regiments. Our stationary condition in this respect has left us with an obsolete organization."

The Secretary of War's Report for 1894 contains the following:

"The organization of the line of the army has undergone no material change since the close of the Civil War. During this period of thirty years every large foreign army has been completely reorganized. Changes and improvements in arms, ammunition, and equipments have forced upon the leading strategists and tacticians of the great armies of the world the necessity of a broad departure from the old systems. All have adopted the battalion as the tactical unit for infantry.

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Should our army ever be brought into collision with disciplined foreign troops, our present formation would prove so defective as to turn the scale against us in a conflict on terms otherwise equal."

I have given but the briefest extracts from my Report to the Fifty-fourth Congress; and my only excuse for taking up so much space with them is to show that the War Department is not open to criticism for the shameful neglect to provide for the public defence. It seems incredible that Congress should so persistently refuse to do its duty. But even that is not so strange as to find leading members of the House of Representatives within the last month criticising the army for not having a modern formation, when the law made it impossible.

Some four years ago I became interested in this question; and when, as a result of the elections of 1894, I succeeded to the chairmanship of the Committee on Military Affairs, I at once undertook to secure the passage of a reorganization Bill. There was no trouble with the Committee in the Fifty-fourth Congress; and we promptly reported what is called the Lamont Bill. It added two regiments of artillery, made necessary by our coast defences, and reorganized the infantry into three battalions. The total of the enlisted force of the army under this Bill was 30,000,—an increase of only 5,000 men. The Bill never had a chance of becoming law. There seemed to be a deep-seated conviction that 30,000 men, enlisted from citizens of the Republic, would be a menace to the liberty of 70,000,000 of their fellow-citizens. The heroic service of the army in defending our frontier and blazing the way for our settlers, and the brave battles fought by our army in every war since its organization, should have been sufficient to allay such fears. The reflection on the courage of our people, made by the charge that so small an army could ever become dangerous to the nation, had no weight.

When the Fifty-fifth Congress was organized the work of securing reorganization of the army was again taken up, but on different lines. It was based on a three-battalion formation, but provided that, in time of peace, in the infantry arm of the service only two battalions should be organized; two companies of each regiment to remain skeletonized; and two companies of the third battalion to be unorganized. This made no change in the enlisted strength of the army in time of peace, except the addition of twenty-five majors. The bill followed the recommendation of the best military experts, by providing in time of war for the expansion of infantry companies from about sixty men to one hundred and fifty, and a possible two hundred and fifty men; left the

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cavalry company at one hundred men; made the heavy artillery company two hundred men, and the light artillery one hundred and seventy-three men. In time of war, the President was authorized to organize the third battalion of infantry. On the conclusion of peace, the enlisted strength of the army was to be reduced to the number then authorized by law, which, with the two new regiments of artillery, authorized by a separate Bill, amounted to 26,610 men.

If the Bill had passed when first before the House, it would have been much more effective, valuable time would have been saved, and before May 1 our army could have driven the Spaniards out of Cuba. But the National Guard became violently excited. Without waiting to learn the true object of the Bill, the Guard officers of many States commenced a war, not only on the Bill, but also on the chairman of the Committee; and telegrams and letters were at once sent to members of Congress urging them to defeat the Hull Bill. Neither arguments nor reason could stem the tide. Members would state that they knew nothing about the merits of the Bill, but that they had a telegram from a general or colonel of their Guard urging them to defeat it; and no amendment or concession on my part would avail. The opinions of Grant, Sherman, Schofield, and Miles did not have the slightest weight when put in the balance against an officer of the State militia. The great generals had no votes; the militia officer had votes back of him with which to enforce his demands.

I was greatly discouraged, but concluded to make one more effort, and to begin on militia officers. So I telegraphed to the Governors of the States where the greatest opposition was found, to send to Washington the best Guard or militia officer for conference on army matters. Most of the Governors complied with my request; and, as I remember now, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Maryland were represented. These officers soon found that in case of war their superior State organization would be worthless to them, as, under the Federal law, volunteer regiments must conform to the regular army organization before they could be mustered into the service. A conference was also held at the War Department. Secretary Alger asked for a vote on the Bill which I submitted; and it was unanimously voted that it should at once become law.

The main contention has been over the infantry arm of the service; but a violent opposition to the seemingly large increase of the artillery companies has also been developed. There was no attempt to change the organization of the artillery arm, as none is needed. The fight was on

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the increased number of men in a company. The men who had fought in the Civil War believed that there was no sense in the increase. Batteries, they claimed, had been well handled in the Civil War with only half as many men in a battery. They did not know of the wonderful changes that had occurred in artillery; and few, if any, had ever seen one of our great disappearing coast-defence guns. In the sixties, heavy batteries could be managed by a few men, while now it takes eleven sergeants, five corporals, and sixty-six privates for one relief of two 10-inch or 12-inch guns. In time of war, trained men must guard these great guns day and night, or we might as well abandon the theory of coast defence. Two minutes' delay in firing at a ship going at a speed of even sixteen miles an hour will defeat all chance to render the shot effective. Lieut. Wilcox, a most accomplished young artillery officer, was called in, and, among other things, said:

"The proposed organization is imperatively necessary, however, for other and different reasons. Few people realize the vast amount of preparation necessary to fire a shot so that it will strike the target. The gun must be served and aimed, of course; but not only that, it must while in action be continuously supplied with ammunition. This ammunition must first be prepared. But this is not all. A shot that misses is worse than a shot wasted, and so the most accurate information possible must be obtained in order to aim the piece as it should be aimed, if we would hit the enemy's ship. This information is furnished, as everyone knows, by the range-finders; and the range-finder service calls not only for the observers themselves, but for telegraph and telephone operators, to transmit the observations to the guns. Furthermore, these observations will have to be immediately applied to the determination of the probable direction of motion of the vessel—the usual case in action between ships and forts. The list of auxiliary services is not yet exhausted, however.

In a first-class sea-coast work a very considerable use of power, whether steam, electric, or water, will have to be made. We must then have the necessary personnel for handling the power. To illustrate: If we use steam, we must have engineers and firemen; if electricity in addition to the steam generators, we must have electricians for the dynamos, search and other electric lights, and for the electric appliances in general; and, in general, a modern high-power gun being in reality a machine, it is clear that each battery must have machinists able to keep the carriages and other mechanical appliances in condition and to repair them when necessary. Each of the auxiliary duties mentioned must have its special detail of men, and each, moreover, must have two reliefs, just as the men serving the actual piece. One engineer, for example, could not be expected to be in attendance continually upon his engine.

So far only the fighting elements of the battery have been brought forward; but there are others quite as important and quite as necessary to the efficiency of the battery. The men must be fed and clothed; their material wants in general provided for; the position must be guarded and policed; the barracks and public property generally cared for; and all these duties must be performed without trenching on the fighting-strength of the battery, for otherwise it will not reach its highest efficiency, and it is the highest efficiency that the country expects and is entitled to expect."

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The light battery was also fully explained; and all opposition to this branch of the subject disappeared. The country at large should understand that a raw recruit is of little use in a coast-defence battery. It takes months, even under most skilful officers, to educate men in this branch of the service; and if Congress will not increase the artillery arm of the service in time of peace, we may as well cut off further improvement in our coast defence. To spend a hundred million dollars in erecting great batteries, and then to have no one competent to manage them, is a folly too great to be tolerated.

So far as organization of regiments was concerned, this Bill, as it finally became law, was identical with the first. The companies are the same, except that in the infantry arm the enlisted men of a company should be 106. In officers it was the same, except that a second lieutenant was provided for each company of infantry when recruited to 150, and two extra lieutenants, in place of one, were given to each battery. These changes could have been easily made in the first Bill on the floor. In fact, in opening the debate, I suggested that, if the infantry company were considered to be too large, I would not oppose an amendment. When the Bill again came before the House, there was but little opposition; and it is now law.

One provision of the bill has proved unfortunate. A proviso to Section 3 says, among other things, that volunteer companies shall contain, "so far as practicable," the number of enlisted men authorized in this Act for each arm of the service. I supposed the word "practicable" would mean substantially the same number; but the Governors of States did not wish to leave out any regiment of the organized militia, and, by bringing the entire force of the Congressional delegations of their States to bear on the War Department, secured a rule that even sixty-five men to a company was a compliance with the law. The result is a much larger number of regiments than should have been organized, and less efficiency. All writers agree that two-thirds of the strength of a company is all that can be counted on as available; so that with a company of sixty-five privates, it will not be possible, as a rule, to put more than forty men on the fighting-line. This makes an enormously expensive organization. A regiment twelve hundred strong costs no more in officers than one of eight hundred, and is much more efficient. I hope that, before we have another war, this evil will be corrected.

Another Bill passed by this Congress provides for the organization of volunteers. It is a permanent law. The two Bills will hereafter

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enable the President in time of war to organize at once an army, by expanding the regular army to 61,000, and by calling into the service as many volunteers as he may desire, without awaiting the slow action of Congress.

The Reorganization Bill is not what it should have been; but it is a great improvement on anything the country has ever had. The three battalions should be organized in peace as well as in war; and the infantry should have three majors.

I sincerely hope that the result of bringing the National Guard into the national service will show the necessity of having the regular army so organized that every State will conform to that organization. If this be done, the volunteers can be mustered into the United States service as organized; and all the friction and jealousy and delay now experienced will be avoided. JOHN A. T. HULL.

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CUBA, AND ITS VALUE AS A COLONY.

IT is interesting to consider the exact value of the island which this country, notwithstanding several offers of purchase, and in the face of ultimate destiny, has officially declared it does not wish to acquire, and on whose account it is now involved in a war that may cost many millions.

To convey a correct impression of the natural and economic conditions of the tropical and South American countries and their inhabitants, is a difficult task. We judge these neighbors by the standards of our own customs and occupations, which are those of an entirely different environment. The climate, geological structure, products of the soil, and configuration of these lands—upon which culture depends—are so different from our own, and so misunderstood, that I approach the subject in hand with diffidence.

We are prone vaguely to class together all the peoples and vast countries of the American Mediterranean beyond the borders of the United States. Yet nowhere in the world are so many extremes of natural conditions, population, and government to be found. In this region, as elsewhere, configuration and fertility of soil are the first considerations that influence productivity; while the quality of political organization conditions the degree of civilization. Nowhere do localities present such contrasts. Here are lands which have grown up through the agency of the coral-reef builders, eminences piled up by vast volcanic extrusions, high plateaus, and mountain ridges of the lifted and folded sediments of the ocean's floor, each of which, together with modifications of altitude and climate, produces a soil differing from the others in agricultural and economic possibilities. The reef-veneered Barbados, the volcanic areas of Central America and the Windward Islands, and the high, arid plateau of Mexico, respectively, are types of these contrasting lands; while the Great Antilles are peculiar combinations of all.

There is an impression that the peoples of these countries are either negro or Spanish, and that despotism or anarchy, due to the character of the inhabitants rather than to environment and administration, are the prevalent political conditions. In these heterogeneous conceptions

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the predominantly Indian population of Mexico, the negroes of Haiti, and the white Creoles of the islands are indiscriminately considered together. The truth is that this region, more than any other part of the world, presents a remarkable example of the combined influences upon mankind of geography, race, and government, and is practically a great sociological laboratory, where many human species are being differentiated.

It is true that some people of Spanish descent, in countries like Colombia, Honduras, and San Salvador,—where population is scattered and separated by topographic obstacles fatal to the establishment of strong governments,—are normally in revolt. There are other Spanish-American republics which, in comparison with the government of the European country from which they seceded, are fair models of stability and prosperity, such as Costa Rica,—where capital punishment has been abolished,—which is normally as peaceful as Acadia, and boasts that it has never had a war. Argentina and Chile are also countries worthy of consideration; while the gigantic strides by which Mexico, since freed from European interference, has changed from a land of revolution and banditti to the home of a prosperous, industrial, and commercial nation, present one of the most gratifying spectacles of the closing years of the century.

The conditions of the tropical countries in which the negro race prevails are better than is generally supposed. The experience of the Haitians causes us to overlook the fact that other negro populations, such as those of Jamaica and Barbados,—where the blacks outnumber the whites in the proportion of 50 to 1,—under beneficent English colonial control, present most orderly examples. The Haitians, however, have made more progress than is usually credited to them. Of these tropical countries and peoples, we are now chiefly concerned with Cuba, with a secondary interest in Porto Rico—the only islands of the West Indies where the white race has become acclimated and numerically dominant, and whose political administrations have been most disturbed, despite their superior natural resources.

Cuba is the fairest and most fertile of the tropical lands; and, by its economic development during the four centuries of European occupation, has fully justified the title, "The Pearl of the Antilles," first given to it by Columbus. Its capital still deserves the motto of its coat of arms, "The Key of the New World." So far as wealth and lay of soil are concerned, Cuba is superior to the rest of the tropical lands, with the possible exception of Porto Rico. It has but a small propor-

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tion of untillable declivities and rocky areas, such as are found in England; no fields of sterile, volcanic débris, such as occur in the Central American lands; no arid areas, like those which make up so large a proportion of Mexico and the western half of the United States; no stretches of sterile, sandy lands, like those of Florida and other coastal Southern States. Its proportion of swamp-lands is less than that of the average American seaboard State. The whole island is mantled with rich soils,—fertile, calcareous loams, which, under constant humidity, yield in abundance every form of useful vegetation of the tropical and temperate climes. The configuration and geological formations are diversified; and there is a variety of economic resources, both agricultural and mineral, convenient to an extensive littoral, with numerous harbors affording excellent anchorage.

Its essential geographic features are as follows: Area, including 1,200 adjacent cays, 45,000 square miles,—slightly less than that of the State of New York,—of which 10 per cent is cultivated, 4 per cent forest land, and the remainder, for the most part, unreclaimed wilderness. Its length is nearly seven times that of Long Island, and stretches between the longitudes of New York and Cincinnati—a distance of seven hundred and twenty miles. Its width is everywhere less than one hundred miles. As regards diversity of relief, its eastern end is mountainous, with summits standing high above the adjacent sea; its middle portion is wide, consisting of gently sloping plains, which form a continuous field of sugar-cane, well drained, high above the sea, and broken here and there by low, forest-clad hills; and its western third is a picturesque region of mountains, with fertile slopes and valleys, of different structure and lower altitude than those of the east. It is in this last district only that the aromatic tobaccos which have made the island famous are grown. Over the whole is a mantle of tender vegetation, rich in every hue that a flora of more than three thousand species can give, and kept green by mists and gentle rains. Indenting the rock-bound coasts are a hundred pouch-shaped harbors, such as are but rarely found in the other islands and shores of the American Mediterranean, and resembling St. Lucia, for which England gave up the rich islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, under the Treaties of Paris.

A century before the Anglo-Saxon found foothold in the New World, Spaniards led by Diego, the son of Columbus, colonized Cuba and built the cities of Baracoa and Havana. The earlier centuries of colonization were first marked by a fruitless search for gold, little of which was found, except as personal ornaments of the natives, who

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enslaved and finally exterminated. Pastoral pursuits soon developed. Before the end of a century the cultivation of tobacco, an indigenous product, and cane imported from the Canaries, was begun, and African slavery introduced. During this first century the island was also the seat of great maritime activity, from which the explorations of the mother-land proceeded. Morro, Punti, and other fortresses, which to-day stand in danger of annihilation, were begun before 1600.

The second century of the settlement of Cuba was marked by increasing agricultural development and colonization, but was disturbed by the constant fear of English buccaneers and French and Dutch pirates, who made the coastal cities their frequent prey. During this time the walls and primitive fortifications of Havana, Matanzas, and other cities interesting to the traveller, were built.

Similar conditions continued during the third century of European occupation. These ended in 1762 in the notable capture of Havana by the English under Lord Albemarle, who, assisted by American colonial troops, overcame the superior Spanish army and captured spoils amounting to $4,000,000.

The Treaty of Paris (1763) restored Cuba to the Spanish; and from that time until 1834 the island saw its greatest prosperity. The rich soil yielded its harvests of tropical products; and ships, laden with precious cargoes, sailed from its hundred ports. The island itself, in those days of wooden craft, became a centre of ship-building. To Las Casas, who arrived as Captain-General in 1790, is attributed the greater part of this brilliant epoch in Cuban history. He promoted, with indefatigable perseverance, a series of public works, including nearly all those now found upon the island; he established botanical gardens and schools of agriculture, sought far and wide for suitable plants for profitable culture, and, as far as possible, removed the trammels imposed upon commerce by the old system of privilege and restriction.

Owing to the wise administration of Las Casas, and its influences which were felt after his departure, Cuba's allegiance to the Spanish Crown was maintained during the times (1794 to 1820) that witnessed the loss to Spain of her continental colonies and Santo Domingo, and the terrible Haitian revolt against the French. It was this loyalty which caused Cuba to be termed the "Ever-faithful Island," a loyalty attested, in July, 1808,—when news reached Havana that Napoleon had overthrown the Spanish dynasty,—by the unanimous and patriotic action of the municipal corporations, which took oath to hold the island for the deposed sovereign, and declared war against Napoleon.

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This patriotism was but poorly rewarded by the mother-country; for, beginning with that very year, she initiated the unwise policy of sending to Cuba as captains-general men imbued with no motive other than that of reaping from its revenues private fortunes with which to return to Spain. These men were armed with absolute authority. A few of them were honorable and noble: others, by their acts, covered their names with infamy.

By the decree of 1825, which still constitutes the fundamental law of Cuba, the captains-general were armed with a despotic authority such as is known in no other Christian country. This enabled them to arrest, banish, execute, or otherwise punish any resident of the island whom they suspected; and later the decree was supplemented by authority to set aside the judgments of the highest courts. These acts deprived the inhabitants of all political, civil, and religious liberty, and practically excluded them from public office.

The result was an end to domestic peace, and the initiation of uprisings which have continued at intervals since the conspiracy of the "Black Eagle" in 1829. The insurrection of the black population in 1844, the conspiracy of Narciso Lopez, and his three landings from the United States in 1848, 1850, and 1851, respectively, and the revolutions of 1868 and 1895 have all resulted from wrongs inflicted by an ungrateful mother-country upon a colony that had proved in a time of general revolution the most loyal of all her dependencies.

The period of prosperity initiated by Las Casas completely ended upon the appearance, in 1836, of Capt.-Gen. Taçon, one of the Spanish officers who survived defeat in the wars of the South and Central American colonies for independence. Soured by previous defeats, he inaugurated a system of greed and violence. He has been thus graphically described by Mr. Clarence King in this magazine:

"Taçon was a true type of the Spanish oppressor, born with a contempt for everything but force, and hardened by the omnipotence of his Spanish commission."[1]

During his term of office he was as severe with native Cubans as he was lenient with old Spaniards, who alone were appointed to offices of profit or honor. This policy created the breach between Cubans and Spaniards, which has increased with years.

While this soldier was in full power, news of the constitution proclaimed in Spain reached Cuba (September 27, 1836). A move was made by the Cubans to secure their just share of the liberties accorded

[1] "Shall Cuba be Free?" by CLARENCE KING, in THE FORUM for September, 1895, p. 54.

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to Spaniards; but Taçon decreed that no change should be made without his express orders. Taxation grew from year to year, and persecution of the Creole Cubans increased. The Spaniards meanwhile profitably prosecuted the slave-trade, notwithstanding that the importation of Africans was forbidden by the Law of 1820. In 1848 many arrests were made on suspicion of a plot among the slaves about Matanzas against the white people. Officers of the permanent military commission closely examined many persons: but, as interrogation failed to fix responsibility, the prosecution resorted to torture and the block; flogging the unwilling witnesses, who were stretched head downward on a ladder. This process, first applied to slaves, soon extended to the free colored people and then to the whites. The Commission executed, condemned to hard labor, banished, and imprisoned 3,076 people. This iniquitous proceeding was the cause of the first revolutionary movements led by Gen. Narciso Lopez in 1848, of the expeditions of 1849 and 1851, and of Quitman's expedition of 1855.

After 1851 a party—the forerunner of the present autonomists—sprang up, desirous of coming to a settlement, to insure the rights of the colony without impairing the interests of Spain. After protracted efforts, it succeeded in obtaining an inquiry at Madrid into the reforms needed by Cuba; but the only alteration decreed was a new system of taxation more oppressive than the former.

After the suppression of the revolts in 1855 another brief era of prosperity was inaugurated, and continued until the great insurrection of 1868, which lasted ten years. Spanish losses during this decade, as reported at the office at Madrid, were 208,000 men; Spain's forces against the insurgents, 257,000 men; Cuban losses, from 40,000 to 50,000 men; the outlay on both sides, $300,000,000; and the value of property destroyed amounted to an equal sum.

At the close of this devastating war Cuba had almost gained her freedom; but, seduced by the ever-deceiving diplomacy of Spain, the careworn leaders laid down their arms under promises of autonomy and self-government similar to those which have been used less effectively to quell the present revolt. Hardly had the insurgents returned to their homes when Spain, unmindful of her promises, resumed her tyrannical methods of administration and of oppression of the native people; and soon the latter had lost all the prestige gained by arms. By 1894, the year before the present revolution began, the despotism of the Spanish officials had become more unendurable than ever. During this year of tranquillity the writer, while visiting the island, witnessed with amaze-

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ment the operations of Spain's colonial government, administered by a horde of carpet-bag officials upheld by vigorous military law, without one thought for the welfare of the natives or the improvement of the island.

At this time the population of Cuba was 1,631,400, or about the same as that of Vermont, Virginia, North Carolina, or Wisconsin. This population had steadily increased from 715,000 in 1825. Sixty-five per cent of the people were descendants of the aristocracy or sturdy peasantry of Castile, Andalusia, Catalonia, and other provinces of Spain, who, while of Spanish blood, had, through adaptation to environment, developed into a race as distinct from the Spaniard as is the Virginian from the Englishman. The remainder were mostly of African descent.

This population averaged about thirty-six to the square mile,—equalling that of Michigan. Contrary to what has been represented, they were as a class neither ignorant nor lazy. The higher classes, as in New England, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Louisiana, were gentlemen of education and refinement, skilled in agriculture, and often learned in the arts and professions. Some dwelt in picturesque cities, the largest of which, Havana, with the refinement and gayety of a European capital, had a population numerically equal to that of Washington. Santiago, the Eastern city of picturesque villas, was as populous as Atlanta, Nashville, Lowell, or Fall River. There were many other cities each with more than 25,000 inhabitants.[1]

The remainder lived upon 100,000 ranches, farms, and plantations, valued at $200,000,000, which, besides supplying the food necessities of the island, with the exception of salt meats and bread-stuffs, yielded a surplus, valued at $90,000,000, for export.

The wealth of Cuba consisted mainly in enormous products of sugar and tobacco, which constituted 90 per cent of the total exports. Sugar was grown chiefly in the great central plains of Havana and Matanzas, which formed practically an unbroken field of cane. It was also abundant in the provinces to the east. This product in the fiscal year 1892–1893 amounted to 815,894 tons; in 1893–1894, 1,054,214 tons; in 1894–1895, 1,004,264 tons, and in 1895–96, 225,221 tons, all of which, except 30,000 tons per annum, was exported.

The main seat of tobacco-culture was in the Western province, Pinar del Rio, although quantities were grown throughout the island.

[1] The population of the principal cities was as follows: Havana, 200,000; Matanzas (1892), 27,000; Santiago de Cuba, 71,307; Cienfuegos (1892), 27,430; Puerto Principe, 46,641; Holguin, 84,767; Sancti Spiritu, 32,608; Cardenas (1892), 23,680.

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Much of this was manufactured into cigars, cigarettes, and snuff; giving employment to a large proportion of the population of Havana. The average tobacco crop was estimated at 560,000 bales of 110 pounds each, of which 438,000 bales were exported as leaf, and the remainder manufactured in Havana into cigars and cigarettes. In 1897 the total product was reduced to 30,000 bales, or about one-nineteenth of the ordinary crop. The island also yielded Indian corn, coffee, oranges, bananas, pineapples, and other tropical fruits; manioc, rice, and many vegetables; poultry and live stock.

The mineral resources of Cuba are of secondary importance. Gold and silver have been found, but never in quantities sufficient to repay the labor of search. The gold sent to Spain from the island by the early settlers was probably the wealth of the aborigines accumulated in previous centuries by trade with other islands. In 1827 silver and copper were discovered in the Province of Santa Clara. The first ores yielded one hundred and forty ounces to the ton; but the productivity diminished, and the mines were abandoned. Rich copper-mines have been worked in the eastern part of the island near Santiago; but they have been abandoned of late years. Fifty tons of ore were taken out daily in 1868, the richer part of which was broken up and shipped to Europe, while the poorer was smelted at the works. Copper is also reported from other localities. Marbles and jasper, of various colors and susceptible of high polish, are found in many places. Salt of fine quality abounds on the northern cays. Notwithstanding frequent assertions to the contrary, there is no coal in Cuba. A rich asphaltum resembling this mineral has been mistaken for it. This occurs in quantities near Villa Clara and will ultimately prove of great value.

The chief minerals of the island are the iron ore and manganese, which occur in quantities near Santiago, where the iron has been worked for several years by Pennsylvania capital. This ore is consumed entirely in the United States, and constitutes the main bulk of the mineral exports, which in 1892 amounted to $3,500,000. In 1891, 296 mining titles, with an extent of 13,727 hectares, were issued. Of the mines reported and claimed, 138 were iron, 88 manganese, and 53 copper.

Manufactures of all kinds, except tobacco, have been discouraged by Spain's unwise colonial policy.

The commerce of Cuba is relatively enormous. It consists of exports of raw material and manufactured tobacco, and imports of all bread-stuffs, salt meats, machinery, hardware, leather goods, textiles,

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and table luxuries; including all manufactured articles whatsoever, except tobacco.

The normal commerce of the island is best illustrated by a typical year. In 1892 the exports were valued at $89,500,000; the imports at $56,250,000. The balance of trade in favor of the island was, therefore, $33,250,000. This could be maintained under ordinary conditions of government, and enhanced by creating trade with adjacent islands. Of the exports $85,000,000 were classified as vegetable, $3,500,000 as mineral, and $750,000 as animal.[1] The vegetable exports included 241,300 bales of tobacco (one bale = 110 lbs.), 155,000,000 cigars, and 1,000,000 tons of sugar. The minor exports were: rum, 10,000 pipes; beeswax, bananas, honey, mahogany and other woods, valued in all at $2,000,000. The tonnage of Havana, Cienfuegos, and eight other principal ports, for 1894, was 3,538,539 tons, carried by 3,181 vessels.

The essentials of this commerce are: (1) a large balance of trade in favor of the island; (2) the preponderating consumption of the exports by the United States; (3) the division of the imports between the United States, Great Britain, and Spain (the trade of the latter being maintained by discriminative duties against the other countries); (4) the absence of trade with the neighboring regions—except the United States—of which the island is the natural commercial centre. Even the traveller who wishes to go from Cuba to any of these countries, except Porto Rico or Mexico, must ordinarily first proceed to New York.

The trade relations with the United States are shown by the following tables. These figures also show the effects of the present insurrection upon our commerce:

IMPORTS TO CUBA FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Imports.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Bread-stuffs.....	$2,305,031	$3,512,207	$3,164,541	$1,569,010	$774,792
Provisions.....	4,919,362	6,911,123	6,091,884	3,855,676	2,927,629
Iron and steel, and manufactures of	4,567,406	6,936,755	4,958,097	2,850,022	860,420
Wood and manufactures of.....	1,423,985	1,726,961	1,440,096	693,033	460,639
Fuel and illuminants.....	1,553,500	1,479,663	1,471,989	968,249	1,602,168
Miscellaneous....	2,853,127	3,590,989	2,998,764	2,871,671	905,232
Totals	$17,622,411	$24,157,698	$20,125,321	$12,807,661	$7,530,880

[1] Mostly hides, beeswax, and bones.

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EXPORTS FROM CUBA TO THE UNITED STATES.

Exports.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Sugar and molasses	$62,642,399	$62,117,665	$64,295,897	$40,872,497	$24,229,309
Tobacco	10,802,690	11,727,088	7,880,468	9,275,980	12,707,352
Bananas	1,535,951	1,641,387	1,277,406	826,615	929,865
Dyes, woods, hides, wax, asphaltum, cocoanuts, etc.	2,950,631	3,220,376	1,224,290	1,876,167	2,151,204
Totals	$77,931,671	78,706,516	$74,678,061	$52,851,259	$40,017,730

It is estimated that the United States consumes from 80 to 90 per cent of the entire exports of Cuba—in fact, nearly everything, except the cigars,—which are world-wide in their distribution; including practically all the raw material. In return for this outlay, however, Cuba purchases only one-fourth of her goods from our country; including, principally, those necessities which cannot be procured from Spain, such as bread-stuffs, salt meats, and machinery. Furthermore, the United States is about the only neighbor of commercial importance against which the rates of the maximum tariff are enforced. As these rates are in some cases much higher than the conventional duties granted by the second- and third-class tariffs, our products have been to that extent placed at a disadvantage.

The net revenues of the island are of two kinds: (1) The balance of trade against the world, which amounts on the average to $30,000,000 annually; and (2) the duties on foreign imports, which have averaged $15,000,000 annually,—a sum that would, under any other government, be ample for administration and public improvements.

During the past three years, by means of subsidized agents and a press bureau, Spanish statecraft has ably endeavored to deceive American public opinion with the statement that the island had yielded no profit to the mother-country. The brief outline I have given of the resources of the island, together with the following facts, will show the falsity of this assertion, and demonstrate that something more than traditional Spanish pride has caused Spain to cling so tenaciously to her rebellious colony. Up to the outbreak of the present revolution, the island had been a source of enormous revenue to Spain, and would have continued to be so, had it not been for greed and neglect.

The financial value of Cuba to Spain has been the absorption of all

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the balance of trade by Spanish merchants, and the personal profits derived by the Spanish civil and military officials. Although Spanish trade with Cuba has been gradually declining, its value in the past is shown by the fact that, in 1854, Spain's exports to Cuba exceeded those sent in 1792 to all her American colonies, which then included nearly half the settled hemisphere. The gain of the merchants of recent times included the profits to the shippers of Cadiz and Barcelona, who sent annually to Cuba articles valued at $25,000,000, and those to the local merchants, who absorbed annually the $30,000,000 representing the balance of trade in Cuba's favor. The profits to the active official classes, not including the fruits of bribery, are estimated at about $15,000,000, besides Cuba's contributions to pensioners in Spain—a tidy sum for supporting the luxurious leisure of these classes.

The following figures will show the truth of my statements: Some of the official revenues, one-half of which are derived from customs, the remainder from numerous species of direct taxation, have been: 1825, $5,722,198; 1867, $33,000,000; 1869, $52,500,000; 1877, $60,000,000; 1879, $54,000,000; 1884, $34,269,410; estimated revenue for 1893–1894, $24,440,759; for 1897–1898, $24,755,760. The disposition of the $34,269,410 of revenues raised by taxation in 1884 shows clearly how it was diverted to Spanish profit. Of this sum, $12,574,485 was paid for old military debts incurred by Spain in suppressing Cuban outbreaks, and otherwise riveting the shackles of tyranny upon the Cuban people; $5,904,084 for the ministry of war; $14,595,096, or nearly one-half the revenue, for supporting Spaniards, as follows: Pensions of Spanish officers, $468,000; pay of retired Spanish officers, $918,500; salary of Governor-General, $50,000; salaries of colonial officials (all Spaniards), $10,115,420; church and clergy (all Spaniards), $379,757; military decorations (to Spaniards only), $5,000; pay of gendarmerie (all Spaniards), $2,537,119; expenses of Spain's diplomatic representatives to all American countries except the United States, $121,300. This left $1,195,745 for the ordinary administration of the island, such as education, public works, sanitation, the judiciary, etc.; but if any of the sum was so expended, there are no visible monuments in evidence of the fact. There is a well-grounded suspicion that most of this sum reached the pockets of the officials. It may be said that in round numbers twenty-six and one-half millions of dollars have been annually contributed by Cuba to the profit of the people of the mother-country, and devoted to purposes by which the island has been in no way benefited.

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In addition to the personal enrichment of *intransigente* Spanish citizens, pensioners, and officials, during the present century, Cuba has contributed immense sums directly to the Spanish treasury. Over $5,000,000 was officially given to the Peninsula during the Napoleonic wars, besides personal contributions from the islanders of the same amount. From 1827 to 1864 an aggregate of $89,000,000 was sent in annual instalments, reaching, in 1860, as high as $29,500,000. Spain may have spent these sums and more in the maintenance of her authority over the island; but this should be charged to her own account rather than to that of Cuba. Since 1867, little or no money has been contributed to the royal treasury; but the Spaniards have still continued individually to profit enormously by the salary list and compulsory trade regulations.

Of all the vast sums collected, there is no evidence that any part of them has been devoted to the development and civilization of the island. No public works or highways have been constructed, education has been neglected, and, for lack of ordinary sanitation, pestilence and disease have been permitted to flourish. Cuba, under perpetual misgovernment, has seen her trade decrease, her crops reduced, her Creoles deserting to the United States and the Spanish republics, and her taxes trebled in vain, to meet the ever-increasing expenses and floating debts.

England, in the wisdom of her government, has distributed colonies throughout the world, given them the fullest limit of self-government and preserved the patriotism and loyalty of their people, has opened their commerce to all nations upon equal grounds, and has demanded of them not one cent of tribute. Her colonial system is the highest practical manifestation of the civilization of the age. The colonial policy of Spain toward Cuba has been the antithesis of this in every respect.

The first generation of Spanish-born immigrants cry as loudly in protestation against the exactions of the mother-country as do the oldest Creole families. Their commerce is restricted; their industrial development is prohibited; their resources are exhausted; and their health, lives, and liberties are forfeited to uphold the effete institutions of a decrepit and incapable mother-country. Not a single motive of civilization can be detected in Spain's treatment of this colony during the past century. To her, since the loss of her American possessions, the island has had no political or strategic value. In this respect the island has merely been an irritating and useless organ.

The United States has long endured this nuisance at its doors. While consuming all the products of the island, and thereby indirectly

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furnishing the means for Spain's cupidity, our commercial interests have been afflicted and heavily taxed, our citizens and country insulted by arrogant officials, and our Southern seaboard inflicted with epidemics which need not have existed. Notwithstanding the affinities of the Cuban population with our institutions, and the strategic importance of the island relative to our Caribbean and Isthmian interests, we have, until the present war, carefully avoided giving affront to Spain, and have endured her taunts with forbearance. When the smoke of battle shall have cleared away, Cuba will be free of Spanish government. Whether the island will remain an independent nation, or ultimately unite its destinies with ours, cannot be told. Personally, I believe that every native-born Cuban is at heart an insurgent, and every insurgent an annexationist, as silently indicated in the flag whose stars and stripes are an adaptation of ours. Whatever the result,—independence, annexation, or a protectorate,—it will be a distinct gain for Cuba, for the New World, and for civilization. With the retirement of the Spanish flag, Cuba's commerce will be unfettered, its industry promoted, its agriculture increased, and its healthfulness improved.

The battle of Cavité not only marked the end of four centuries of Spanish colonial rapine, but ended our internecine quibbles, and aroused the American nation to the appreciation of its importance as one of the great factors in the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the world.

ROBERT T. HILL.

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THE WAR FOR CUBA.

In much the same measure that the Civil War was a war for the negro, the present war with Spain is a war for the Cuban. Nominally, the first was a war for the preservation of the Union: nominally, this is a war for the vindication of the national honor, the deliverance of the United States from an intolerable nuisance and menace, and the protection of important American interests. As an immediate occasion, the destruction of the battleship "Maine" answers to the firing on Fort Sumter. In the army and navy, in official circles at Washington, and among the people, I find the belief completely established that there would have been no war, but for the destruction of the "Maine." But there is, in the case of most wars, an underlying popular grievance, sentiment, or strong impulse, slow-moving at first and finally becoming swift and irresistible, which, when history makes up its record, is found to transcend in significance all official and nominal causes of war. The Abolition sentiment really made the Civil War possible. In the broad, sentimental, permanent sense, it really was a war for the negro. When the world thinks now of the war of 1870 between Germany and France, it thinks no more of the quarrel over the Spanish throne, but recalls the picture of a vast and young-hearted German nation believing itself to be united at last, with a prodigious mission in the world, and feeling within itself an impulse toward the Rhine no less irresistible than that which drove Attila and his hordes toward Rome.

Sentiment rules all great events. A national sentiment, possibly ill-founded, but, I believe, deeply humane, in behalf of "Free Cuba," underlies the present war. Yet, so far as the Cubans are known at all in the United States, I find that they are commonly despised. I have lately been among the Cubans in Florida; and at Key West and Tampa, in the midst of scenes of warlike excitement, I have had opportunity to study the bearing toward these Cubans of men of the army and navy, and also of American people of the more conspicuous grades of civil life. This bearing is absolutely contemptuous. Almost invariably the Cubans are given by the Americans about them a reputation

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for untruthfulness and cowardice. No faith is put by the men of the army and navy in their coöperation in this conflict. Their physical and mental qualities are regarded as thoroughly inferior. Little attention is paid them by the Americans of the Florida towns; and their life goes on apart from and beneath that of the Americans. Their faces and lives impress the sensitive beholder with their deep pathos; yet they are not gloomy in their lives, nor so grave of aspect as the ordinary Spaniard. They are conscious of the contempt with which individual Americans regard them, and aware that the sentiment of the Spaniards toward them as a race has never been and cannot be more uncomplimentary than the sentiment of the Americans about them. Nevertheless, they bear themselves with calm and friendly courtesy toward their American neighbors, accept with gratitude the official expressions of sympathy with them, and go on enthusiastically rather than actively in their campaign of continuous assistance to the cause of their brothers at home.

Key West and Tampa have been the Southern centres of their revolutionary activity. Visiting these towns in quest of information concerning them, I have been unable to find any autonomists among them. They are all in sympathy with the insurrection. The proposition is apparently true that the only advocates of Cuban autonomy among the Cubans are those who are within the Spanish lines. Put them outside the Spanish lines, and they become revolutionists at once. This fact seems to negative the assertion that only a minority of native Cubans are in sympathy with the insurrection. In Key West and Tampa the unanimity of sentiment seems to be absolute. If an independent Cuban state be established, the cradle of its liberty will lie outside its borders, in Key West. A hall in that town was the scene of the first meeting of disaffected Cubans, such as Marti, Maceo, and others, which resulted in the fomenting of the insurrection. In this building, at the present time, the Cubans of Key West maintain a semi-weekly operatic performance, the entire receipts from which are applied to the support of the insurrection. The Cuban people of Key West patronize these performances with sufficient liberality to make their receipts a notable item in the revolutionary budget. We can perhaps gain an idea of the difference between Americans of the United States and the Cubans by fancying the leaders of the American Revolution going outside of the country to find their Faneuil Hall and to organize their insurrection, and supporting it, when started, by the aid of operatic performances. If the fancy helps us to gain an idea of the

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Cuban character which may not be flattering to its force and boldness, it shows the Cubans at the same time to be a people having philosophy enough to get some amusement with their sacrifices, and persistence enough not to give up a cause which they have embarked in.

It is of interest to note what the moiety of the population of Cuba which may be properly called "Cuban" is like. This moiety does not include the natives of Spain in the island, nor many of the children of these Spaniards. As a rule—though there are distinguished exceptions—the children of Spaniards repudiate the Cuban name even more earnestly than the native Spaniards themselves do. Nor does the moiety include the negroes, though for the most part these people sympathize with the insurrection. Those who call themselves and are Cubans represent the only instance in which a European race on any large scale has completely adapted itself to existence in a tropical climate without perceptible admixture of indigenous blood. The prevailing color of the Cuban race is very dark—much darker than the average color of Spaniards. They have not derived this depth of color from the negro race, which still remains one apart in Cuba; nor were they affected, as the Minorcans in Florida were, by the remnant of native Indian population left in the country after the conquest. Their type seems to be accounted for by the circumstance that the blood of the great Mediterranean race, to which Southern Spaniards and Southern Italians, as well as the Berbers and Kabyles of Africa, belong, proved fittest for adaptation to the conditions of life in Cuba, and that the fairer element was gradually eliminated. The Cuban race, I think ethnologists will agree, is merely a successful adaptation of the Mediterranean race to conditions of existence in a tropical American land; nevertheless, it has sufficiently cut adrift from its origin to receive a certain stamp of distinctness, and to have forgotten its race-loyalty to the mother-people.

The claim to a distinct position, which this process of development may be said to have established, has not been respected by the Spanish rulers of Cuba any more than the fact that the people of Mexico were an Indian people, with a special character and special needs and aspirations, was respected. Certain advantages gave the Mexicans an early opportunity to avenge this disregard with the achievement of their independence. Similar conditions in Cuba tended as inevitably to revolt there; for the Spanish and Cuban elements were irreconcilable. Rebellions have frequently occurred; but several influences tended to defer a separation longer than in Mexico. One of these influences was the

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greater proportion of native Spaniards in Cuba; another, the existence of negro slavery, with the presence of a large population of blacks, totally helpless in the hands of the Spanish masters; and a third, undoubtedly, the amiability and want of force of the Cuban moiety. The Indian race, on the other hand, as is well known, is capable of tremendous energy, when aroused. Though the irreconcilability of the two races became more marked and certain with time, the advantage of the Spaniards was so great, and the force of the Cubans so slight, that it is doubtful if the Cuban race would ever have approached so near to separation from Spain, if it had not been for the proximity and sympathy of the United States.

Circumstances have brought many thousands—the number of them is estimated at some forty to fifty thousand—of native Cubans into the United States. The tobacco industry employs most of them. These circumstances have not scattered them through the country, but have concentrated them in the coast cities, and particularly in the towns of Florida and the other Gulf States, whose proximity to Cuba gives them an advantage in the manufacture of cigars. Concentrated thus, and left entirely to themselves by the Americans, they have been drawn to a very limited extent into what we call American life—though as a race they possess a much greater facility in learning languages than the Spanish do, and commonly speak English very well. The instinctive want of sympathy which Anglo-Saxons feel in the case of dark peoples commonly keeps the Amerians and the Cubans in our country socially far apart, though of course there are many exceptions to the rule. Segregated thus, the loyalty of the Cubans in the United States to their race at home has been intensified rather than weakened. At the same time, while the undoubted race-arrogance of the Anglo-Saxon has permitted little sympathy along the line of contact, and has exaggerated the defects of the Cubans, it has in a sense idealized them with the great majority of the American people. It is naturally in the American character to feel the most thorough sympathy with a foreign people we know least. To the average American, the Cuban is a romantic and picturesque person who is making a heroic struggle for his liberty. The fact that, though the Cuban struggle has indeed been persistent, and in some respects enterprising, it has never been heroic, is not much regarded by Americans, who are certainly a broadly humane people, and easily excited, by the often-repeated circumstances of their own history, to sympathize with similar struggles in other countries. From the

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beginning of the Cuban insurrection, our people have undoubtedly looked with complete indulgence on the aid afforded the Cubans by their brothers in this country. The Government has had to spend a great deal of money in attempting to intercept filibustering expeditions; but the people have been glad to see them succeed. Little by little an enthusiasm in behalf of the Cuban cause has been established. The killing of Antonio Maceo, under circumstances which removed the act not far from assassination, inflamed this feeling very considerably. The "concentration" edict of Capt.-Gen. Weyler, and the harshness of that officer's policy, still further excited American sympathy for the Cubans. In the meantime Members of Congress exploited this growing sympathy in a political way. The Cuban cause, without gaining much in Cuba, really gained in the United States. The cruel effect of the concentration of the Cuban peasantry in the towns became more and more evident. The wave of humane sentiment rose higher in the United States. With the spread of devastation, and the increase of distress in Cuba, the hurtful effects of the war on American material interests connected with the island grew more evident; and though these American material interests had never had any sympathy with this insurrection, but rather looked to Spanish rule for protection and encouragement, they were made, by the march of events, to foster the sentiment in favor of American intervention in the island. The fact, that sentimental considerations, when they take a wide hold on the people, completely master material considerations, received a new illustration.

The way in which the real Government of the insurrectionary Cubans, working almost entirely in the safe shelter of American cities, stimulated and built up this sentiment is a fair proof of a considerable degree of diplomatic capacity on the part of the Cubans. As enthusiastic patriots, there is no doubt that they themselves believed a great deal more than was true concerning the movements and battles of Gomez and other insurgent leaders in Cuba. Writing on the ground from which the great majority of reports of insurgent successes went abroad to the people of the United States, and having been able to acquire some acquaintance with the circumstances under which these patriotic reports were disseminated, I think I may say that those advices did more credit to the ability of the Cuban leaders in the United States and their zeal for their cause than they did to their regard for the truth. Many Cuban victories cannot be traced beyond Tampa; some others can be traced as far as Key West; and a few others were undoubtedly authentic. That any larger proportion of reported Spanish

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victories in the island were better founded is perhaps doubtful; though the Spanish have many times put to rout insurgent bands, which have quickly formed again, very likely in larger numbers than ever. A succession of such victories has left the Spanish cause no further advanced than before. Still it is true that the insurgent cause is yet to have its Bunker Hill,—that is to say, even a defeat which proves the respectable force and undeniable fighting qualities of its adherents.

But when we have said the most for the artificial means by which American sympathy with the Cuban insurrection was stimulated, we must admit that in a very great measure it is natural. A weak people is struggling with another which is much stronger. Its abstract right to independence is unquestionable. Its masses of European descent are equally intelligent and equally civilized with the Spanish. A distinct people, it has never been allowed to control its own affairs. The representation which it has been conceded, as a return for heavy burdens, has been a mockery. Its history parallels that of the American colonies before the Revolutionary War with sufficient closeness to account for the growth of a real sympathy on the part of a people which has been reared in a profound respect for political sentiment of the kind professed by the Cubans. Well-nourished, this sympathy has unquestionably become a popular movement of the kind to which I referred at the outset. The motive supplied in the explosion of the battleship "Maine,"—commonly believed, whether proved or not, to be the result of design,—war resulted. It came with noteworthy promptness after the cause was accepted as established. Protests and arguments against it were utterly wasted. It is now perfectly plain that the great majority of the people of the country desired and intended war. The minority, composed of a reflecting class which may be said to be very influential at long range only,—influential in shaping sentiment which may some time in the future be powerful, but entirely powerless against a rising ground-swell of popular sympathy,—found it had not more than a dozen representatives in Congress. All the rest approved this war, decreed for a humane principle.

The immediate results of the act of a capable but unmilitary people, in suddenly going to war with a foreign country, have presented, at the scene of active operations, interesting matter for study. In addition to a navy which, though not powerful, was more powerful than that of our adversary, we had a small military machine, good, but totally inadequate to war on a large scale. Sentiment and inherited social and

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political ideas had prevented more than a very slender organization of the military arm of the United States. The regular army had actually heavily declined in its proportion to the population of the whole country. Our legislation in this regard had been faithful to the tradition, brought down from before the Revolutionary War, which is hostile to a standing army. The regular army was not only ridiculously small, but was rendered almost helpless, by its distribution in small detachments over a vast extent of country and by the impossibility of exercising it in any general evolutions. The men were, however, well trained within the regimental compass; they were as good marksmen, probably, as any regular soldiers in the world; and they were of admirable physique. Their officers were intelligent and well trained, except in matters connected with the movement of large bodies of men.

The navy was of unequal merit; containing a few ships which, so far as can be judged without actual experience, were as good as any of their class. It was lamentably deficient in torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers. However, as it overmatched the Spanish navy in guns and certain other important respects, and held an immense territorial advantage, the position which it assumed was instantly one of dominance in all American waters; and a similar mastery was soon gained in Asiatic waters. The sentiment which underlay the war required that it should by no means be exclusively a naval one, but should promptly take the character of an invasion of Cuba, to expel the Spanish from the island and relieve the necessities of the inhabitants. It appears altogether unlikely that our nation will ever in any warlike conflict take so keen an interest in the operations of its navy as it does in the organization of a military force, which takes the form, sentimentally, of the real uprising of the people. War had no sooner become a certainty, on April 19, than the attention of Congress was concentrated chiefly on the creation of an army, presumably for the war.

Meantime the small regular army was summoned from all the posts which it occupied, and rapidly concentrated at several points accessible to the Gulf of Mexico. This mobilization proved very successful in its essential points, though there were considerable delays; a few blockades resulting from the pressure of the army trains, and one head collision of a military train with a freight train, not resulting in serious damage. A regiment of infantry was moved from San Francisco to Tampa, Florida, in eight days, with the injury of but one man by accident on the way, and without making one man ill, though practically the whole journey was made through hot regions in a warm season. Such re-

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sults prove that American transportation facilities favor rapid movements of soldiery, and that the discipline in essential respects, and the means of sustenance and sanitation of the regular army are good. As a rule, the men arrived without missing any of their meals; and supplies of fresh beef, coffee, and other provisions were awaiting them at Tampa. One regiment, through a mishap, was compelled to go under shelter-tents; but the rest were better lodged. At Tampa the troops were paid, in anticipation of an embarkation. The subsidiary material, including equipments necessary for the communications of a considerable army in the field, were quickly collected. These details are mentioned to show that the regular army met the test by proving itself an excellent machine, well operated.

But in war the main reliance of a country like the United States is supposed to be not in its regular army, but in its volunteers. With us "the army," in case of such a war, ceases to mean the regular standing army, and comes to mean the volunteer citizen army. It is desirable to see how this citizen army was called into the field. It was found, in the first place, that an Act of Congress had to be passed to create such an army. An Act, indeed, providing for the summoning of the militia, had been in force since 1793; but, were its terms obeyed, it would arm the soldiers with flint-lock muskets and organize them in ways which would be as absurd at this day as the sending out of an army with flint-locks. The retroactive declaration of war, which was made on April 25, dated the existence of war from April 21; but at that date Congress was still struggling over the passage of an Act to constitute the volunteer army on paper. The utmost confusion and uncertainty prevailed as to the means by which it was to be constituted. The minority party in Congress refused to allow the regular army to be augmented without the introduction of safeguards against its permanent increase. The sentiment of suspicion of standing armies was still strong enough to exact the restitution to private life, at the close of the war, of the thirty-three thousand or more men whom Congress voted to add to the regular army. A law was then passed which created a volunteer army. Almost inextricable confusion arose in Congress over the distinctions to be made between volunteers and militia; and the patriotic haste which was necessary left this distinction considerably obscured. Governors, when called upon to furnish the States' quotas of soldiers, began to experience doubts which the law suggested. The President had requested that the men sent by the States should be furnished from the National Guard,—that is, the organized militia of

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the States,—as far as possible. But they were to go, not as the National Guard, but as "volunteers." Many of the militia who were undoubtedly willing to go to the war were unwilling to relinquish their regimental organization. Some of the Governors of coast States proposed to supply the State's quota outside the National Guard, and keep the organized militia at home for the defence of the State. The confusion in the public mind was complete; and the effect of the muddle was observable in a considerable delay in getting any of the volunteers into effective condition for service. This has enabled the officers of the regular army to point to the fact, that the regular army was the only organization found available for service, and that, in the event of an invasion by a foreign army, we should be practically undefended on land, except in the measure that accessible regular troops could defend us, or militia close at hand could be called out. War had been officially dated from April 21; but it was not until April 29 that the first company of the forces of the State of New York arrived at one of the points of rendezvous for the State troops, and not until May 3 that any considerable number of militia had arrived. In the meantime, practically the whole of the regular army had been successfully mobilized, and one regiment, as I have said, had been transported all the way from San Francisco to Tampa; and a contingent, fully prepared to make a landing in Cuba, only awaited the arrival of adequate means of transportation from the nearest available Gulf port.

All this seems to show, that if war is to be made, it can be made quickly only by those whose business is to make it. In case of a strong foreign invasion, in which great bodies of troops would be needed, a mobilization requiring from one to two months would be fatal. If we have definitely abandoned the traditional policy of unconcern about the affairs of foreign nations, or if foreign nations have acquired so great a degree of suspicion with regard to our national purposes, or have been moved to an active jealousy of our national growth, it is plain that we must either maintain a standing army, large in comparison with the present one, or else so organize our militia that we shall have large territorial bodies which can be exercised annually with the regular army, battalioned with it in the three-battalion system, and ready at all times to be added in case of emergency. Of course, such a system would mark a very great change in our national policy, and would involve a sacrifice of the prerogatives of the States; but the question is whether the change has not already arrived, and whether the Cuban war is not a token of it. A larger standing army is likely to be one of the results of the war.

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I doubt if any thinking person believes that the Republic can go back after the war to the place where it was before it. It is not to be supposed that the nation will stop short of the expulsion of Spain from the West Indies. The conquest of the Philippine Islands is in progress, and that of the Canaries probable. None of these territories is likely to be given back to Spain. If they are set up independently, annexed to the United States, protected, or, as has been suggested, given to England in return for a price which is to indemnify us for the cost of the war, no indemnity being obtainable from Spain, our prestige will not only have been much increased, but we shall have set up in the business of disposing of the destinies of peoples beyond our own borders—a field which we have never before entered. It is reasonably assumed that, in all probability, the present war will not have ended without the annexation of Hawaii. The bombardment of Manila by a squadron which had no nearer coaling port than San Francisco practically involves the treatment of Honolulu as an American port, in fact as well as in name. The war can hardly be ended without enormously extending the range of the direct influence of the United States.

This extension will call for the immediate settlement of the question of the Isthmian Canal. It can scarcely be settled otherwise than in a way to aggrandize the republic. Aggrandizement will lead to aggrandizement. A logical sequence of the whole—Great Britain having undoubtedly favored our present enterprise—will be an Anglo-Saxon alliance. This will saddle us with a new interest in a perennial world-wide quarrel. A counter-alliance of certain European Continental powers is already expected and invited. Unless some new means of reconciling the quarrels of nations be devised, it will be necessary to arm against this menace.

This presents another side of the question. The long path of national aggrandizement and world-wide influence once entered, the nation's feet will fly swiftly upon it. No one knows to what goal they may tend. It is easy to the patriotic fancy to see nothing but glory at the end of the path; but the reflecting American, who knows what tremendous social, political, and material problems we have to face, and is also aware of the peculiar lack of training and sagacity of our official representatives in all international matters, will wonder whether there may not be more vicissitude and disaster than glory in the prospect—even if victories on land and sea be easy.

JOSEPH EDGAR CHAMBERLIN.

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN OUR NEWEST TERRITORY.

"No matter what people tell you to the contrary, there is not a man in this town who would stay if he could get out." This was the pessimistic remark of a prominent Oklahoman to a stranger, made in a weary time of waiting for a Government appointment; but, fortunately for the growth of the Territory, there are those within its bounds who do not feel that way. They see in the new country a chance to make a fresh start, unhampered by the competition of crowded districts, and relieved of the over-stimulation of haste.

Before the famous "Run" with which Oklahoma opened, the Government cleared the decks for action. In the old days, when the geographies showed but one Territory where now are two, the district was supposed to be given over entirely to the Indians; but in reality it contained many white residents of unsettled habits of life and loose morals. Cattle-men leased lands for grazing, and led the usual rough, exciting life of the cowboy; matching shrewdness against savagery, for the sake of both profit and adventure. Those of this class now living seem to have left from the experience a residuum of romance which forms the foundation of engaging tales. The retired cowboy, now keeping a grocery or a livery barn with demure respectability in a town's centre, seems merely a humdrum, shiftless sort of citizen whose life has always been in crowded districts; but if his confidence be gained, his illiterate tales will be a veracious history of the most interesting period of the region.

Besides the cowboys there were outlaws who fled to the Indian Territory to escape the avenging justice of better-governed States. Once within the Indian borders, there was every facility for the evasion of justice. Here the celebrated James boys had an occasional "dug-out," to which they flew when respite from adventure was desired. The equally notorious Dalton boys, who were cousins to the Jameses, also found here a home so happy, and express trains so profitable, that they were very loath to leave, even after well-meaning folk had flooded the Territory as homesteaders. Immunity from punishment was secured through the absence of local law. Tribal laws prevailed among the

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Indians, but did not affect the refugees; and, provided a man kept from trouble with the Indians, there was so little difficulty in living that one wonders at the restless spirit which impelled him again into danger.

When the land was bought from the Indians, surveyors were sent to mark the entire country off into squares. The plan was, no doubt, neatly drawn at Washington on the smooth surface of a pretty pink map in which topographical inequalities were not represented. The lines were surveyed to run a mile apart, north and south, east and west, each to denote a highway, and each square mile between them to represent a section. The intention was to give each settler a quarter-section of one hundred and sixty acres. The authorities at Washington, in looking at the plain surface of the map, forgot that the country they were thus geometrically dividing was frequently broken by deep ravines and gulches: but the system was inexorable; and, as a consequence, the traveller never deviates from the compass, but his horse toils up a hill, reaches the crest, sidles down the farther slope, crosses a rude bridge, and climbs another hill, to repeat the process indefinitely. The uplands are always bare of trees, but the gulches are thickly wooded; and if the roads could have been permitted to follow the line of trees, a grateful shade would have been secured from the relentless sun, and picturesque beauties would have beguiled the farm children on their way to distant school-houses.

Those who were arranging the Territory for the entrance of the white settlers located imaginary towns at various points; and these districts were surveyed for town sites. No deviation was permittted from the law of right angles; but a section was cut into square blocks, which, in turn, were subdivided into city lots. In the case of Guthrie, one square was set apart for municipal buildings and another for a university. In the heart of the town a tract was reserved for the "Government Acre," on which was erected the crude, one-story, wooden building of the land-office. At different points throughout the Territory an entire section was also reserved by the Government for the benefit of the school fund, which land it was intended to lease; using the money thus obtained for the maintenance of the fine public-school system which is one of the best features of our Western civilization.

For several weeks before the opening, the country, then being ready for the reception of homesteaders, was cleared of all individuals except the soldiers stationed there to prevent the arrival of "sooners." The latter, however, ingeniously effaced themselves for the time only; for,

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when the signal gun was fired, they seemed to rise from the ground, as though Cadmus had been on earth again sowing the fabled dragon's teeth. Men who had herded cattle, and those who had traded with the Indians for years, were not to be outdone by the vigilance of soldiers ignorant of sheltering "draws," hidden "dug-outs," and obscuring fastnesses of scrub-oak and blue-stem. "A feller had to keep mighty quiet until the marshal's gun fired," said a successful "sooner"; "every draw kept fillin' with men all night long; an' it was hard to keep from seein' and bein' seen."

With everything cleared for action, the crowd was lined up on the border of the new country awaiting the hour of noon, April 22, 1889. It was a crowd of determined, almost desperate, men and women, many of whom, having failed in the fight for prosperity, had gathered here for a fresh trial. Every man's hand was against his fellow. His neighbor on the right, placed there by accident, might be the one who would beat him in the race. The men who stood in line were composed of two classes: (1) those who had failed in every undertaking, and (2) others so young that this was their first bout with fortune. Some were mounted on ponies, which they had ridden from distant States: others were in farm-wagons in which they had journeyed from Kansas, Missouri, and even from Tennessee. The failure of Western Kansas after its period of booming was accountable for a large part of the enormous crowd that gathered at the Oklahoma border. The opportunity to try again so near home could not be neglected.

It was with difficulty that the crowd was restrained by the marshals; and, when finally the signal was given, a mad race began the results of which make interesting history. All men started as enemies. The reward was to the selfish and to the bully; and greed and strength were the winners. The number of homesteaders exceeded the number of claims; and more than one man pitched upon the same quarter-section. In some cases as many as four or five insisted on the right of possession. Thus on the very first day began the contests which have ever since been a harvest to the lawyers, and have produced an unhappy condition of society unknown elsewhere. As an example, two families built their rude homes simultaneously on opposite corners of the same quarter-section; each family being positive of its own right. The help of the law was sought; decisions and reversed decisions resulted, harassing the contestants, until one, more unscrupulous and desperate than the other, shot his enemy through the window or among the outbuildings at twilight. This is not an exception, but a common

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condition of things. All over the Territory are claimants who dare not live upon their property until the contest is finally settled. They take refuge in the nearest town; and the case goes on through the local courts until it reaches Washington, and the Secretary of the Interior gives his ultimatum. So much litigation is an expense which all cannot bear; and many a rightful contestant loses his claim for want of money to defend it. This condition of injustice and criminality is passing away as the time alloted by the Government for "proving up" approaches expiration; but the hatred engendered in each man's breast was an unhappy handicap in the settlement of a new country. Besides this, the uncertainty, whether a man is or is not the permanent possessor of the land, robs him of ambition to improve it; for he may be working for the good of one whom he would rather kill than benefit.

As I have said, the men who rushed into the Territory, and located themselves on claims, were actuated by an impelling necessity, the instinct of self-preservation, excepting always a few adventurers, who ultimately passed to more attractive fields. Men became farmers because the land was given them; not from any knowledge of the pursuit, nor from any love of it. A man who secured a quarter-section was as likely to have been a type-setter or telegraph operator as anything else; and yet he attempted at once to support himself and his family by farming. Men were ignorant of the peculiarities of the country and its climate, and in their selection of a claim could only apply the principles which pertained to the country they had left. Thus, those whose former homes had yearly been in danger from the flooding of the Mississippi, disregarded the rich bottom-land of Oklahoma, and chose instead unprotected uplands where winds uproot the young wheat.

Many settlers were doubly handicapped through not having learned the business of farming and not knowing anyone who could give them indispensable information concerning the local agricultural possibilities. Still, over the unbroken prairies sped the sod-plough; and in the overturned soil was sown that stand-by of all Western farmers—Indian corn. The next year the plough was followed by the harrow; and the second big crop was wheat. Someone tried an experiment with Kaffir corn, and found it suited to the climate: it made fodder for stock and bread-stuff for man. Sorghum, broom, and alfalfa were tried with success; and castor beans have lately formed an important crop. Somewhat timidly an experimental cotton-field was planted; and it was gradually demonstrated to the farmers that Oklahoma was the land of

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cotton. One hundred and fifty thousand bales have been marketed this year. The bringing of the first bale into Guthrie is regarded as an occasion of much rejoicing; and its sale at auction takes place on the street in order to give public enthusiasm an opportunity for expression. Another experiment, with melon seeds, showed the extraordinary fitness of the soil for producing that kind of fruit. Melon Day in some of the towns almost equals in gala features the public auction of the first bale of cotton; and melons are given away to all comers. At other times five cents is the common price for a luscious water-melon; and ten cents will buy a dozen musk-melons of sweetest flavor. A few experimental peach-trees gave such satisfactory results that many farmers are cultivating extensive orchards. There is scarcely a yard that has not its peach-trees, the negro quarters being no exception; so that in blossom-time the whole country is brightened with masses of pink bloom. Grapes are now being cultivated with such success that extensive vineyards are being planned.

And yet, many a farm in this fertile country is a pitiable failure; the owner and his family suffering the cruelest privations of poverty. The homes of some of the people are almost devoid of furniture; and the food consists almost invariably of fat salt pork, underdone bread, and coffee. Eggs and butter are all taken to market; for these bring in return either cash or those necessities which cannot be made at home. That shiftlessness and incapacity are the causes of poverty, is demonstrated by the fact, that of two men, with claims side by side and all conditions equal, one will have erected a comfortable home while the other still huddles in his original "dug-out."

Towns in the Territory show the restlessness born of experiment which has not yet yielded such good results as had been anticipated; and added to this is the spirit of adventure and recklessness characteristic of those who have little to lose. It is not a country of capitalists, but a place where poor men have come to seek possibilities denied them elsewhere. Every man watches jealously his neighbor; and popularity is not always with the prosperous. The freemasonry of poverty and of isolation in this far country are the two bonds which draw people together in mutual sympathy. Men may seem hard and indifferent; but illness or calamity will reveal in them the kindliest spirit.

Most of Oklahoma's population is composed of the people whose families, pushed westward from the Atlantic Coast by advancing civilization, have lived on the border for generations. The instinct to seek new homes and fresh adventure is inborn. Other people, mingling with

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these, acquire the same restlessness. From time to time, since the original opening of Oklahoma, new tracts of land have been thrown open to settlers; and the people who have rushed into them have not been those crowded out from large Eastern cities, but the restless ones already in the Territory, who have sought thus to increase their holdings.

If a farm be not desired, then there is the more exciting undertaking of procuring a desirable city lot. Men established in business in the principal towns all rush to the new tract, and there establish branch houses; thus repeating in another place the identical conditions of business rivalry. Imported rivals are looked upon with extreme disfavor; but capitalists who establish large industries, that bring money into the district and furnish employment to eager workers, are warmly welcomed. Oklahoma is like a large family which, while having its internal jealousies, unites in resenting the trespasses of outsiders. The Territory jealously guards its reputation too, although painfully cognizant of its defects, just as parents love most tenderly an unfortunate child.

For the first few days of a town's life all the shelters are tents; but these quickly disappear, as the threatening winds make them insecure refuges. A new town is at once supplied with an electric-light system and a tall stand-pipe, which latter points, like a mammoth finger, rebukingly at the eternally sunny sky that withholds the blessed rain. The city-lot principle determines the regularity of the streets and the architecture of buildings in the business parts of towns. A wooden, oblong building, one story high, is the usual structure. Buildings of this kind stand shoulder to shoulder, with metropolitan economy of space, until some ambitious landowner puts them all to shame by erecting a brick-and-stone building in a florid style. Land- and pension-offices are as quickly established as the post-office; and lawyers appear in droves, knowing that disputes and contests will be the first crop of the new district.

No town of more than a year's standing is without its second-hand shops, which exist in numbers disproportionate to the population. They tell a tale of disappointment and defeat; for they contain the household effects of many who have travelled to this far country only to meet with failure. On every hand are small investors ready to take chattel mortgages on the household effects of those who are pressed for ready money. The rate of these mortgages is 12 per cent; and, as the interest is usually left unpaid, the goods are seized and sold, in the second-hand stores or at public auction. It may not be uninteresting to mention that $7.50 is the average value of the household furniture of each family in the entire Territory; but this, of course, includes an

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enormous number of negro homes where the furniture is comparatively valueless.

The most striking expression of restlessness in the Territory is the "schooner" population. These people, although having adopted the nomadic propensities of the Romany, are not gypsies. They have no settled home, are bound for no objective point, and wander year after year up and down the country; going south in winter, and north and west in the summer, seeking nothing but pleasure and a perfunctory sort of comfort. To the city dweller, worried and goaded, such a life looks attractive. To loaf eternally, near to the heart of nature, to eat *al fresco* and to sleep on the prairies,—these are delights which would tempt even a higher type of civilization then the nomad of the Southwest. Originally these people started as a well-meaning, hopeful family, bent on the establishment of a new home. Misfortune, or lack of energy, permitted other men to precede them; and they drifted on to other districts, continuing to wander, better satisfied with life in the wagon than with prospects offered by available farms. The wagon has grown to be a rival of the sleeping-car as regards economy of space and perfection of comfort. A gasoline stove is established for winter use; and comfortable beds are not lacking. Camping is done just outside the towns, where it is customary to spend the night near a smouldering fire. The vicinity of water is sought; for the "schooner" family has always in tow a prodigious amount of live stock,—horses, cows, calves, and colts,—for use and trading.

Money in the Territory is tight; and those who have it to invest obtain rates of interest which would be usurious elsewhere. A paucity of coin has developed much ingenuity in getting along comfortably without it. Municipal and Territorial debts are paid, not in cash, but by a system of negotiable warrants, which are usually exchanged for the necessities of life, and lie long in an investor's strong-box before maturing. Farmers trade produce for groceries; the marketman gives the apothecary a roasting-fowl in exchange for a box of pills; and thus an ingenious system of barter has grown out of the situation. Much comfort is secured without the actual handling of money. The price of all food produced in the vicinity is extraordinarily low. On $800 or $900 a year a family of four or five persons can live in a house of good construction, and have a pony, a cow, a pig, and chickens. The local standard of expenditure being low, there is less than the usual temptation to that extravagance which is our national fault.

The two principal sources of actual money-getting are (1) the crops which find market outside the Territory, and (2) Federal positions.

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These last are so desirable that scarcely a man in the Territory looks upon himself as ineligible for an appointment; as he would willingly forego the uncertainties of his business for the cheering regularity of a quarterly remittance from the Government. The President appoints all important officers, beginning with the Governor and extending to the judiciary, the marshalship, and minor positions. The men who occupy these offices have the privilege of making subordinate appointments in connection with their work. Each change of Administration disrupts the entire Territory; and business is temporarily paralyzed. Candidates and their aids flock to Washington, and wait on the pleasure of the President; every wire is pulled; and a worthy vigilance and pitiful patience are displayed by the candidates who are loath to leave Washington until the matter is decided. Local vernacular describes this condition as "waiting for plums to fall." Except in the judicial positions, the candidates are professional or commercial men who expect to supplement their ordinary business with the duties and emoluments of Government service. Sometimes the Government at Washington delays settling the affairs of our youngest Territory; but this would never be done were it known how agonizing is the suspense in awaiting the falling of the plums. It comes hardest on the women, who in public maintain a dignified composure, but in private abandon stoicism and weep hysterically over the delay or the *denouement*. It is not strange that people settling a new country with the best energy of their best years should regard the carpet-bagger with jealousy and indignation.

While Oklahoma remains a Territory its business eyes will turn toward Washington rather than to New York; for the Great Father of the Indians dispenses also to the whites. Society, which is usually spelled with a capital, looks toward Kansas City, Denver, and Chicago as sometime possibilities, but feels New York to be as distant and un-American as London or Paris. If any specially invidious distinction is drawn against New York, it is only an expression of conviction, that that city ignores the national principle of individual equality, and has established for itself an aristocracy. A thorn in the side of the Oklahoman is the indifference with which the Territory is treated in the East. He and his fellows feel themselves to be more loyal Americans than are New-Yorkers, and to be doing more than they to increase the spirit of patriotism. "What does a New-Yorker usually look at, when he first opens the morning paper?" said an Oklahoma lawyer. "He reads immediately the European news, which is given a prominent position on the first page, and judges his country financially and so-

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cially from the position of a European. He never thinks of the West; he does not even realize our existence; he ignores or condemns us socially, and warily refuses to invest his capital here where he would not only receive large returns, but would also help in developing the country for the good of the nation."

To view the Territory aright it should be remembered that its people are fighting a constant war against paralyzing poverty. They exhibit both ingenuity and patience in subsisting without expenditure; and all the powers of both mind and body are called into requisition to gain a livelihood. Competition in certain specialties of business menaces little; but each man's struggle, to procure a share of the small proportion of money that comes this way, makes all shrewd and selfish. Notwithstanding this, public spirit is a force which is developing for the public good. In one large town there is a club composed of the most substantial citizens, which takes up all matters of public welfare. If a railroad, which will be of advantage to the town, be projected, this club assists in raising money for its construction, or prevails upon manufacturers to bring their plant to the town. The club advertises the Territory as much as possible throughout the Union, with the view of inducing homesteaders and capitalists to settle and to invest. It is when calamity visits the country that the club shows its best feeling. On the occasion of a cyclone, not long ago, the members of this club, within two or three hours, subscribed $3,000 for the benefit of the sufferers; thereby entailing upon themselves a self-denial little short of privation. The cyclone was followed at no great interval by a flood; and again the public-spirited club members denied themselves for the benefit of the human brotherhood. Town treasuries are often empty, while the town suffers for need of some improvement,—a bridge or other public work;—but the far-seeing club urges the people to let private enterprise take the place of public neglect, and, by a concerted effort, the bridge is built or the water-works are constructed.

One of the most striking things in Territory society is the existence of class distinctions—more especially among the women. In business, in politics, in all the affairs of life except amusement, people are equal; but inside the parlors of the frame houses distinctions are arbitrarily made according to local standards. Occupation has little to do with it; for an auctioneer's wife may be received, while a lawyer's wife will be debarred. Young men in this new country pursue any occupation by which they can live; and few of the young women lead lives of simple domesticity. All young people are at work, some of them in

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the humblest positions; but these things have nothing to do with the social position. In some places money secures the latter; but, as a rule, it is created by one of two causes,—personal magnetism, and that ultra-snobbishness which is found in its highest development in America. Churches also do much to divide towns into various cliques. Besides these divisions women's clubs are present even here, although they are bound together by so slight an interest as an afternoon game of whist.

The extremest of conventionality marks the women, who know nothing of the delightful freedom of the women of larger cities. They live entirely within the limits of their little town; paying visits to one another. When they take their walks abroad, or drive in their buggies or surreys, it is to trot up and down the gridiron of unshaded streets; disregarding the soul-satisfying wonders of the wide prairies beyond. They become absolutely self-centred, and their views, circumscribed; but this works to the advantage of local development. If their eyes were always on the unattainable, whether apparel or the cultivation of the mind, there would be discontent and a tendency to scorn the simple pleasures which alone are possible. The truly feminine desire to follow the mode is evinced by the tendency to adopt new forms of expression and hospitality. Society events are reported in the local papers in the same descriptive terms as those which tell of metropolitan entertainments; and thus the people pleasantly delude themselves.

A custom exists of providing each lady with an escort, who shall see that she is brought to the place of entertainment, wants for nothing while there, and is accompanied safely home. In the lady's note of invitation is designated the name of the gentleman who is to be her gallant; and in his is mentioned the name of the lady whom he is temporarily to protect. This plan is presumably intended to prevent heartache in those unattractive ones who might be neglected; but, like all inexorable laws, it acts unhappily in some cases. The "fierce light which beats upon a throne" is a feeble candle compared to the brilliant illumination which surrounds young people during the mating-time in a small town. It sometimes happens that the hostess assigns to a young man the young woman to whom he has been paying court, but by whom he has been recently rejected. He is therefore obliged to miss the affair of the season in order to avoid a *contretemps*.

In the Territory local pride exhibits itself in novel and characteristic ways. Whatever the district can produce that is noteworthy, whether in industry or crime, brings upon the people much the same

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feeling that animated *Jack Horner* when he "put in his thumb, and pulled out a plum, and said, 'What a good boy am I.'" This explains the spirit of self-gratulation which makes of the desperado a hero.

Oklahoma was once the home of the outlaw; but a vigorous system of prairie police under the direction of the United States Marshal has either destroyed or dissipated all notorious bands. An occasional leader is captured, possibly plucked from a life of "exemplary industry"; and great is the rejoicing. That justice has at last descended? Not at all; but rather that for one day all serious considerations are to be abandoned, and the town, blessed by the outlaw's presence, is to be given over to boyish enjoyment. Thousands meet the prisoner at the train, and he is escorted in a public carriage to the office of some public functionary where, like a great character, he receives an ovation. Even the Governor attends to shake hands with the noted man of adventure. After the reception is a banquet in a public room given in honor of the hero of the hour. It is to the regret of all that the day ends by depositing the city's guest in quarters more confining than elegant.

When the event is over, those of cooler blood murmur loudly their disapproval of this royal treatment of a villain, and common sense asserts itself; but no one regrets having for one day tasted the exhilaration of associating with outlawry's exponent. The grewsome exhibition of dead outlaws killed by marshals is one of the brutalities of border life, and is never sanctioned by the best element.

The noted outlaws having disappeared, the deputy-marshals form the most picturesque class now extant. The marshal is appointed by the Government at Washington, and as a rule is sent from another State; but his innumerable deputies are men who have lived in the Territory for years, and are well acquainted with every billowy prairie and sheltering draw. They are men of iron nerve, defiant of hardship, jealous of honor, and combine shrewdness with fearlessness. Dressed for the hunt of an escaping criminal, with two belts of cartridges around the waist, six-shooters in evidence, and a Winchester hanging from the saddle, they look like desperadoes themselves. A loose shirt and a sombrero give picturesqueness to the outline; and the man's mount is a lean, wiry pony of easy gait and untiring muscles.

A familiar and pitiful figure in the towns on market-day is the impoverished, unsuccessful farmer whose unhappy brain has been upset by the populistic heresies of a certain class of political ranters. Want and privation have attenuated his figure; thriftlessness has stamped him; and the long, sparse beard, the tanned complexion, the torn and

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insufficient clothing, are weatherbeaten to one sad color—the same color that life has always worn for this son of ill fortune.

The most cursory review of the Territory would be incomplete without a mention of its negroes. In some towns these almost equal the whites in number; and the town of Langston, in Logan County, is exclusively a negro settlement, with its own government and educational institutions. Many negroes came to the Territory under the false promises of certain political schemers, who deluded them with promises of free homes which were never realized; their object being merely to import votes. Unnecessary additions to the population were thus stranded in the country. The supply of labor being in excess of the demand, the wages paid to these people are insufficient to sustain life; and thus they are forced to live literally on the crumbs which drop from the white man's table. Racial prejudice is sufficiently strong against them to make necessary the establishment of separate schools even in districts remote from towns. But water-melons to eat and cotton to pick are the two blessings which mitigate life's curse for the negro in Oklahoma.

Except on the reservations, the Indians are but little seen in the Territory. It has always been their disposition to shun civilization. Their presence in towns is so unusual that it excites remark; and the word passes that "Three Indians are on the street to-day." They are regarded curiously and with contempt. Would-be landowners think of them with envy, as possessing fertile acres without developing them; and the man of business looks with impatience on their idle ways, and solaces his indignation by charging them double price for all goods. Notwithstanding the romance with which Eastern folk invest the Indian, the people of the Southwest place him far below the negro. This, of course, relates only to those Indians who have not been developed by civilization. Among the better class are some with a strain of white blood, whose manner of living is identical with that of the whites.

These are, in brief outline, the social conditions of our newest Territory, where hard work, more than the refinement of art, occupies attention. It is here that pure patriotism and Americanism are found. Idlers here have time to loaf; thinkers have time to deduce; and the man of ability and ambition outstrips his fellows. In this far district is again illustrated the truism, that when all men start life equal, in a few years each will find his natural level. HELEN C. CANDEE.

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TEXTILE WAR BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

SINCE the panic of 1893 manufacturing of every character has been more or less depressed, and loud lamentations have gone up from both capitalists and wage-earners. Perhaps the depression has been more keenly felt in the textile industry than in any other.

In the New England States manufacturers were at first disposed to attribute their embarrassment to the stagnant condition of business general throughout the country. But within the last few years they have become very much alarmed lest the real cause should prove to lie in the superior advantages of textile manufacturing in the South. Last winter the Legislature of Massachusetts sent South a committee to inquire into the conditions of cotton-manufacturing in that section; more recently several delegations, representing the manufacturers of New England, have gone through the South on a similar mission; and some of the leading newspapers of the East have despatched reporters to the Southern mills to "write up" the various phases of the industry.

These investigations have thrown a flood of new light upon the advantages of cotton-milling in the South, and caused New England capitalists to entertain a different view respecting the manufacturing possibilities of that section. They have with one accord concluded that the South has an insuperable advantage in cheap labor, and that the mills of the East cannot at present compete with those of the South without cutting down wages. Hence the general precipitate reduction of wages in New England early in the year.

However, the wage-earners of New England do not seem to agree with their employers as to the causes of the depressed condition of the trade. They say that the reduction of wages, beginning in 1893, has diminished the purchasing power of the masses, and made inevitable an accumulation of unsalable cotton goods in warehouses and in the hands of wholesale and retail dealers. They also hold that the cheap labor of the South has nothing whatever to do with the stagnation in New England, that everywhere cheap labor means inefficient labor, that high-priced labor always turns out the most product and the best product, and

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that, consequently, the capitalist who employs high-priced labor has the advantage over the capitalist who employs low-priced labor.

In both these contentions the laborers are abundantly supported by the teachings of economists, especially those who have made recent investigations into the subject of wages and industrial depressions. Mr. Hobson, in his book on "Modern Capitalism," treats very thoroughly the subject of depressions in the textile industries; and he concludes that the chief cause is under-consumption, or the inability of the masses to increase their consumption at the same ratio that production increases. Sir Thomas Brassey some time ago collected facts going to show that it was more profitable for the capitalist to employ Englishmen at 3*s.* 6*d.* per day in making Irish railways than Irishmen at 1*s.* 8*d.* Similar results were found pertaining to numerous building trades, mining, and manufacturing. Sir Thomas found wages lower in France, Germany, and Belgium, than in England; but, the laborer being less efficient, the cost of the product was greater. Prof. Schulze-Gaevernitz has investigated this question with special reference to the cotton industry, and comes to the same conclusion. He compares cotton-weaving in America and England, and shows that, whereas wages are much higher in America, the laborers are so much more skilful that the cost of production is considerably lower. He finds the same result in all his comparisons of high-wage with low-wage countries; hence he informs the capitalists of Lancashire that they have nothing to fear from competition with the cheap labor and long hours of the Indian factories.

Many noted American economists—among them, Gen. Walker, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Schoenhof, and Mr. Wells—have made researches into this subject, and come to the same conclusion. The effect of these teachings has been to impress upon the wage-earners and capitalists of New England that they are in no danger from the South, or any other country having cheap labor. This unanimity of opinion has lulled New England manufacturers to sleep by the soothing assurance of immunity from danger; meanwhile, Southern capitalists have continued to erect mill after mill, and to produce every year a higher grade of work, until the very sand has been dug from under the foundations of the cotton industry of New England.

In the light of what is evident to every candid mind, there can be no doubt that the economists have done great damage to the capitalists both of New England and Great Britain. The error in the reasoning of the economists lies upon the surface. When we compare the laborers in Great Britain and India, we find that the latter are accustomed to

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few comforts; their life is pitched upon a low plane; and, hence, their wages are far below those of Englishmen. In this case the lower standard of life happens to correspond to less education and less intelligence and aptitude; hence, capitalists derive little, if any, advantage from such cheap labor. Facts like these have led economists to jump to the conclusion that cheap labor is not advantageous anywhere. The facts would perhaps justify the statement that where the standard of living is low, the labor is less capable. But the economists have left an important factor out of the account. The standard of living in two countries may be the same, and yet the price of labor may be very different, owing to differences in the cost of living. In that case the cheap labor may be just as efficient as the dear labor; and, consequently, the capitalist employing the cheaper labor would have a decided advantage.

That is precisely the state of things in the South, as compared with New England. The Southern labor in textile industries is not cheap because of a lower standard of living, but because house-rent, clothing, bread, meat, butter, eggs, and other necessities require less outlay than in the North. The Southern mill-hands come from worn-out farms in the cotton, tobacco, and turpentine regions. They are poor, but very respectable, virtuous, and even religious people. There is scarcely any drunkenness or immorality among them. Instead of spending their surplus income for beer, they spend it for better food, clothing, and literature. It is the testimony of grocers, and the general complaint of employers, that the operatives are high livers. Mr. Mallory, superintendent of a Charlotte mill, says, "they spend too much money on dress." They live in commodious, well-lighted, and well-ventilated houses. In a tour among mill-settlements a visitor would be surprised to find in many homes the floors carpeted, neat curtains at the windows, pictures upon the walls, as well as pianos, organs, and numerous books of the best character. In the yards would be seen flowers and shrubbery, and on the porches comfortable rocking-chairs.

Not only is the standard of living among Southern operatives equal to that of Massachusetts, but the quality of the labor is fully as good. A mill-man, who recently made a tour of the South, writes to the "American Wool and Cotton Reporter" as follows:

"Now, as far as my observation went, the Southern operative was doing about as much work as ours here, and doing as good work. I have seen no better-running mills anywhere than some of those visited in the South; and, when got at in detail, it was found they had no more help than would be the case in a well-regulated mill here. The speed of the various machines was fully as high as usual here."

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Mr. Shea, superintendent of the Clifton mill, South Carolina, who has managed operatives in the North as well as in the South, declares emphatically that the help in the South is better upon the average than in Massachusetts. He says, "We can turn off just as much work and just as good work as the help up there." Of course, some of the new mills have not yet attained to the speed and efficiency of the older ones; but there can be no doubt as to the competency of the Southern laborers. They are all native-born Americans, mostly of good Anglo-Saxon stock; and many of them are the sons and daughters of Confederate soldiers.

Having shown that the standard of living and the efficiency of the textile laborers of the North and the South are practically the same, the conclusion is irresistible that the cheaper labor of the South is due to less expensive living. Land in the South is very cheap; and house-rent is, consequently, cheap also. A home of four rooms, with a porch and front and back yards, can be rented upon an average for 80 cents per week. The average annual rent per family in North and South Carolina is $45.91; in Massachusetts, $77.47.[1] Notwithstanding the shorter winters in the South, the fuel expenses per family are the same as in Massachusetts. This is due to the higher-priced fuel in the South, and the old method of heating each room by a separate fire. Most other things are cheaper in the South. At Charlotte, for instance, where prices are above the average, beef costs 8 cents, pork 6 cents, sausages 10 cents per pound, chickens 12½ to 20 cents each, and meal 15 cents a peck; while fruits and vegetables are proportionally low. The cost of food for a family of four persons need not exceed $3 per week. Many mill families raise all their hog-meat, and keep a cow. Owing to the mild and short winters, few articles of heavy clothing are needed; and children run barefooted for eight months in the year.

The difference in the cost of living in the North as compared with the South is probably greater than the difference in wages paid; hence, the Southern operative can get more in return for his labor. Statistics show that cotton-mill-hands in the South spend more in the aggregate for clothing and sundries than do Northern operatives in the same industry.

The lower cost of living, then, accounts for the difference in the wages paid. Let us see exactly how much this difference is. According to the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor for 1893, the average income of cotton-weavers per family in the Carolinas was $412.09: the average in Massachusetts was $524.28, or 27 per cent higher than in

[1] Report U. S. Commr. of Labor for 1893.

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the South. It must be remembered that a family in the South is upon the average larger, and that there is a larger percentage of workers to each family than in Massachusetts. The Arkwright Club reported that wages in Massachusetts were 40 per cent above those in the South, which is no doubt nearer the truth. In addition to the lower money-wages the Southern mills have the advantage of an hour or an hour and a half longer work-day.

As the cost of labor is the chief item in cotton-manufacturing,—87 per cent according to Mr. Atkinson,—and as the South has an advantage of 30 or 40 per cent in this particular, it is idle to expect New England to compete with the South unless this advantage is offset by some disadvantages. Only in a few minor items have the New England manufacturers an advantage over the South. They have lower freight rates, closer proximity to markets, somewhat cheaper coal, more surplus capital, and lower rates of interest. But all these things together are a mere bagatelle compared with the cost of labor. Besides, these advantages are not of a permanent nature. It will only be a short time before the increasing wealth in the South will enable her manufacturers to borrow on better terms; and as the industries diversify, and the cities enlarge, they will have a home market for their goods.

The South has a decided advantage over the North in the matter of taxation. In the South the proportion of assessed to the real value of personal property is only 31 per cent; whereas in New England the proportion is 52 per cent.[1] As the larger part of a mill is its personal property, this difference is so much to the advantage of the Southern mill. Besides this, the proportion of assessed to the actual value of real estate is less in the South; and the rate of taxation is lower. A majority of the Southern mills are situated in the country, and so are free from any municipal taxation.

The argument is occasionally put forth that the advantages which the South now has in cheap labor are only temporary, that in a few years laws will be enacted prohibiting child-labor and limiting the hours per day to ten, as in the North. Furthermore, it is said that the increasing demand for labor by new mills will soon exhaust the supply of labor and cause wages to advance.

No doubt labor laws will some day be enacted in the South, but probably not within the next ten years; and, even then, if enforced, they will by no means equalize the immense advantage which the South has over the North in cheap labor. As for the supply of labor giving

[1] Compendium Eleventh Census, Vol. 8, p. 958.

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out, that is a very wild notion. In the Piedmont section, for example, the low price of farm products is making life hard for the cultivators; and the farmers are everywhere eager to move to town. All the mills that could be built in that region in the next half-century would hardly shelter the stream of agriculturists who would seek asylum in them. Some three million people inhabit that region; and the writer hazards the assertion that one-fourth of them would move to town immediately if they were sure of finding work.

This article would fall short of the truth, did it not remind the reader that the cheapest labor in the South has not yet, to any great extent, been drafted into cotton-mills. I refer to negro labor. A notion is abroad in the South that the negro could not work in a cotton-mill, because the hum of the looms would put him to sleep. But there is no rational ground for such belief. Negroes now work day and night in tobacco-factories, and display marvellous dexterity and deftness in the use of their fingers. Of course, unusual risks must attend the first venture with dark labor in a cotton-mill. All new mills must necessarily employ some experienced hands to start with; and, if a manufacturer undertook to operate with negro help, he could not bring in white laborers to teach them, owing to the unwillingness of the whites to commingle with the other race. He would have to start with all raw workers; and if the business failed, the fact that negroes had lived in the tenement-houses would render it almost impossible to get decent white laborers to occupy them. "Once a negro house, always a negro house," is a maxim familiar to real-estate owners, both North and South. However, the ice will soon be well broken. A mill in Charleston is already running with dark labor; and another mill is now building at Concord, North Carolina, to be run exclusively by the same kind of labor. If these experiments prove successful, then indeed will the South have a never-failing fountain of cheap labor. It is not improbable that within the next decade all the coarse grades of yarn, say below 26's, will be made in the South, by dark labor. Should dark labor become generally employed, we should have to admit that the cheaper labor in Southern mills was due to a lower standard of living as well as to less cost of living.

Finally, were there no economic advantages in cotton-manufacturing in the South, there would still be reasons for believing that the future capitalist will look to the South as the best field for successful operation. In the South there is little animosity between the wage-earning class and the capitalists. They dwell together on terms of mutual esteem and friendship; and the reason for such pleasant relations is very

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obvious. The mill-hands, or at least their fathers, are nearly all whilom capitalists, that is, land-owners; and, having acted the part of employer, they now know how to respect that office. There are no traditions in the South tending to make laborers despise capitalists. There is no memory of days of oppression, cruelty, and disease-infected tenements, such as comes down from generation to generation in New England; breeding bitterness and revenge among the laborers. On the other hand, the capitalists have no memory of strikes, nor of secret plotting against their interests by laborers whose minds have been poisoned by foreign anarchistic sentiment,—nothing of this sort that would tend to freeze the heart of the capitalist and cause him to return malice for malice. The Southern wage-earner and the Southern capitalist, coming together at a happy period in the history of civilization, when the hardest problems of the wage *régime* have been fought out, when laborer and capitalist better understand each other, and when the law better defines the rights of both, it is not probable that there will ever exist in the South an antagonism between the two classes so bitter and fierce as that which at present exists throughout the North or in Great Britain. Many of the Southern mills are managed by their owners, who personally know all their employees. They greet each other kindly in the mill and elsewhere, and, in not a few places, worship in the same church and commune at the same altar. There are no painted-glass windows in Southern mills to cut off the view or the light of heaven, and no icehearted superintendents to lord it over the operatives. Indeed the superintendent imported from the North is nearly always a failure, for the reason that he regards the laborer as a mere machine or commodity. He is unsatisfactory to wage-earners and proprietors alike.

Should the capitalists of the South continue to respect the rights of their employees and to manifest a proper interest in their welfare, there will never be any occasion for strife between the two classes.

JEROME DOWD.

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THE LITTLE KINGDOM OF THE PRESIDENT.

SUCCESSFUL in its very defiance of all the principles upon which our national structure rests, the government of the District of Columbia is to-day, to use the expression of an observant British ambassador, "a living protest against Republicanism." Lacking the fundamental element of our citizenship, the exercise of the ballot, it transforms the capital of the United States into an Americanized edition of some petty dukedom or principality of Europe,—a bit of monarchy transplanted upon Western soil. The people count for naught. They are mere individuals in an autocracy where unelected rulers execute laws which are not the direct embodiment of the popular will. The executive power, centred primarily in the President of the United States, is supreme. The three commissioners who govern, the local judiciary, the recorder of deeds, the register of wills, even the justices of the peace and the notaries public—in fact, all the principal administrators of municipal affairs are appointed by him; while the commonest vagrant in the workhouse is dependent upon his mercy for a pardon. He rules; and all the rest obey. The District of Columbia is, in short, the little kingdom of the President.

And yet, strange to say, there is truth in the epigrammatic words of Ex-Senator Ingalls, that the best-governed city in the United States is the city where the people do not govern themselves. The conditions which have brought about this anomalous situation are worthy of careful consideration.

It is certainly a fact of no small importance that government without suffrage is no longer an experiment in the District of Columbia. Deprived of the right to vote for local officers or upon questions of local concern, refused even a voice in Presidential elections, denied a representative in the Congress which is their legislative body, the citizens of the District are silent and powerless factors in the working out of a singular problem. Unfortunately, perhaps, the experiment has been too successful. It has demonstrated that the boasted rights and privileges of independent citizenship can be surrendered without injury; that suffrage is not essential to acceptable government; that public

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spirit, fondly supposed to be eternally vigorous, quickly atrophies; and, above all, that the repression of the people conduces to the good rather than to the ill administration of public affairs. For, despite the fact that they do not exercise the highest expression of citizenship, the people of the District of Columbia have little reason to complain. They enjoy complete immunity from all municipal responsibility, a freedom from scandal and corruption in the dispensation of the city's funds, and a happy relief from the turmoil and disturbance of local politics. The peace of their well-ordered lives is never ruffled by the riotous Election Day. Free from the vagaries and extortions of common councilmen, with a police force unawed and uninfluenced by the ward boss, with taxes steadily maintained at economical and unchanging figures, with expenditures far removed from aldermanic whim or other official extravagance, with its official machinery working without friction, the District of Columbia presents an altogether unique example of what can be accomplished in the way of government when the people are entirely eliminated from the equation.

The few square miles that lie beneath the great white dome of the Capitol experienced many phases of municipal administration before the present system was adopted. It is worth remembering, as indicating the germinal idea out of which a now impotent and voiceless community was evolved, that in 1783 the Congress of the Confederacy fled from Philadelphia, to escape the menacing clamor of the unpaid army, after having appealed in vain for protection to the President and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. The agitation caused by this disgraceful incident finally resulted in the Constitutional clause giving to Congress the right to "exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district . . . as may . . . become the seat of government." In other words, Congress provided, as far as possible, against a repetition of its Philadelphia experiences, by assuming absolute control of its permanent home. Mob rule was a possible danger; and, having been insulted and scorned by the local authorities under whose supposed shelter they had gathered, the Fathers of the Republic embodied in themselves the future protection and vindication of the dignity of the Government.

The question, whether the framers of the Constitution, in conferring upon Congress exclusive legislative jurisdiction, intended to deprive the people of the District of Columbia of the right of suffrage, was long ago decided in the negative. Madison declared in "The Federalist," as a foregone conclusion, that the people of the District "would have their

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voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them"; and he added that a municipal legislature derived from their own suffrage would, of course, be allowed them. In fact, Congress speeedily empowered the President to appoint a mayor; the people being represented by an elective Upper and Lower Council, which were granted limited powers of legislation. Even in the incipiency of the District, however, the problems which are now uppermost presented themselves with genuine force. As far back as 1803, resolutions in Congress suggested retrocession to Maryland and Virginia, for reasons that are to-day still urged in protest against existing conditions. It was claimed, in brief, that exclusive jurisdiction was not necessary nor useful to the Government; that it deprived the inhabitants of their political rights; that much of the time of Congress was spent in legislating for the District; that the government of the District was expensive; that Congress was incompetent to legislate, because its members were strangers to local interests; and that the example of a government without representation was an experiment dangerous to the liberty of the States.

Disregarding these reasons, because of the memory of harassing events and because it was assumed that the District, when sufficiently populous, would have its representative in Congress, and in the meantime a local legislature, Congress nevertheless realized the justice of the complaints; and soon afterward the mayor was made an elective officer, suffrage being conferred on free white male citizens. In 1867 the negroes were also given the right to vote, and the councilmen and aldermen enacted local laws; but these conditions did not prove altogether satisfactory.

Agitation for representation in Congress led, in 1871, to the establishment of a territorial form of government, with a governor, secretary, board of health, a board of public works, and a legislative council,—all appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. A delegate to Congress, and a lower branch of the legislature were elected by the people. This experiment lasted only three years. The Governor, Alexander R. Shepherd, a man of determined character, broad views, and great administrative ability, began a system of comprehensive improvements; being seconded by the Board of Public Works, which had large legislative and practically executive powers. Streets were levelled with total disregard of abutting property; sewers were projected upon the most extensive scale; the old muddy thoroughfares were changed into well-paved avenues; the national capital was saved from disgrace;

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and the straggling, unkempt, forlorn village became a beautiful, attractive city.

The transformation was only accomplished, however, by the expenditure of $50,000,000, half of which was left as a debt for future generations to pay. Not only was the property of individuals practically confiscated by burdensome special taxes, and made worthless by changes of grade which left houses isolated on miniature mountains or half-submerged in newly made valleys, but the entire District was forced to the verge of bankruptcy. A revolt among the people, accentuated by the discovery of scandalous transactions in relation to contracts, led to a long and sensational investigation by Congress, and to another change of government. Although the Board of Public Works, the responsible cause of maladministration, was in no sense a representative body, having been appointed by the President, Congress decided that suffrage should be withdrawn from the people, and a system of autocracy inaugurated; offering, as a recompense, an agreement that the United States should pay one-half of the expenses of the District. For the first time in our history, the right of franchise was apparently regarded as something capable of being estimated at a cash value, amounting, as events have since determined, to about $3,000,000 annually. Whether the enforced barter would have been accepted by the people, if they had been consulted, is very questionable; but their opinion was neither asked nor desired. The District, therefore, entered in 1874 upon its new form of government; and the system proved so successful that it was made permanent in 1878.

Local affairs in the District of Columbia are now administered by three commissioners, one of whom is a Republican, another a Democrat, and the third an officer of the Engineer Corps of the army, each of whom receives $5,000 per year. The trio are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; and the civilians must have been residents of the District for at least three years. The sense of the community is not expressed in the selection. The President—very frequently a total stranger to the people whose rulers he is called upon to name—is compelled to accept such advice as may be given him by those having sufficient influence to reach his ear. The number of these is necessarily very restricted; nor are his advisers always actuated by the most disinterested motives. Petitions and letters pour into the White House, but are rarely even a factor in determining the final outcome; and it is doubtful if one in a thousand secures the President's personal attention. Sometimes mass meetings are held; but

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they have so little weight as to be more humorous than effective. The word of a personal friend, upon whose judgment the President feels he can rely, is more influential than a multitude of documents signed by persons whose names are unknown to the Chief Executive and of whose standing or reputation in the city he is equally ignorant.

Even under these apparently untoward circumstances, however, it is only fair to say that the Presidents have been, almost without exception, singularly fortunate in their selections. They have demonstrated that the principle of arbitrary choice is advantageous. With one exception, their nominees have been confirmed by the Senate, after reference to the District Committee; and in that one instance an adverse report was due not to the unfitness of the nominee, but to his having been unfortunate enough to speak disparagingly of the Committee.

Unlike the ordinary municipal officers, the Commissioners are in no wise directly responsible to the people. They have secured their appointment through the intercession of personal friends with the President; and to these agencies they are naturally grateful. Their very freedom from the restrictions of popular favor or disapproval has its advantages, as it enables them to enforce onerous, but proper, regulations unhampered by the anticipated verdict of the ballot-box. They are purely executive officers, appointed for three years, although their powers in connection with framing police, building, and plumbing regulations are quite liberal. These regulations are the routine ordinances of other cities. All other laws, from the authority to widen an alley to the assessment of taxes, must be sought from Congress, which thus becomes the common council of the District. Committees which have no other business than the consideration of purely local matters are appointed in the Senate and the House; and their chairmen are naturally all-powerful.

In the lower branch of Congress three or four hours on two days of each month are devoted to the discussion of bills reported from the House committee; but the interest taken in this class of legislation is so slight that a quorum is maintained with great difficulty. In the Senate no special time is set apart for District matters, but bills are either called up by the chairman or members of the committee, according to their pressing importance, or are considered in their order upon the calendar. It is, therefore, of the gravest consequence to the fate of any measure that the sympathy and support of the chairmen of the Senate and House committees be enlisted.

Here, again, it is not the voice of the people that is most potent. Public hearings are occasionally granted; but it is not the middle classes

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—the vast majority of the property owners—who can most readily reach the legislators. They lack the time and the money to engage in those social functions which exercise a marked influence and which are possible only to those who represent large corporations or have great interests at stake. The charge was once made before the Senate District Committee that Congress had never passed a law favorable to the laboring classes in the District. The records do not affirm this assertion; and I believe it will be granted, as a general proposition, that the District has been dealt with honestly and fairly by men who have only a most remote interest in local affairs.

Upon proposed legislation the Commissioners exercise some influence. They originate numerous bills; and their judgment is always invited as to the advisability of enacting suggested measures. Their adverse report is almost invariably fatal. In reaching their conclusions they are, as in their executive acts, free from the fear of the people. Usually they are protected from criticism in the local press by reason of the substantial favors they can dispense; and there is no other outlet for the public voice. Yet the Commissioners have, as a general rule, sought to do their duty in rigid fashion. The most serious complaint against Congress is, that it allows too many necessary laws to go unpassed. I have before me a calendar of the Senate District Committee, showing one hundred and twelve bills awaiting action. They concern as many different propositions, including the regulation of cemeteries, the sale of poisons, the protection of young girls, the chartering of street railways, the sale of milk, the prevention of smoke, the sprinkling of streets, the jurisdiction of the District Supreme Court, and even the imposition of a license tax upon itinerant musicians and the proprietors of merry-go-rounds. These, in the main, are trivial things to occupy the attention of a great national legislature; and yet they are indispensable in city government. Large numbers of these bills die at the end of each session of Congress. One would think that this condition alone would excite the restiveness of a busy, independent population. To some extent it does; but, on the whole, the great mass of the people of the District accept the situation with satisfied indifference. The present generation has come to manhood knowing naught else but this government without representation; and they accept it because they are accustomed to it and because it weighs upon them with the least degree of irksomeness. They thankfully welcome all relief from the duties and responsibilities of municipal control, and prefer to endure a few evils rather than risk the additional burdens which a change might bring.

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If, latent in the hearts of all the people of the United States, there is the sentiment plainly manifest in the District of Columbia, a limited monarchy—could one be established without revolution—would be accepted in a quarter of a century as the wisest form of government.

When suffrage was taken away from the District of Columbia, as I have already intimated, it was decided by Congress—acting arbitrarily in this as in all other matters—that the Federal Government should bear one-half of the expense of maintaining and improving the national capital. Up to that time the United States had, in nearly seventy-five years, contributed only $6,000,000 for this purpose. The justice of a fair division of this expense cannot be gainsaid. Under the deed by which the District was ceded to the Federal Government, the streets and avenues, as well as the public parks, belong to the nation. Common fairness demands an equal assignment of the cost of lighting these streets and reservations; while the police and fire departments protect government as well as private property.

These are minor details, however, compared with the broad view of the interest which the nation feels in the development of its capital. This sentiment of national pride will ever be uppermost; so that the question of governmental aid may be considered settled, even though some rural Congressman occasionally seeks notoriety by insisting that the disfranchised citizens of the District shall support the national capital at their own expense. At the same time, the contract has not been always faithfully kept. A few years ago an aqueduct tunnel was planned and constructed by army officers—no citizen of the District being in any wise responsible. When the scheme failed completely, through the incompetency and criminal negligence of the principal officer, the entire cost—about $3,000,000—was saddled upon the District, which has nothing to show for the enforced expenditure except a worthless hole in the ground. Another flagrant case is the National Park—a reservation designed, in the words of the creating law, "to benefit the entire nation." In this case, one-half of the cost was laid upon the District taxpayers; but the other half has now been assessed against the owners of adjoining property, so that the Federal Government escapes any cost whatever.

These, however, are exceptions.. There is far more reason to complain of the fact that, while in theory the United States contributes a dollar for every dollar raised by the taxpayers, actually it does nothing of the kind. The appropriations, without exception, fall short of doubling the revenues of the District; and to-day there is nearly $1,000,000

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in the Treasury, contributed by the citizens of the District, in excess of the appropriations, and which they are entitled to have expended in needed local improvements. The District requires more and larger school buildings, more adequate police and fire forces properly to protect extensive areas now lacking in that regard, and, especially, a new municipal building. All these *desiderata* seem impossible of achievement because Congress, engrossed with more important subjects, is indifferent.

Nor is there any redress. The Commissioners prepare their estimates upon anticipated revenues from taxes, licenses, water-rents, etc., and with due regard to the city's demands; but the figures are subject to the revision of some subordinate who acts for the Secretary of the Treasury, and are then considered by the Appropriations Committee of the House. This committee slashes and prunes with more or less wisdom; the paring process being based on a desire to cut all appropriations down to the lowest possible amount. The Bill must then run the gantlet of the House, many members of which are lamentably lacking in pride in the development of the nation's capital; and, finally, the same procedure is followed in the Senate. The latter body—to its credit be it said—is much broader in its views than the House; but in both bodies the direction of street improvements is largely controlled by personal influence brought to bear upon members of the committees, so that the poorer sections of the city do not always fare equitably. When the Bill has passed both Houses, and has been still further emasculated in conference, the taxpayers, who contribute one-half of the money thus appropriated, must take what is given them and be thankful.

The Federal Government carries its paternal care into the disbursement of the expenses of the District. The receipts of the local administration are deposited in the Federal Treasury; and all payments are made by warrants drawn upon that institution. There is absolutely no possibility of municipal theft or diversion of the funds. The Appropriation Bill designates the amounts to be expended, and specifies each object in detail, even to the price per lamp for street-lighting; and not one cent can, without detection, be directed into any but its proper channel. The accounting officers of the Federal Treasury stand guard over the money, and would promptly report any discrepancy or illegality. No appropriation can be exceeded for any excuse whatever. It is this security against pilfering that largely reconciles the citizen of the District to a deprivation of his suffrage rights. There may be favorit-

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ism to certain corporations in the granting of minor privileges; but the wholesale robbery of the public till—too common in many municipalities—is unknown in the District of Columbia, because it is impossible.

The President, as previously stated, does more than appoint the commissioners. He selects the local judiciary, even to the police-court judges, the justices of the peace, and the notaries public; he names the recorder of deeds, the register of wills, and, of course, the postmaster and the United States marshal. In fact, he practically rules over his little kingdom through his personal appointees; and Presidents have been known to dictate the appointment of friends from their own States to very subordinate places. In none of these selections does the popular will manifest itself by the usual method. It is the Presidential coterie that suggests and advises. The people are expected to acquiesce quietly; and they rarely disappoint by failing in obedient resignation. One reason is, that great care is generally exercised in selection; but, as a matter of fact, protest would be of little avail.

It must not be supposed that there is no dissatisfaction whatever. The spirit which led to the tea episode in Boston harbor and to the revolt of the colonies which resented the remark of King George, that the people could not govern themselves, while it has become to a very large degree inactive in the District of Columbia, is, nevertheless, alive in a few liberty-loving and protesting souls. For the past ten or fifteen years these faithful advocates of suffrage have knocked persistently, but vainly, at the doors of Congress for a restoration of their ancient rights. Their arguments, it must be admitted, appeal to every characteristic of the typical American nature, and are based primarily upon the wrongfulness of taxation without representation, the difficulty of securing legislation from Congress, and the discrimination shown against a large and intelligent community. They emphasize the fact, that the danger which, in the days of the Confederacy, threatened the Congress, is now past. The Capitol was safe from intrusion even during the exciting and turbulent period of the war, when franchise was enjoyed to its fullest extent by the citizens of the District. They show that even Ireland is represented in Parliament, and that the residents of the capitals of Europe are not deprived of a voice in municipal affairs; and they insist that no reason can possibly exist why the inhabitants of the American capital should be considered less capable of self-control. The citizens of State capitals are not restricted in the enjoyment of their rights; and certainly we have not reached that stage where the people of the national capital are likely to endanger the safety of Congress or to loot the Treasury through

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the endowment of franchise. To quote Gen. E. F. Beale, the friend of Grant,—

> "It is better to trust the ability of the people to govern themselves than to retain a form of government which causes a great and growing population to lose their self-respect, and engenders a feeling of discontent and degradation, because they are not admitted to the equal rights of the citizens of their country."

If Congress so desired, it could, without doubt, delegate to a local legislature the functions of municipal government. These powers were actually transferred from 1802 to 1871; and during that time the affairs of the city were so economically administered that, although the Federal Government contributed little or nothing to the support of the national capital, a debt of only $3,000,000 was contracted. Nor must it be overlooked that the people of the District, although forming no part of the governing body of the republic, have always borne, without complaint, their share of national burdens. They have paid direct taxes in full proportion to the population; and they have furnished their quota in every war. Even now they maintain a militia that has recently proved its readiness to bear arms in support of a government which deems these soldiers incapable of becoming citizens. Viewed also from the standpoint of population, wealth, and taxable property, the District is worthy of consideration. Last year it paid more internal revenue taxes than Montana, nearly twice as much as Oregon, and more than the States of Vermont, Delaware, Mississippi, South Dakota, and Idaho combined. Its population—nearly 300,000—is almost twice as large as that of Montana, exceeds Delaware by nearly 100,000, and aggregates more than Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada combined. The assessed valuation of its taxable property alone—not including the Government buildings and reservations—is exceeded by only twelve cities in the United States, viz., Baltimore, Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, San Francisco, and St. Louis. In other words, it is not a mere country village upon which the experiment of government without suffrage has been imposed.

The payment by the United States of one-half of the expenses of the District government is the equivalent for the deprivation of the ballot. It is the mess of pottage for which the people were compelled to part with their birthright; and, in the minds of a very large proportion of the population, it is a sufficient compensation. It insures a tax-rate of $1.50 per $100. The average tax-rate of one hundred and six leading cities is $2.10; and Omaha and Des Moines are inflicted with a levy of over $5. The taxes in the District of Columbia are, therefore, not only

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moderate, but are not liable to change; the rate being fixed by Federal law.

It is this certainty of inexpensive assessment, coupled with absolute freedom from the distraction and insecurity of local politics, that not only contents the average citizen with present conditions, but attracts to Washington the leisured rich from all sections of the country, who build costly homes and contribute to the social gayety of the Presidential court. This class of citizens, as can be readily understood, is extremely desirable; and their presence is a powerful obstacle in the way of franchise agitation. Many Senators and Representatives, too, own property in the District; and, observing with no small degree of pleasure the tranquillity and security of the District government, as compared with the administration of their own cities, will not vote for any change which threatens these conditions. In vain is Congress informed that the capital of the republic—the people's model government—should exhibit to the resident ambassadors of all nations the safety and stability of its free institutions, and be illustrative of the good sense and sound judgment of a people vested with political rights. In vain is it protested that the present form of local government is essentially wrong, in that it is based upon the assumed incompetency of one of the most intelligent communities in the world to govern itself, upon the denial of home rule to the people—thus discrediting republican institutions everywhere—and upon the destruction of all incentive on the part of the young to interest and educate themselves either in local affairs or in the general government.

Congress hears these arguments on the one hand, and then listens, on the other, to the appeal of the people to be spared from a repetition of the scenes which converted Washington on Election Day into a veritable "Devil's cauldron." Above all, Congress is told that the balance of power would be held by the negro class. This, indeed, is getting very near to the root of the whole matter. In the South the negro is disfranchised by methods not altogether fair or legal: in the District of Columbia there is a white man's government, even though it is attained by closing the polls against all men.

And yet, is it not strange that the capital of a great republic like the United States should be an object-lesson of successful government by autocratic and oligarchical methods? Is it not remarkable that three hundred thousand citizens should rest content under conditions which elsewhere would be condemned as un-American and un-republican? Most extraordinary of all, however, is the fact, that fifty or sixty thou-

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sand children are being taught that the ballot is an unclean thing, fit only for the lowest classes of society; that it is the fear of the control of the poor and the ignorant that prevents suffrage; that elections are disturbing, unnecessary, and unwise; that taxation without representation is not tyranny; and that the government in which the people have no voice is the safest, the most economical, the best government of all.

These seem strange lessons to inculcate in the minds of young Americans; but—perhaps, unfortunately—they are drawn from the daily observation of their environment. The property-owning, conservative class, secure and satisfied, asks no change. These men know that with the appointing power the shiftless, the indolent, the discontented, and the anarchistic can have no influence whatever; and thus property interests are safe, so far as they can be protected by favoring rulers and indulgent laws. Here, indeed, we find an ideal government. Should we, however, carry its principles to their logical conclusion, and adapt them to the entire country, the result must startle all thinking men; for the people of the United States are fostering, at the very heart of the republic, ideas which, exemplified in a nation instead of a community, would lead inevitably to the establishment of a monarch upon the throne.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF GERMANY: ITS MERITS AND ITS DEFECTS.

THE great Swiss pedagogue, Pestalozzi, once compared the entire system of educational training to a large building of three stories. These stories, united by stairways, correspond to the three successive stages embodied in the *Volksschule* (common school), the *Mittelschule* (secondary school), and the *Hochschule* (university). This essay, therefore, resolves itself into three parts; but as the last of these has already been discussed by Prof. Eucken,[1] my task will be confined to a treatment of the first and second subdivisions of the subject.

The entire school system of Germany (private schools are of course omitted from this discussion) bears the unmistakable impress of state influence. The most noteworthy evidence of this influence is that education is compulsory. It was amid the stormy period of the Thirty Years' War that the city of Weimar introduced this bold and startling innovation. Here for the first time school-attendance became obligatory upon all. Gotha introduced the new system in 1642; Brunswick, in 1647; Würtemberg, in 1649; and Prussia, not until 1716. This compulsory education, however, must not be regarded as a restriction upon liberty; for it was devised principally as a safeguard against the indifference and ignorance of parents. That gratuitous education—during the elementary course at least—must necessarily constitute a corollary of the above system, has only recently been recognized. The introduction of free education in the lower departments must be considered as an important advance; for, by reason of this innovation, both the organization and the supervision of the school system are intrusted to the state itself, from which also all appointments proceed.

It cannot be said that this system is entirely free from defects. The first and paramount duty of our European states is to guard against aggression from without; and this duty, which is forced upon them by the enmity and rivalry of their neighbors, frequently overshadows the higher aims of civilization and culture. Our common schools, for in-

[1] "Liberty in Teaching in the German Universities," by Prof. R. EUCKEN in THE FORUM for December, 1897.

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stance, have seriously suffered from inadequate financial support. The fact, however, that the University of Berlin was established by Prussia immediately after her reverses at Jena proves that even then she recognized the true secret of power, viz., superior intelligence supported by solid education; and, despite occasional interruptions, Prussia has steadily pursued her high ideal. Nor can it be denied that state supervision has introduced some uniformity, formalism, and red tape—factors detrimental to educational progress. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that, without governmental control, the schools—in most German states—would be dominated either by an ultramontanism opposed to all enlightenment, or at least by a rigid and intolerant orthodoxy. Thus we see that the state must be regarded as a barrier against the encroachments of the church.

A resort to arbitrary measures on the part of the state is also improbable: for such a proceeding would be at once checked by that love of individual liberty peculiar to the Germanic race; and nowhere is this sentiment more pronounced than in the department of education. The independence of the several states of the Empire in educational matters furnishes an additional guarantee that power will not be arbitrarily exercised. This independence serves also to introduce variety into a system which might otherwise lead to strict uniformity; while it stimulates a most active competition among the various members of the confederation. It is true that the Dresden Conference of 1872 formulated a plan of instruction which contained regulations affecting all the middle schools of the Empire, and that it also appointed an Imperial School Commission. The regulations, however, were liberally construed, while the powers of the Commission were limited; consequently, the plan did not lead to uniformity. Again, in 1890, when the educational conference took place at Berlin, the Emperor of Germany suggested certain changes in the administration of the secondary schools of Prussia,—among other innovations, the eligibility of non-Prussian teachers for appointments in Prussian schools was solicited. Believing this measure to have been devised by Prussia merely for the purpose of securing control of the entire educational system, the states of Bavaria and Würtemberg at once introduced certain reforms of their own, by means of which the plans of Prussia were completely forestalled. This adroit move on the part of Bavaria and Würtemberg was everywhere hailed with satisfaction; for it was the general belief that by this means a serious danger had been averted.

Turning now to a consideration of the *Volksschule* (common school),

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we find that this institution, like the secondary school, was a creation of the state and not of the church, and that its foundation was due to the principle of compulsory education. The error of tracing the origin of the common school to the church arises from the fact that church influence has always been very powerful in the institution. In the majority of the German states, the common schools are organized according to creed; while the supervisors are recruited from the ranks of the clergy. Baden is the only exception to this rule. The question of reform, however, is now being strenuously agitated, more particularly in Würtemberg, where the demand is being made that the superintendence of common schools be intrusted to competent pedagogues. In 1892 Prussia submitted a new plan for the regulation of these schools. This plan, which was evidently designed for the purpose of converting the school into a clerical institution, was swept away by a veritable storm of opposition; and the principle of state control was once more victorious.

The introduction of compulsory education resulted in supplying the schools with pupils. Teachers, however, were lacking; and the subject-matter and methods of instruction were neglected.

The question of adequate remuneration for teachers was first discussed about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first German seminary for common-school teachers was founded in 1698 at Gotha. Prussia followed in 1735. To-day, the maintenance of these institutions, which are constantly increasing in number, has become one of the principal functions of the state; and the high standard of excellence of our present corps of instructors is undoubtedly due to them. As regards adequacy of remuneration, there is still much to be desired. The most fortunate in this respect are the teachers in a few large cities. It may be said, also, that the smaller states of Germany have gone further than Prussia in providing an ample compensation for their teachers. In the Eastern districts of Prussia the conditions are still very unsatisfactory. The agrarian and feudal principles which still prevail in those sections are detrimental to progress. The situation in East Prussia affects the individual teacher by subjecting him to constant care and worriment. This, however, is not its worst feature. It has created wide-spread dissatisfaction among the entire profession; and such dissatisfaction must naturally retard the advancement of higher educational purposes. Yet, even here, the conditions are slowly, but surely, improving.

A higher culture on the part of teachers is now also considered requisite. The first to advocate an improvement in this regard was

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Prof. Diesterweg, the director of a "Teachers' Seminary" in Prussia. It was he who, during the fourth decade of the present century, championed the cause of our common-school teachers. His efforts were combated by the Reactionary party during the reign of Frederick William IV; and at this time also the Stiehl Act of 1854 was devised, in order to reduce the educational standard of the teachers to the lowest possible grade.

Although matters improved somewhat under the more liberal *régime* of the Falk ministry, no material advance was made. To-day, however, the question of a higher educational standard for common-school teachers is being widely discussed. It is true that there is still some difference of opinion as to requirements and methods. Some regard a familiarity with at least one foreign language as an indispensable qualification; others advocate attendance at a preparatory school; and a few even insist upon a preparatory course at a university. I, personally, have advocated the introduction of holiday courses at the university, similar to those now existing in America; and this plan has found favor among a large number of teachers. The most agreeable feature of the whole movement lies in the fact that it is conducted by the teachers themselves; and herein I believe we may find a guarantee of its ultimate success.

The educational requirements of teachers naturally stand in close relation to the subjects and methods of instruction. The question of a suitable curriculum was not agitated until the advent of Pestalozzi. It was he who paved the way to a rational system of common-school pedagogues,—a system which Prussia was the first to introduce into Germany. Fichte and Wilhelm von Humboldt were among the most enthusiastic admirers of the great Swiss educator, to whom many young Prussians were sent, in order that they might acquire his methods. The common schools of Prussia were established upon the Pestalozzian system; and these schools afterward became the model for those of other German states. It is true that they are characterized by a certain formalism, which the innovations of Herbart only served to increase. Too much stress is laid upon the method itself, which, after all, is but the means to an end. On the other hand, it is well to remember that a certain degree of formalism is indispensable to the multitude, who so frequently are lacking in independent judgment. I feel certain that, despite this rigidity of method, men of ability will still be enabled to develop their ideas according to their individual convictions.

Pestalozzi has been accepted in Germany both as a schoolman and

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as a master of method. From him arithmetic and observation-study received their first great impulse. The social element in Pestalozzi, however, which revealed itself in his advocacy of a general popular training, has only recently been recognized. We are now beginning to perceive that one of the principal defects of our common-school system is its one-sided intellectual attitude. Too much stress is laid upon reading and writing, and, more particularly, upon the element of orthography, the use of which in German is somewhat arbitrary and, consequently, valueless as an educational factor. Our elementary instruction should be of a more practical nature; and the development of the reasoning powers should be more strongly accentuated. Manual training is now recognized as an important factor; and the introduction of this element into our schools is rapidly progressing. At Leipsic there is now a special seminary for manual training; and a society, aiming at the extension of this branch of education, has recently sprung into existence. The introduction of the study of law into our common schools is now also being considered. It remains to be seen to what extent this subject may be profitably taught to pupils under fourteen. A knowledge of law would undoubtedly be beneficial to those who are compelled to leave school at that age. The question involved is one of great importance, and deserves careful consideration.

Our common schools have lost their religious character, once so pronounced. Besides subjects of general importance, such as German, drawing, history, and civics, both agriculture and special technical subjects are now taught. The *Fortbildungschulen*, which devote some attention to the above branches, should not, however, be confounded with our special "Technical Institutes." Instruction in housekeeping now constitutes a special branch of female education in the progressive schools; while thorough instruction in knitting and sewing is already given in the common schools.

I now turn to a consideration of the moral element. It has been frequently said of the German schools that they instruct too much, and impart too little moral training. This censure, however, is unmerited. The school, as such, undoubtedly tends to develop public spirit; and it teaches the individual to subordinate his own welfare to that of the commonwealth. Good schooling is inseparable from moral training; and I cannot agree with those—the Herbartians, for example—who would impress their own particular views on morality upon the mind of youth. It is true, however, that our half-grown youths, say those of fourteen to eighteen years, whose schooling has frequently been insuffi-

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cient, suffer from a lack of moral training. In this respect, also, the progressive course which has been introduced into our common schools will be fruitful of good results. Thus we see how much there is still undeveloped, still to be perfected. I believe, however, that this condition is not derogatory, but creditable, to us. It shows that we are not stagnating, but steadily progressing.

I regret that this cannot be said also of our secondary schools, the present condition of which may truthfully be said to be a critical one. Instead of uniting in the pursuit of a common goal, the forces here are split into factions. The establishment of the *Gymnasium* antedates that of the common school. It assumed its modern form during the humanistic sixteenth century. During the seventeenth, and far into the eighteenth, century the *Gymnasium* perceptibly declined. It revived, however, under the influence of such intellectual leaders as Herder, Winckelmann, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and William von Humboldt. The last, in his capacity of Prussian Minister of Culture, introduced the spirit of modern humanism into the *Gymnasium*. The aim of Humboldt, like that of Pestalozzi, was the uplifting of the German mind: the enthusiastic efforts of the modern humanists, whose scientific leader was the eminent philologist, Augustus Wolf, were directed more particularly toward raising the status of the *Gymnasium*. The study of Latin and Greek was still considered of primary importance —an importance enhanced by reason of the stress now laid upon the æsthetic and historical bearing of these languages. At the same time, the physical sciences demanded an ever-wider consideration in the curriculum. This constant extension of the realistic sciences, combined with the already exacting demands of the classics, tended to an overcrowding of the curriculum.

As early as the third decade of the present century pedagogues and physicians issued warnings against the dangers which might arise from a further extension of study; and this matter is still a point of discussion. It must be admitted, however, that many of these complaints are somewhat exaggerated, and that they not infrequently savor of effeminacy. As it is, our school officials have already made too many concessions. One unfortunate result of these concessions has been that the classics have been forced farther and farther into the background; while the time devoted to their study has been considerably shortened. Owing to the existence of the *Realschulen* (special schools devoted to the pursuit of the natural sciences) this abridgment of the classics in our *Gymnasien* was perhaps unnecessary.

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The *Realschulen* are more recent institutions than the *Gymnasien*. They were established at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *i.e.*, at a time when the practical spirit of modern life began to manifest its presence in every department of thought and action. For a long time the *Realschulen* had the character of technical schools; and the propagation of general culture was regarded as of but secondary importance. Indeed, the true mission of these schools was not recognized until about the second decade of the present century. As understood to-day, their mission consists in preparing the student for an active participation in all the practical affairs of life; for which purpose the study of the physical sciences, modern languages, and mathematics is deemed of especial importance. On this account the adoption of Latin as part of the curriculum was left entirely to the discretion of the school. As a knowledge of Latin, however, is considered a necessary qualification to civil service in Prussia, most of the *Realschulen* instituted a Latin course. As this was not done for pedagogical purposes, but solely as a matter of expediency, the instruction thus given was naturally of a somewhat desultory character.

There are to-day in Prussia two classes of *Realschulen*—Latin and non-Latin—or, as they have been designated since 1859, *Realgymnasien* and *Realschulen*. In South Germany, and more particularly in Würtemberg, the *Realgymnasium* sprang from the *Gymnasium* itself. In the South German institutions pupils who omitted the Greek course were formed into classes in which English, mathematics, and physics were taught. In 1867 these classes were separated entirely from the *Gymnasium*, and became the nucleus of a distinct institution.

As a result of this development, our secondary schools may be divided into three classes, viz., *Humanistische Gymnasien*, *Realgymnasien*, and *Latein Realschulen*. This division is undoubtedly advantageous, as it prevents uniformity. Regarded from a practical point of view, however, it is not without serious drawbacks. To cities of medium size, the maintenance of three distinct school-organizations was a great expense; also, with these conditions, the selection of a proper school was frequently a matter of considerable difficulty. For this reason, the formation of a "Unified School" was suggested; and the plan, formulated in Frankfort, providing for such a school, has met with considerable favor in Prussia. This plan provides for a unification of the three above-mentioned divisions of the secondary schools. French is taught at the beginning of the course; while Latin is introduced in the fourth, and Greek in the sixth term. As the system has not gone beyond the ex-

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perimental stage, an expression of opinion as to its merits would be somewhat premature. One of the principal objections to the system is the introduction of French before Latin. Whoever recognizes the importance of Latin as a grammatical basis for the Romanic languages must necessarily condemn a system which gives precedence to French. The very late introduction of Greek must also be regarded as a serious objection, as it precludes the possibility of acquiring a thorough knowledge of that language. I regard it as a grievous pedagogical error to fatigue pupils of fourteen to sixteen years with declensions, etc. Such elementary instruction is better adapted to pupils of ten to twelve, who might profitably devote one hour daily to this study. Those above the age of fourteen require material of a more intellectual order. As it is, the knowledge of the classical languages is steadily declining; and, should it sink considerably below its present level, we shall have a discussion as to its actual utility—except, perhaps, for theological and philological purposes. I cannot agree with those who regard the unified schools as favorable to the classics; on the contrary, I believe their establishment indicates the beginning of the end of the humanistic system. At present the question of the classics is being debated; and the end of the discussion is yet far distant.

As regards organization, the school is virtually a union of three, or, strictly speaking, of four systems, divided into nine classes. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. The pupil enters the sixth and lowest grade at the age of nine or ten, and graduates at about eighteen or nineteen. Now the question arises, whether it would not be better to begin the study of foreign languages at twelve, or thereabouts, rather than at the early age of nine. Another and more serious difficulty, brought about by the establishment of the unified school, lies in the question of eligibility to the university. The principal aim of the humanistic gymnasium was to enable the pupil to select any of the faculties at the university: the *Realschule*, on the other hand, qualified him for admission to a technical institute only. The graduates of the unified school (*Realgymnasium*), however, claimed the right to enter either of the above-named institutions; and this right was called into question by the universities. While the latter were willing to admit graduates of the *Realgymnasium* to a course in mathematics, physics, or modern languages, they positively refused to admit them into the medical faculty, for which the diploma of the humanistic gymnasium was still regarded as essential. I personally incline to the opinion that the graduates of the *Realgymnasium* are, in some respects, better qualified to enter the

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university than are their colleagues of the humanistic gymnasium; for the *Realgymnasium* affords an excellent preparatory training in mathematics and physics—departments of the utmost value to the student of medicine.

Greek, another important element of the humanistic gymnasium, is no longer regarded as absolutely essential to the student of medicine: it is merely an ornament, an accomplishment. Upon the whole, I believe that we Germans are too painfully particular as to methods, and that our educational lines are altogether too precise. Young men, however gifted and thorough, cannot enter upon a professional career unless they have complied with every minute requirement of a long and complicated system. I am in favor of abrogating the so-called monopoly of the humanistic gymnasium; and I am also opposed to the excess of formalism and officialism which has crept into our schools.

Another serious drawback of our educational system arises from the relation between the school and the voluntary service of one year's duration in the army; only those being exempt from the full term of military service who have successfully passed the examination in the *Untersecunda* (sub-junior class) of a secondary school. An arrangement so foreign to educational purposes must necessarily be condemned. It may be useful to the army organization; it may also induce many to attend the secondary school, who would otherwise remain away; nevertheless, it must be considered a source of serious injury to the school itself, as it brings into it an element which has but one aim in view—qualification for the voluntary service. Frequently destitute of inclination or ability, these scholars remain throughout a course of six years, *i.e.*, to the end of the sub-junior year; acting as an encumbrance upon the other pupils, and tending to lower the standard of instruction. Nor is this all.

I have already stated that many of the aspirants to the voluntary service leave school immediately after the final examination at the end of the sub-junior year. Now this examination—introduced by Prussia in 1891—seriously interferes with the general progress of the school, and particularly affects the four upper classes. The abolition of this law is now universally solicited. When the term of active military service was reduced from three years to two, the belief was general that the institution of the voluntary service would cease to exist. It remained unchanged, however; and the school is still compelled to suffer from the pernicious influence thus exerted.

Here the question arises, whether we do not indeed overestimate the

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importance of our examinations. In this regard, I believe in the axiom, "the fewer, the better." This, of course, does not apply to the *Abiturientenexamen* (final examination for the university) which takes place at the end of the full course of nine years. The abolition of this examination has also been urged upon the ground that, after all, the faculty are the most competent judges as to the qualifications of would-be graduates. I personally am in favor of a public examination conducted by a state commissioner, who assumes all the responsibility for the result. In this way the interests of the faculty, as well as those of the public, are protected; while the students, in order to prepare for the examination, are compelled to undertake a general review, which must prove of great benefit to them.

Despite its defects, we may justly take pride in the results attained by our secondary systems; and these results may be attributed mainly to the excellence of our staff of instructors. Our teachers must be qualified for their profession by a university training; and they must comply with the requirements of a rigorous state examination before they receive their diploma. In addition to this scientific training, a preparatory pedagogical course is now also considered essential. For a long time teaching was considered as a natural gift,—something that could not be acquired. Recent developments, however, have proved the fallacy of this assumption; and radical reforms are being seriously contemplated. The question now at issue is whether pedagogics can best be taught at the university or at the gymnasium. The majority of the German states have decided in favor of the latter; but a criticism as to the value of this one-year course would at present be altogether premature. It is to be feared that the free development of individuality would be more seriously hampered at the gymnasium than at the university; a fixed belief in the infallibility of some one method being a proverbial characteristic of the former institution.

A deplorable circumstance, which deserves mention in this connection, is the refusal of the Government to give our teachers a salary commensurate with their increased efficiency, and to place them upon an equal footing with the other officials of the state. The solution of this question must, however, be left to the future.

The results obtained in the various departments of knowledge have, upon the whole, been extremely satisfactory; but the instruction in the classical languages has given rise to considerable debate. The very learned manner in which the science of philology is treated in Germany also affects the schools, which are altogether too philological. This

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difficulty might be removed by instilling into the minds of our pedagogical students at the gymnasium the importance of the principle of practical utility as opposed to an indefinite extension of a cumbrous and unnecessary scientific knowledge. A more serious evil, however, arises from the constant reduction of the time devoted to Latin and Greek. At first it was thought that improved methods might justify an economy of time without entailing a loss of material; but these hopes were destined to be disappointed. It is true that in consequence of more direct methods a little Latin may now be rapidly acquired; but a thorough knowledge of the ancient languages and familiarity with classical literature are the results of long and systematic cultivation. In this respect, public opinion also deserves consideration. The ancient languages are not so highly valued to-day as they were formerly; for the utilitarian spirit—which I by no means desire to condemn—is in the ascendant. This condition has brought about a gradual decline of the classics; and the day may not be very distant when their very *raison d'être* will be called into question. To many of us, such a contingency would be a matter of sincere regret; but, whatever our personal feelings, we may have to bow to the inevitable.

The complaint has been recently made that the time devoted to Latin and Greek seriously interferes with the study of German and history. I cannot share this opinion: on the contrary, I hold that, with the exception of the time allotted to modern languages, every hour spent in school involves a lesson in German. Moreover, I believe that the linguistic training obtained by the study of Latin grammar cannot fail to be highly beneficial also in its application to German. A minute grammatical analysis of the German language is not congenial to our boys: it wearies them, and really appears unnecessary. Moreover, nothing promotes proficiency in reading so much as careful and systematic translating. For this reason, printed translations are less serviceable than the original Latin and Greek texts.

As regards the study of history, it has been urged that our pupils should be conducted directly to Leipsic and Sedan, instead of travelling thither by the roundabout way of Thermopylæ and Cairo. As if ancient history did not furnish the very highest examples of patriotism in all its grandeur and simplicity! How unwise it would be to initiate the people at once into the complex political conditions of modern times! It cannot be denied that there was a time when the study of ancient history was too strongly accentuated; yet a thorough knowledge of so important a subject must certainly be regarded as a distinct advantage.

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Another subject of dispute is the relative importance of the political departments of history. That the study of civics is gradually growing in favor, cannot be denied. The scholastic treatment of such a subject, however, is attended with considerable difficulty. As it is, the fate of European nations has always been decided upon the battle-field. It will therefore be necessary, notwithstanding the protests of our Peace Societies, to familiarize our pupils with the wars of the past. Both departments of history should be treated with equal consideration; for we can dispense with neither of them.

Probably the most important results of our new methods may be observed in the department of modern languages. Here the synthetic has been superseded by the analytic method. Using the reader as a basis, the pupil seeks at once to familiarize himself with the oral language. This, however, is by no means an easy task—particularly for pupils of little ability. As regards the phonetic method, this is as yet but sparingly used.

The subject of mathematics, as now taught in our gymnasiums, is altogether too exacting; and the pupils are overburdened with material. Less knowledge is acquired in this way than is generally supposed; while the sense of honesty of the pupils is seriously jeopardized,—a most unfortunate circumstance, when we consider that the study of mathematics, apart from its intellectual value, has been always regarded as a powerful moral agent.

Natural science is as yet taught merely in a general way. This study is fruitful of good results only when it acts as a stimulus to independent investigation and experimenting. This is true of all branches of study; and I am happy to say that in this respect the German schools are to be commended, as independent investigation is everywhere encouraged. At the same time the scholastic character must be preserved; and the censure frequently directed against us by reason of our exactness of method is really undeserved. There might, indeed, be some justification for this censure, were it not for the freedom and independence of action prevailing at our universities,—institutions which are positively unrivalled in this particular. Now the best preparative for this freedom of action may be found in the strict routine of our schools, where the conscientious performance of a stated task is made a daily requirement. What has been inculcated at school, by precept and practice, is cheerfully and voluntarily performed at the university.

What has been said of mathematics applies also to philosophy. I am opposed to a further extension of this study at the gymnasium; be-

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lieving that its elaborate cultivation lies more particularly within the province of the university. It is in the latter institution that the future teacher of our secondary school becomes imbued with the philosophical spirit so essential to his vocation.

Our present school organization is designed primarily to meet the requirements of a military and official system; nevertheless, the question of commercial training is now also receiving serious consideration. As a rule, young men desirous of entering upon a commercial career leave the gymnasium as soon as they receive the certificate qualifying them for the voluntary army service; while those who wish to continue their studies remain until the end of the course. Naturally the *Realschulen* and *Realgymnasien* are better adapted to the requirements of these young men than is the humanistic gymnasium. The lack of special commercial institutes, however, is now seriously felt; and it is to be hoped that the plan for the establishment of a *Handelsschule* (commercial institute) will soon be carried into execution.

A few words concerning the education of our girls may not be out of place here.

In the common schools, the course for the girls is practically identical with that for the boys—with the exception, perhaps, that manual training for boys has only recently been introduced as a counterpart to the needlework of the girls. Beyond these schools there are also numerous seminaries for the training of teachers. In this respect, indeed, the supply is already in excess of the demand.

Less gratifying is the picture presented in the higher departments of female education. Here the inequality of instruction in the various states is still very marked. Probably the best equipped are the larger cities of Baden: in other localities the conditions are still very unsatisfactory. Pupils are already admitted into our female institutes at the age of six. After passing through ten classes they graduate at the age of sixteen: they are permitted, however, to leave at fourteen if they so desire. Prussia has recently effected a radical change, by limiting the number of classes to nine, instead of ten as heretofore. This shortens the term by one year—and lowers the standard of female education accordingly. The so-called "voluntary select course" of one year, which has been substituted by Prussia, is nothing more than an educational tidbit—an inducement to dilettanteism. The organization of nine classes particularly affects those who desire to enter the "Teachers' Seminary." The latter institution still adheres to the old plan, and accepts no pupil

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under the age of sixteen; consequently, the graduate of fifteen must wait an entire year before obtaining admission to it. Such an interval of enforced idleness, at a period when the incentive to study is by no means powerful, must necessarily prove injurious. Our "Female Institutes" are mainly private enterprises; here and there they are under municipal control; while in Baden they are principally organized by the state. In consequence of these varying conditions the institutes are characterized by a pronounced inequality, as regards both the curriculum and the results obtained.

In conclusion, let me say that we are ever ready to acknowledge our defects; and herein lies the secret of our strength. We differ from America, inasmuch as we are an old nation, with a school system that has its history and its traditions. This is a source both of strength and of weakness. Nevertheless, we do not rest upon our past achievements.

THEOBALD ZIEGLER.

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THE IDEAL TRAINING OF THE AMERICAN GIRL.

In my article on "The Ideal Training of an American Boy," in THE FORUM for July, 1894, I said that, since freedom is "the ferment and self-realizing energy of American life," and may be defined as "that power which necessarily belongs to the self-conscious being, of determining his actions in view of the highest, the universal good," freedom, thus defined, must be the aim of American education. And this holds good for the education of girls. America stands for simple, universal humanity, whose essential constituent is rational moral life, or life in the whole, and can admit no specialization of education for different sexes or classes, except in so far as this is demanded by the natural or institutional organization of that life itself. A woman is, first of all, a human being and a free spirit; and, as such, she claims an education into actual freedom.

In trying to outline, then, the education of the American girl, as differing from that of the American boy, we must begin by inquiring what are the special functions of women in the institutions of moral life,—the functions which they alone can perform, or can perform better than men. This inquiry is not a difficult one. The only functions which women alone can perform lie in the sphere of the family. When we come into the larger spheres of economic production, state, and church, or into those of science, art, literature, and education, we find it almost impossible to name a function for which women have not shown themselves in some degree suited. They have been excellent farmers, manufacturers, merchants, lawyers, councillors, sovereigns, doctors, preachers, mathematicians, physicists, astronomers, teachers, professors, college presidents, sculptors, painters, architects, poets, novelists, actresses, and so forth. At the same time, it argues a distinct bias, to deny that there are in economic, social, and political life, as well as in the arts and sciences, certain functions for which women are less well fitted than men, and others for which they are better fitted; and, though perhaps there will always be a few brilliant exceptions to any rule laid down in this matter, the obvious fact has to be taken into account in dealing with women's education.

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The important question is: Can we discover any principle determining, in a general way, the extra-family functions for which women have an aptitude equal to, or greater than, that of men, and excluding those for which they have little or no aptitude? It seems as if we could. Though all the elements of spiritual activity—intelligence, affection, will—are present in both sexes, they are not present in the same proportion. If we regard affection or desire as the primitive fact in human nature,—as, indeed, it is in all that lives,—and intelligence and will as partial differentiations of this, we may say that undifferentiated affection predominates in women, and differentiated intelligence and will in men.

Regarded from this point of view, women might perhaps be said to belong to a more primitive type of humanity than men. While men place an interval between thought and act, women are apt to follow feelings directly, in a half-instinctive way. In other words, while men, through reflection, base their actions on consciously recognized general principles, women are wont to respond emotionally to individual and concrete cases. This is the reason why the latter so often show more ready tact and intuition, more conservatism and conscientiousness, but less originality, than the former. This comes out curiously in school-life. If, when a theme for an essay is set to a mixed class of young men and women, distinct directions be given as to form, method, and length, and the sources of information named, the young women will do best. If, on the contrary, no directions or references are given, and the pupils are left to shift for themselves, so that research and originality are called for, the young men will do best. I have often made this experiment.

We may say, then, that, while men are best fitted for those occupations that call for reflection, original thought, and the discovery of new principles, women are best fitted for those that call for the ready application of old and well-known principles. This is attested in numerous ways by the facts of history. Women cling to old habits, customs, and fashions—not to speak of superstitions and religions—much longer than men; while they rarely show themselves inventors, even in their own sphere of activity. The sewing-machine was the invention of men; and so, no doubt, were the loom and the spinning-wheel. Men acquire and produce: women receive and preserve. And along with this mental difference goes a physical difference. Men, as a rule, are larger, stronger, and more aggressive; women are finer, more tender, and more sympathetic. This, of course, implies no inferiority of one sex to the

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other. Both types of character are equally essential to social well-being.

It may, however, be said that, while these differences must obviously be admitted as regards the past, it were well that they should disappear in the future, and, therefore, that the education of boys and girls should now, as far as possible, be the same. This is the view of all those persons who have a passion for monotonous uniformity, as well as of those advocates of women's rights who persist in making these mean men's rights. But such passion and advocacy are, it seems to me, only evidences of crudity and want of culture. As these are left behind, more and more delight will be derived from harmony in difference, so that the tendency will be to emphasize, rather than otherwise, the distinctive characteristics of man and woman, and to show how they supplement each other.

From what has been said, it may be concluded that there are three things to be steadily kept in view in the education of girls: (1) They must be educated as free beings, as beings who are ends in and for themselves, and whose relations to institutions are to be freely entered upon, not imposed from without; (2) they must receive such instruction as shall enable them to maintain this attitude toward the domestic, economic, social, political, and religious worlds; and (3) they must be prepared to fill the positions of wife and mother, should they freely decide to place themselves therein.

As far as the first of these aims is concerned, there need not be any very great difference between the education of girls and that of boys. As free spirits, both have the same end, namely, self-realization; and they reach it by the same means,—by clear insight into the nature and meaning of life, by strong, well-distributed affection, and by beneficent will, regulated by insight and affection, all of them depending, for their fullest exercise, upon a healthy, well-trained body. Truth is the same for men and women; affectional or moral values are the same for both; the wills of both have the same end. Two differences, indeed, there are: (1) Even when the same instruction is given, its content will be emphasized somewhat differently by the two sexes. Boys will show more interest in pure theory, in the solution of difficult problems, for example; girls, in what appeals to emotion. (2) Naturally, too, physical training for girls will have to be less violent than for boys. As to the former of these, it does not follow that there need be any difference in the instruction. What is needed is rather a judicious combination of male and female teachers, and perhaps a certain difference in examinations.

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Here comes up the much-vexed question of coeducation, which seems to me never to have been presented in its proper light, or with the necessary distinctions; and this for the reason that no clear line has been drawn between education for spiritual culture and education for a vocation. As far as the former is concerned, I believe that everything is gained, and nothing lost, by coeducation. The fear, long entertained, that it would lead to precocious love-making and other unfortunate relations between the sexes, has, by ample experience in our common and high schools, and in many of our colleges, been proved utterly groundless. There is no country in the world in which the relations between the sexes are so simple, natural, free, and healthy as in the United States, and this, it can hardly be doubted, is largely due to coeducation. Nor is it difficult to account for this result. In the class-room young men and women learn to know, and, knowing, to respect, each other in a way and to a degree hardly possible elsewhere. Each sex behaves more humanly because the other is present: each sees the other engaged in serious work,—the best way for anybody to be seen.

Nor has the other fear, that coeducation might lower the standard of work for both sexes, proved better grounded. Institutions where coeducation prevails are in no way inferior, in point of scholarship, to those where it is forbidden. As far, then, as education for the ends of culture is concerned, there is no reason why, save in the matter of gymnastics, there should be any difference between the education of girls and that of boys. For an *ideal* education, and of that I am now speaking, many conditions are necessary, *e.g.*, cultivated parents, alive to their parental duties and possessing ample means, and healthy and intelligent children. These being given, it will be found that, up to the time of going to college, education under the direction of parents in private Kindergartens and schools, or under tutors and governesses, is preferable to education in public institutions or away from the influence of parents. Private education makes possible a good deal of home and foreign travel,—an element essential to an ideal education. Travel, when properly conducted, widens the intellectual, æsthetic, and moral horizon, encourages a healthy patriotism, and, at the same time, does away with petty national insularity, such as is painfully common among persons who have never been beyond the limits of their own country. It is needless to add that, in this matter, everything depends upon the culture, efficiency, and tact of travelling tutors and governesses.

If coeducation is good in precollegiate education, it is no less so in collegiate. The sole aim of the latter ought to be culture, without any

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reference to future vocation; and culture recognizes sex only in so far as it recognizes relations between the sexes, which relations can be best and most healthily dealt with when the sexes are in presence of each other. The exclusion of women from our older colleges, or the refusal to admit them on equal terms with men, is a mere remnant of mediævalism and of a barbarian view of women, as ridiculous as would be a robber-baron's castle in the centre of Massachusetts or New York.

The truth is that, since much of the best of life—for whose sake all education is—depends upon a noble and healthy relation between the sexes, it is of the utmost importance for the ideal education of both that they should go through college together. Here, where both are free (as they ought to be), and where they are old enough to understand the meaning of manhood and womanhood, they can meet, as nowhere else, on the plane of serious purpose and wide, lofty interests, before their members adjourn to the winter drawing-room or the summer piazza. In any case, young women ought to receive a collegiate education, and enjoy the advantages of free collegiate life. Though our colleges, even the best of them, are sadly deficient in ideals of culture and unity of method,[1] yet no tutors or governesses can adequately take their place for either sex.

College life is the transition from school-life to practical life, having, in common with the former, culture for its aim; in common with the latter, personal freedom. This freedom, however, ought not to extend, save in a very slight degree, to the choice of studies. Every college ought to have a fixed curriculum, carefully and systematically arranged with reference to a clear and lofty ethical ideal, and with a view to developing, in a harmonious way, all the faculties, intellectual, affectional, and volitional, of its students; at the same time imparting to them such a connected view of the world of nature and spirit, and of their own place, task, and destiny therein, as shall send them out into that world ready to undertake the business of life with robust courage and steady, rational aim. The "elective system" of studies, which has recently been introduced into some of our colleges, must, I think, be regarded as an almost unqualified evil from the point of view of spiritual culture. It is a tacit admission on the part of the authorities of

[1] This condition of things is largely due to the fact that most of them are still in the hands of an obsolete orthodoxy, hostile to that view of nature and history which science reveals, and which, therefore, should form the basis of education; while the rest, out of respect or fear for the same orthodoxy, dare not openly say where they stand,—indeed, perhaps hardly know themselves.

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such colleges, that they have no clear ideal of culture, and that they, therefore, think it best to leave their students to grope about in a staked-off chaos as best they can. The result is that "marks" usually replace culture, as the aim of study. Incidentally it may be remarked that this lamentable state of things is mainly due to two causes, besides the want of an ideal of culture: (1) the fact that it seems impossible for our college faculties ever to distinguish between culture—which is the sole aim of a college—and erudition and professional training, which form the aim of a university; and (2) the further fact, that in recent years it has become customary to appoint as college presidents, not profound scholars nor men of wide, generous culture, devoted to lofty human ideals, but shrewd business men, who care more to turn their charges into "big concerns," with a large "plant" and a large business, than to do good work in their proper sphere. Women's colleges, which ought never to have existed, and, but for the ungenerosity and narrowness of men's colleges, probably never would have existed, are apparently, in the main, exempt from this evil.

It is not possible to sketch here, even in outline, the scheme of a college culture-curriculum; but one thing may be said with certainty, viz., that, while not neglecting the natural sciences, it will occupy itself chiefly with the cultural sciences,—those that deal with human nature and history. Such a curriculum is especially adapted to women. It appeals to their chief interest, which is always in things human; it offers scope for their emotions; and, if made to include a sane philosophy and a history of thought and its aberrations, goes far to save them from two influences to which they are specially liable, and which are wont to paralyze their best energies,—unreflecting belief in some form of religious dogmatism, and devotion to some crude species of materialistic mysticism. Such salvation may be regarded as one of the chief aims of the higher education of women.

Since science has been at work on the records and material of the old faiths, the religious world has more and more tended to divide itself into two camps,—one determined to cling to the old creeds and to close its ears against all arguments, proofs, and facts conflicting with them; the other prepared to follow the truth wherever it may lead. Between these is a vast number of half-educated people, consisting largely of women, who, having for very insufficient reasons abandoned the old beliefs, and yet not being strong enough to follow the path of free inquiry, or to accept what it leads to, have found refuge in some form of gross superstition, such as "Christian Science," "Mental Sci-

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ence," "Metaphysics," "Theosophy," "Astrology," etc.[1] As a matter of fact, the very large majority of American women, even in good society, are to-day the dupes either of a blind, *unreasoned* faith in traditional dogmas,[2] or of crass superstition,—in either case victims of intellectual despotism and spiritual slaves. Now, the only way in which the women of the future can be saved from such conditions is by being thoroughly trained in the method of scientific proof, in logical reasoning, and in the history of thought. These subjects ought, therefore, to have a prominent place in the curriculum of every college attended by women.

Women who have passed through a college course of the sort I have indicated, and thus obtained a general view of the field and scope of human activity, will be in a position to choose suitable professions. And every American woman ought to prepare for a profession, no matter what her position or prospects. By that she becomes independent; and independence is the prime condition of moral action. If she be poor, it will enable her to live without becoming a burden to others, or being forced into uncongenial matrimony, the worst of misfortunes. If she be rich, it will open a way for extensive and rational beneficence. If she marry, it will be to her the pattern of thorough work in all directions. If she remain single, it will give purpose, unity, and interest to her life, and save her from the pathetic fate, so common now, of the old maid who can do nothing in particular. In any case, every woman ought to secure independence and a sphere of usefulness by learning a profession.

Up to this point, it has seemed well that the sexes should be educated together and instructed in the same subjects. The reasons for this are, that spiritual culture is the same for man and for woman, and that this culture is best imparted where the two are in presence of each other. When we pass on from the college to the university, we pass from culture to erudition and professional training. These last two

[1] The number of women, even in cultivated circles, ay, and in cultured Boston, who devote themselves and their money to the absurdities and duperies of astrology is truly surprising, nay, incredible.

[2] Against *reasoned* faith there is, of course, nothing to say; but this is widely dreaded as the worst of heresies. Not long ago the head of a prominent ladies' school in New York told me that a very large number of his pupils came to him "all covered over with padlocks"; which he explained to mean that they entered the school with a host of provisos on the part of parents, that nothing should be done to make their daughters think independently on any of the great questions affecting life—religion, ethics, class distinctions, society, etc.—lest they should disturb the dead level of unreasoned beliefs and prejudices in the respectable circles in which they hoped to move. Is it any wonder that such girls fall a prey to superstition?

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form the task of the university; and from that task no form of erudition and no kind of professional training ought to be excluded,—not even cookery. The present limitation in university studies is mainly due to a survival of certain ancient and mediæval notions, by which an invidious and most blinding and hurtful distinction is drawn between the "liberal" professions and the illiberal. Nothing could be more utterly absurd or inexcusable in a republic like ours, nothing more likely to give rise to practical contradictions and complications. In a university[1] every science and art ought to be duly represented, and the greatest freedom in choice of studies permitted. No degrees ought to be given (degrees are remnants of scholastic barbarism); but every student who has successfully pursued any study should receive a certificate to that effect.

In such a university it is evident that there would be ample room for both men and women. Yet it does not follow that all the courses should be open to the two sexes alike. Here a certain amount of separation seems called for. Young men will not be apt to study housekeeping or millinery; while young women will hardly study mining, navigation, or street-cleaning. Moreover, where the two do pursue the same courses, they will not always pursue them together. There ought to be separate classes for men and women in anatomy, some phases of sociology, and perhaps in biology and physiology. Altogether, the number of separate courses would not be great. Some of these, however, every woman ought to consider it her duty to pursue; for example, all those relating to the functions and duties of wifehood and motherhood, to domestic economy, and the like. Instructed in these subjects, armed with a bread-winning profession, and secure in a liberal, all-sided culture, fitting her to grace any social circle and to take a worthy part in every movement aiming at human improvement, the American girl may regard herself as having received an ideal education.

So far, however, such an education is *merely* ideal. Before it can become a reality for any one woman, however strong or well-situated, great changes must take place in our whole educational system; and before it can become possible, *as it ought to be*, for every woman, still greater changes will have to be made, not only in our educational, but also in our entire social system. It is the disgrace of disgraces that here in democratic America, whose ideal of civilization is the highest in the world,—theoretically the highest conceivable,—any citizen, male

[1] Our American universities are half-mediæval, half-monastic, and wholly unsuited to the spiritual, social, economic, and political needs of a democracy. The true American university is altogether a thing of the future.

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or female, should pass through life without being able to realize that spiritual development, that unfolding of insight, affection, and will which are the sole aim and purpose of life, and which alone give it significance. Nor will this disgrace—far blacker than that of negro slavery, as extending to a far greater multitude, and implying a worse slavery, the spiritual slavery of ignorance, unsympathy, and weakness—be removed from us, until some great patriot of the type of Garrison and Phillips shall come forward and, with a persistent voice that shall compel a hearing, say: "Fellow-citizens, men and women of education, let us be truly patriotic, true to the ideal of America and of democracy. Let us consign to the second place our merely personal interests, our devotion to wealth, comfort, show, and position; and let us raise to the first place the public interest, a loyal devotion to the true, the spiritual well-being of our fellow-citizens, all and each, male and female. Let us think more lightly of fine houses, fine clothes, fine carriages, fine horses, broad acres, and all the other worldly and material things that minister to a mere animal and temporal satisfaction, and let us seek to surround ourselves with fine men and fine women, broad-minded, deep-hearted, strong-willed beings who, to all eternity, may, through their wisdom, love, and energy, be a joy to themselves and to us. Let our chief pride be in the nobleness of our fellow-citizens: let them be our jewels, our wealth. And, with a view to this, let us establish and endow in the midst, yea, as the very pulse-giving heart, of every community in the land, a university in the true sense of the word, an institution for inspiration and instruction to every man, woman, and child, in every science and art needful for the realization of a noble human life. Let us learn to live simply, and devote our vast wealth to this worthiest of all human ends, universal spiritual perfection—the only ultimate end that we can rationally conceive, and in which alone any true and abiding satisfaction or blessedness can be found. Let us, in one word, live for humanity!"

Could some potent voice come with authority and impress sentiments like these upon the cultivated portion of our people, there might soon arise, over the length and breadth of the land, real American, democratic universities, beside which the poor, drivelling, mediæval institutions which we now call universities—and in which about 1 per cent of our citizens, for a few years in their raw youth, receive a chaotic instruction destitute of ideals and, to a great extent, of relation to real life—would be glad to hide their heads. Then young women, as well as young men, might realize an ideal education.

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Two things may be regarded as certain: (1) That only by universal college and university education (which this nation is well able to give) can the ideal of our republic ever become a reality, and an end be put to all those restless movements of unculture that threaten our freedom and even our existence,—assertive millionairism, socialism, anarchism, and their fellows; and (2) that the first city in the Union whose wealthy and cultured inhabitants meet and agree to establish and endow in the midst of them a great educational institution, to be open day and evening for all classes of the people, and offering systematic instruction suited to the needs of every class, at such prices as each can afford to pay, will have taken the next important step forward in civilization, and have laid the first stone of the only foundation upon which our democracy can safely and permanently stand. One would like to draw up the curriculum for such a university!

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION.

It has long been the custom in this country to dilate upon the magnitude of the function of the public school; and everybody believes in popular education. There are about fourteen million children in our public schools; and they are instructed by some three or four hundred thousand teachers. These children are under the direct influence of their teachers from three to six hours a day for the larger part of the year. The mere mention of these facts is enough to show the transcendent importance of the teacher's work. This, too, is recognized by everybody. But, when we consider this fact, a very puzzling question arises, viz.: Why is it that a calling of such supreme importance to the social, moral, and political welfare of the country is not more highly esteemed? Of course, certain teachers are highly regarded for their personal qualities, and in some localities the teacher, as such, is highly esteemed; but, as a profession, I think it is true that the teacher's calling is not nearly so much respected as that of the physician, the lawyer, or the clergyman. While in this country the teacher's calling is depreciated, in England it seems to be actually despised.

A few years ago, Max O'Rell propounded this problem to the readers of the "Pall Mall Gazette": "Why do the English people regard the occupation of a schoolmaster with contempt?" Various answers were given. Mr. Mitchell,[1] commenting on this, says:

> **"The significant thing is the undeniable fact. Its significance is partly as an illustration of the curious possibilities of the English mind, which despises or pities a schoolmaster, while it says he has the future of the country in his hands and undertakes the greatest of responsibilities. But far more significant is this, that the general contempt does no more than express the distaste for their work that is general among teachers themselves."**

There are probably many causes for this lack of esteem for the teacher's profession. There are a number of superficial answers to our question, citing one or more of these causes. It may be said that teachers do not go into the scholastic profession as a life-work; that their remuneration is inadequate; and that they are not left free in their work,

[1] **See "The International Journal of Ethics" for October, 1895.**

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nor allowed to regulate matters pertaining to their calling, as are members of other professions. These things are probably all true enough. But why are they true?

I believe that there are two efficient causes, as one says in logic, for the low standing of the teacher's calling. Both have been suggested by Mr. Mitchell, perhaps by others. First, we have the type of education actually given in the schools. It is the general consensus of educators that the end or purpose of education is to form character in the widest sense—intellectual, æsthetic, and moral—and that the function of school education is to develop interests which shall gradually become spontaneous and permanent, so that schooling will no longer be necessary. Now the education actually given in the schools is often of a character very different from this. It consists in the mere acquisition of knowledge; and the teacher's work is the mere teaching of many subjects. To raise the culture of the teacher and to change this type of education would be the first step toward raising the teaching profession.

The second cause of the low standing of the teacher's calling is lack of extended professional training. Professions easily entered are not usually highly respected. The medical profession has been cited as an illustration. Not long ago, when one could be a physician without special training, the profession was not very highly esteemed. Now, when extended training is demanded both by public opinion and by law, the profession is respected as one of the highest. In like manner, the teaching profession would undoubtedly increase in favor, were training of a high order demanded. In fact, we find the respect for the profession varying in different countries and in different grades of the school system, almost in direct ratio to the education and professional training required of candidates.

An illustration from Germany is instructive here. Take the history of teaching in the secondary schools. The German secondary teachers represent, perhaps, the teaching profession at its highest. They have official recognition by the Government; they stand on an equality with other Government officials of high rank; and they are highly respected in the community. Here we have a real illustration of teaching as a profession. Now, if we look back to the history of these schools, we may see something of the way in which this profession has been developed. The secondary schoolmaster in Germany has not always commanded respect. Fischer, in his "Geschichte des deutschen Volksschullehrerstandes," gives a vivid picture of the teacher's life in the Latin schools at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

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Not to go into details, the schoolmaster in these early days was not really a citizen. He was very often a tramp and a beggar, if not worse. He had neither professional training nor a professional spirit. He took up the work as a temporary occupation, looking forward to some other calling, usually that of the priesthood. With the Reformation, under the influence of Luther and Melancthon, the office of the teacher began to assume greater importance. Luther said that if he had not been a preacher he would have been a schoolmaster; and Melancthon referred to teachers as "genus vitae utilissimum, beatissimum, sanctissimum."

Reforms were effected. Pupils were forbidden to beg. The teachers' tenure of office was lengthened, and they began to feel their responsibility. But they were for the most part preachers; and even as late as the last century the teachers usually had had a theological training, and teaching could hardly be called an independent profession. From the movement, begun about a hundred years ago, under the influence of F. A. Wolf, for giving schoolmasters an independent training, dates the beginning of the secondary teaching profession in Germany. Without tracing its history through this century, something of its present character may be gleaned from the requirements of all candidates for the Secondary Teacher's Certificate in Prussia. They are as follows:

First. The candidate must have graduated at a recognized secondary school,—a *Gymnasium*, *Realgymnasium*, or *Oberrealschule*, and have passed, with credit, to the university.

Second. He must have spent at least three years at the university, including a year and a half in a Prussian university.

Third. He must have specialized on one subject, and studied one or two allied subjects.

Fourth. He must have studied religion, philosophy, and pedagogy.

Fifth. When the candidate has fulfilled all these requirements, he must present himself before a commission for the state examination (*Staats-Examen*). This examination is partly oral and partly written. Or, to be exact as to the latter, a thesis upon a prescribed subject must be written by the candidate. The commission does not recognize the university degree; so that all must take this examination. If the candidate passes, he enters a course of special professional training as a candidate (*Schulamts-Kandidat*).

Sixth. The candidate must spend one year in a pedagogical seminary in the study of the theory and practice of education.

Seventh. If successful in the seminary year, he enters upon regular work in the schoolroom for a trial year (*Probe-Jahr*). During this year

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the candidate teaches in a recognized school under the direction of the regular teachers, but receives no salary. When a candidate has fulfilled these seven requirements, he is a qualified teacher, and may get a permanent situation—if he can.

We are, I think, now in a position to answer the question why the German secondary teacher is so highly respected in society. It is, in brief, because he is educated. And, without further illustration, it is clear that the better the education of the teacher, the higher will be the standing of the profession.

To approach our problem from a somewhat different point of view, let us consider the training that teachers actually receive in the United States. The secondary teachers are, as a rule, better educated; but they seldom receive special professional training. The feeling is still prevalent that, while the elementary teacher needs professional training, the secondary teacher is such by the grace of God and the authority of his *Alma Mater*. Moreover, a large proportion of our elementary teachers receive no professional training whatever. Those who do receive such training usually get it in the normal schools. These have done excellent service: but their work is necessarily limited; and the instruction in principles and methods is sometimes given with an aspect of finality, definiteness, and completeness not at all justified by the present development of pedagogy. The result is, frequently, that students leave the normal school with a devotion to certain systems, methods, and formulas which is a positive hinderance to further progress.

That the relatively low esteem for the teaching profession in the United States is due to deficiencies in preparation for it, may be made still clearer by bringing together the best features of training in the best professional schools of different countries, and noting some of the essentials in the preparation of teachers.

First. *The teacher should be educated.* This education should be both academic and professional. I use the word "education" here in its broadest sense, according to the well-accepted principle that education consists in the development of permanent interests. Certain permanent interests should be developed in the teacher; and these should be of the broadest kind. There is always a tendency in teachers to lose sight of the real end of education in their devotion to the means. In England, for example, according to Mr. Mitchell's account, the tendency of education is to become narrowly utilitarian, because prizes, medals, and the like play so important a *rôle* as incentives to study. He says:

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"The school is advertised by a list of its 'successes'; prize-winners are directed to bigger stakes; and the unsuccessful are told that, if they continue to struggle, they too will meet a good market. These exhibitions bring home the fact that we are making a market of our schools and showmen of our teachers; that, in the words of a recent president of the British Association, 'in education we are a nation of shopkeepers.'"

In this country there is the same tendency to forget the true end of education, in striving for the scholastic product. The advent of new teachers with broad training, fresh from the universities or seminaries, would, we may hope, be a check to this tendency.

The teacher is to be a leader. He ought to see his work, as we may say, in perspective. He ought to see something of the relations of his own work to the social and industrial movements of the time. He needs this for his own intellectual health and happiness. Only with the broadest outlook and the deepest interest can he hold the true ideals in education and yet keep sane and happy in all the trying details of school routine.

For example, every thoughtful teacher must see the limitations of his own work. To atone for this, he should get something of what I may call here, without misunderstanding, *the evolutionary view of life.* The evolutionary view of life substitutes the satisfaction of being part of a process for the satisfaction of completing things. The teacher who sees his own little work as part of a process gets that spirit of healthy optimism that comes from looking at the whole and of working for distant ends. The desire to complete something is one of the strongest incentives to work. Placed in a world where few things can be completed, we set artificial limits to our work, so that we may look forward to finishing our task and getting the satisfaction we desire. To borrow an illustration from another sphere, the farmer hoes his field of corn and congratulates himself that the task is done; but before he leaves the field weeds are already springing up again. The reformer subdues this evil, and gets the satisfaction of completing a good job, because, for the time being, he has ignored a hundred other evils. Or, to take an illustration from the work of the scientific man, he chooses a problem and arbitrarily limits its scope, so that he may be able to complete it; knowing all the time that, when finished, the completeness will be only relative,—that the work, if successful, will merely open up a score of new problems. This desire to complete something, and the consequent arbitrary limitation of our tasks, are entirely normal; and the power to limit one's work is even a mark of superior ability. As Goethe says, "In der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister."

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But, in anything like education, where the process is essentially evolutionary and there can be so little of completeness,—especially perhaps in secondary education,—the passion for completeness has its dangers. One of these is, I believe, the tendency in the teacher to become a mere showman or trainer of prize-winners. The scholarship, or prize, or examination offers a definite goal for which to strive. It is a great temptation, unless one has seen better things; hence, I say, the teacher should have a broader view of education, and get something of the evolutionary view which substitutes the satisfaction of being part of a process for the satisfaction of completing things.

This is merely one of the points concerning which a teacher should have broad interests and a broad outlook. The teacher, however, should have not merely broad culture interests, but also professional interests. He should be not merely learned in the special subjects to be taught, but should have permanent and broad interests in these subjects. He should be not merely instructed in the technic of method, but imbued with such vital interests that he is the master, not the slave, of method. The kind of preparation must be that which develops permanent professional interests.

The aim of pedagogical training is not to send forth a perfected teacher, but one that is capable of continuing his own professional training. The highest professional skill can be attained only by prolonged actual experience in the schoolroom: but some never learn the lessons of experience. It is often said, and truly, that a teacher's success depends upon his tact: but tact must be governed by reason; and the scope of its exercise will depend upon one's interests and apperception. All this was put strongly by Herbart years ago, when special professional training for teachers was not general even in Germany. He wrote:

> "It is only in doing that on elearns the art, that one attains tact, readiness, cleverness, skill; but even in doing he only learns the art who before has learned the science by thinking, has made it his own, has prepared himself by it, and felt beforehand the future impressions that experience should make upon him."

In other words, the teacher must bring the right apperception to his task, or he will fail to learn the lessons of experience. Hence it is that so many writers on this subject maintain that, until he has had considerable training, one gets little from observing the methods of others.

The aim, then, is the development of permanent interests and the acquisition of a modicum of skill. For the development of interest there must be freedom,—freedom from competition, freedom from exami-

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nations (of the ordinary kind), freedom from hurry, freedom from inspection of the sort that demands definite results in a definite time, freedom from prescribed methods, freedom from external interference by the state, freedom from political, social, and religious interference. Interest is a plant of spontaneous growth. It cannot be forced; but it can be checked. The college and the university are good places for developing such spontaneous interest, because of their freedom; and the feeling is growing that every teacher, of whatever grade, should have a college education.

Second. *The teacher should study the physiology and psychology of development.* This includes what is meant by child-study and the study of adolescence, and more besides. Comparatively little is known about the psychology of development: but, nevertheless, this subject surpasses all others in importance to the teacher; for, to acquire an interest in the child as a developing organism, and to grasp the idea of adapting education to the various stages of its development, changes the whole attitude of the teacher. It means less teaching and more unfolding, less suppression and more guidance, less preaching and more nurture. Comenius proclaimed this gospel of development in his "Didactica magna," two hundred and fifty years ago. But teachers and parents have been prone to forget it; and again and again the reformers have had to repeat its simple doctrines, viz.: That education occurs by spontaneous development from within outward; that it depends upon the self-activity of the pupil; that the teacher's task is positive as well as negative, the development of good quite as much as the suppression of evil; that the child differs from the adult; and that individual children differ from each other.

But, as more has been learned of the physiology and psychology of development, the educational doctrine of development has been found to mean more and more. It was a great thing when Rousseau declared that the child differs from the adult, that childhood has ways of thinking peculiar to itself and should be allowed freedom to develop—a doctrine commonplace now, but revolutionary then.

The idea of development means more than this. It was a greater thing when Friederich Fröbel, recasting the doctrines of Comenius, taught that there are stages of development,—that at different periods the child differs from the child, and that education should be adapted to the sequence of these stages of development. But the pedagogy of development means a great deal more. We do not yet know how much it means; but we do more or less clearly see that the different stages of

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mental and physical development are related; that one stage—low, imperfect, perhaps apparently abnormal—may be important as preparatory to a higher stage; that premature development is likely to be imperfect or abnormal development; that undue prolongation of any stage is liable to cause arrested development; and, most important of all, perhaps, that only by long and careful study and by the coöperation of many investigators can the true pedagogy, based on the science of development, be produced.

Third. *The teacher should have a special knowledge of school-hygiene, not merely for the direct practical value of it in helping to avoid disease and in making the conditions in the schoolroom hygienic, but also to give the proper apperception for the conditions of normal growth and development.* We are always in danger from a sort of mercantile tendency in education. We look at the scholastic product rather than at the child-product, at what the children have made—products of paper-foldings, weaving, clay-modelling, exercises written, note-books filled, drawings, maps, collections—rather than at the children. All these are good; but they have no educational value, except as they indicate that the children have made some improvement. This modern scholasticism looks at what the children make; while matters of hygiene are neglected. Scholasticism shows the beautiful articles made in the Kindergarten: hygiene looks to see whether the children are nervous, excited, or fatigued. Scholasticism exhibits the most delicate work in natural history or manual arts: hygiene asks what is the condition of the children's eyes. Scholasticism shows specimens of beautiful penmanship: hygiene looks at the collapsed postures and deformity of the writers. Scholasticism boasts of the number of children who pass the examinations and are promoted: hygiene rejoices in the number of healthy children in the school. Just as soon as this scholastic tendency becomes dominant, the teacher has no time to attend to the little matters of hygiene. Just as soon as attention centres chiefly on the scholastic product, the school becomes a factory, and the children merely laborers. But, while hygiene is opposed to what I have called scholasticism, it is in the deepest harmony with true pedagogy; for the aim of both alike is the normal guidance of development.

Fourth. *Teachers should have acquaintance with the actual condition of schools in different countries, at different times, and under different conditions.* That is, the teacher should learn from the experience of other teachers, both by coming in contact with their work, by actual practice under competent direction, and by reading.

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The necessity of this strictly professional training I need not emphasize. But one of the strangest things in modern education is the colossal self-assurance of young men and women who think they can learn nothing from the pedagogical experience of others,—an experience extending over some thousands of years, and embracing that of many nations and of all classes, from the great teachers of mankind to the village schoolmaster and schoolmistress. Such self-assurance is only equalled by the pedagogical ignorance or indifference of the community that tolerates it. An old schoolmaster who will say that he has learned nothing from his own experiences is not to be found. One who will say he has not profited from the experience of others is almost equally rare. The aim of professional training is to give one at the outset the best possible opportunity to profit by one's own experience and that of others.

It has been said by many respectable authorities that the best teachers are born, not made; that one who has the teaching instinct and an academic education will make a good teacher without the need of special professional training. Everybody recognizes the truth of this statement; but, as an argument against the professional training of teachers, it is hardly worth discussing: for, unfortunately, the supply of teachers who are born is not equal to the demand; and so, however bungling our method, we must try, by what means we may, to stimulate interest and to foster the teaching instinct.

These four things are certainly among the essentials in the preparation of a teacher: First, education,—the development of permanent interests of the very broadest character, so that the teacher may be a person of culture and have a broad outlook upon life, and also the development of permanent professional interests, so that nothing essential to the teacher's calling may be foreign or unappreciated; second, a knowledge of psychology, including the study of childhood and adolescence; third, a knowledge of school hygiene, that one may look not merely at the scholastic product, but also at the condition of the children; and, fourth, direct acquaintance with the experience of others in practical school-work.

Teachers receive these essentials of training only in part. The secondary teacher is usually educated, but lacks professional training. The elementary teacher has a certain professional training, but usually lacks a broad education. The normal schools are just beginning to study the psychology of development; they give but an inadequate acquaintance with practical school-work; and school-hygiene, if taught at all, is usu-

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ally subsidiary to some other subject. As a result, its fundamental teachings are often ignored by the graduates; and its rich literature is unknown to them. Further, since the majority of teachers lack a broad training, certain professional faults are accentuated; thus detracting still more from the respect accorded the profession.

The writer would like to portray in fitting terms the virtues of teachers, and to show that, in spite of what has been said, the prevailing low estimate of the teacher's calling is in many respects unjust. But the great army of self-sacrificing workers in this calling needs no defence from me. I shall attempt the easier, although perhaps meaner, task of pointing out the faults of the profession. The subject is, in fact, altogether too large for brief discussion; and in such a case one's only resource is to be critical.

Every occupation and profession offers temptation to certain peculiar sins. Even the old monastic life had its seven deadly sins. The teacher's calling is no exception. The disastrous faults, the deadly sins of the teacher's profession, may be grouped in a somewhat arbitrary way under seven heads, after the fashion of the old monks, as follows:—

(1) A lack of sympathy with childhood. This is the worst of all, and is at the root of all the others. In the case of the secondary teacher it is a lack of sympathy with adolescence. One who lacks sympathy with childhood and adolescence, and does not understand the significance of these periods, is not fit to teach. This lack of sympathy involves a great number of faults. Among these are the failure to differentiate methods of instruction and discipline according to the ever-differing nature of childhood and adolescence, and a mistaking of perversities and defects incident to development for symptoms of degeneration. Various moral aberrations and perversities, that might indicate moral degeneration in an adult, by no means indicate the criminal in the case of the child or adolescent. Again, from lack of proper appreciation of childhood—of its significance and importance—come the hurry and forcing and premature acquisitions, the vulgar artificiality and self-consciousness, with the too well-known results of irritability and nervousness, that are condemned alike by sound pedagogy and by hygiene. Thorough sympathy with childhood, and appreciation of its significance, make teachers content with the slow processes of normal development, and willing that children should be children before they are men.

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(2) The second deadly pedagogical sin is a subtle form of selfishness, which leads the teacher to determine the course of instruction by his own interests rather than by the pupil's need and apperception. There is special temptation to this, perhaps, in secondary instruction, on account of the wider aspects of the subjects taught, that give opportunity for discussion at the option of the individual teacher. One is liable to be led astray, to teach what seems theoretically important to be learned, instead of what the pupil is actually capable of learning, or to dwell upon what it interests the teacher to discuss instead of what it concerns the pupils to know. Examples of instruction that pupils cannot comprehend are frequent enough; and everyone knows how often ingenious pupils divert the thoughtless teacher from the lesson to the discussion of favorite topics. Whenever the spontaneous activity of the pupil is sacrificed to the teacher's personal interest, or in the hope of bringing the class up to a certain prescribed standard, or for any other reason, true education is at an end. A very subtle form of this fault is often seen in the way a subject is presented. The teacher is tempted to follow the order of his own thought and interest—very likely a logical method instead of a psychological or pedagogical one. By the latter is meant a method adapted to the child's apperception and interest at the particular stage of development in which he happens to be. The logical method and the pedagogical may coincide. If so, well. But they may not. In the latter case, logic should yield to pedagogy. Teachers love logic in sequence and method; but, until the Hegelians prove that the logical method and the pedagogical method are the same, it is wrong to put logic above the needs of healthy development.

(3) The third pedagogical sin is closely related to the second. It consists in using the method of demonstration instead of the method of suggestion, *i.e.*, the teacher demonstrates, and the pupils are passive; whereas the teacher should suggest, and the pupils should be active. This didactic habit is apt to become so strong that it is often an earmark of the profession. A friend tells me that she can pick out the teacher in society because he looks upon everybody as a person to be instructed or corrected. The habit is by no means venial; for it leads to some of the most serious faults to which the profession is prone,—the habits of posing and assuming infallibility and the hypersensitiveness that makes teachers resent criticism and suggestion from laymen.

The great maxim of modern reform in education is the activity of the pupil instead of the didactics of the teacher. There are but two

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methods of instruction: as regards the pupil, the active and the passive; as regards the teacher, the method of demonstration and the method of suggestion. The active method has been most completely adopted in the Kindergarten occupations, in manual training, in the laboratory, and in research at the university. But, with the modifications made necessary by different subjects, it should be adopted generally. The teacher should suggest: the pupils should act. Only a few psychologists, and, perhaps, a few novelists, politicians, and professional men, have any adequate notion of the influence of suggestion in education and in society. The study of hypnotism in relation to normal suggestion shows the influence and stupendous responsibility of the teacher who suggests; and the teacher's business is to suggest rather than to demonstrate.

The most potent form of suggestion is example. According to recent studies, one of the strongest factors in the development of children is the instinct of imitation. "If you would have your children do a thing, do it yourself," is a maxim that no psychologist will underestimate. Especially in matters of discipline and personal demeanor it is easy to lay down rules and to demonstrate the path of duty. It is hard, even for the teacher, to walk in this straight and narrow way. But, so important does this appear from the psychological point of view, that one is well-nigh ready to say that, granted obedience be taught, there are but two rules of supreme importance for the education of children, viz.: (1) Let them alone. (2) Set them a good example. On these two commandments hang all the laws and the prophets, so far as the training of children is concerned.

(4) The fourth fault is the habit of criticism. One is apt to be negative rather than positive; critical rather than helpful; sarcastic instead of sympathetic. One spends time in correcting faults rather than in developing virtues. In saying this I condemn the method I am now using. But, in this case, the very fact that the writer is a faultfinder may be due to a long apprenticeship to teaching. Not merely in matters of discipline is this fault common. In any subject of the curriculum there is temptation to it. The custom of giving sentences containing barbarisms, solecisms, and improprieties to be corrected, or of covering the blackboard with misspelled words and other errors, is questionable; and in all forms of motor-training such a method is obviously bad. In teaching language the principle should always be to avoid rather than to correct error. To drill pupils, as is sometimes done, upon an incorrect as well as upon the correct pronunciation of

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a word is to devote half the time to the direct teaching of error. According to the law of habit, due to the plasticity of nervous tissue, every repetition of the wrong articulation of a word makes mispronunciation easier. It is as if a piano-player should spend half the time drilling a student in making wrong finger-movements. I have seen pupils in a language-class receive their first lesson in mispronunciation from the teacher. In all forms of motor-training the essential thing is by no means a knowledge of good and evil, but continued practice of the good.

(5) The fifth fault is imitation. This is fatal. A teacher may succeed in his own way, but hardly by imitating another. From one normal school the report comes to me of the following incident: A young teacher went out to teach before finishing the course in the school. She was equipped with her notebook; and at first things went smoothly. But soon her directions in regard to method gave out; and she wrote back to her teacher at the normal school, "I am at the end of my notebook. What shall I do?" In new conditions one must fall back upon the teaching instinct; and, in fact, one can hardly succeed at any time without this. But imitation kills this instinct, and furnishes a dangerous substitute for it. Miss Hughes, the distinguished English training-teacher, objects to model schools and model lessons because of their liability to produce the habit of imitation. And, in her opinion, observation of the teaching of others should come late in a student's course.

(6) The sixth fault is idolatry of method. If one has had special professional training, he is liable to allow interest in a method to take the place of interest in a subject, *i. e.*, to get into the toils of a system and be unable to see anything outside it. A system is an economic device, and as such is very helpful. But there are many systems; and idolatry of any one of them is likely to make a person narrow and pharisaical, tithing mint, anise, and cummin.

Take, for example, the Herbartian system. The Herbartian leaders recognize this danger, and warn their students against taking literally the words of the master and making idols of the Herbartian dogmas. Again, the criticism by the enemies of the system is fairly represented by the words of Dr. Jäger, of Cologne. He remarks:

"The system which is designated as the Herbart-Ziller-Stoy system reminds one, with its subtleties, of the theology of the Brahmins. As an Indian Brahmin, who, before going to sleep, subjects himself to self-examination, has to ask whether he has not defiled himself by stepping upon ashes, or by opening a book without the prescribed prayer, or by scratching his head, and so on, so must an orthodox Herbart-Ziller-Stoyaner test himself. Did you not busy yourself in the hour of instruction

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with *Vertiefung*, when you ought first to have concerned yourself with *Besinnung*, or *vice versa?* Did you not have *Umblick* when you were only at *Ausblick* or *Vorblick?*[1] Did you not linger at the ethical interest when you ought to have tarried at the human, the personal, or the æsthetic interest?"

In the present state of pedagogical knowledge, to confine oneself to a special sect is likely to result in one's putting oneself in a place like that where, according to the interpretation of an eminent clergyman, Balak tried to lead Balaam—a place where he could see but the uttermost part of the truth, and, hence, could curse others.

(7) The seventh fault is indifference. A teacher is liable to lose interest and enthusiasm. This means that one has stopped growing. There is always a tendency to become a hod-carrier. In the psychology of feeling there may be recognized a law of the diminishing intensity of interest, in accordance with which stimuli, often repeated, lose their effect. The first time the given stimulus acts there is the greatest interest. Other things being equal, one never has the same interest in re-reading a novel, in the second hearing of a play, or in the repetition of a lecture, concert, or the like. Actors, lecturers, and orators are in peril from this law of the diminishing intensity of interest. Not merely that their audiences are subject to this law, but that they themselves are subject to it. They lose interest in a play or lecture often repeated. Joseph Jefferson, in an address before the Harvard students, has given an illustration in point:

"Art, as applied to acting, is to enable the actor to produce the same effect night after night, even though he has played the part a thousand times. I contend a man cannot play the actor's part too often, if he does not lose interest in the part. That's the point. If interest be lost, if by repeated performance the actor becomes weary, he fails to rekindle the fire: the flame goes out; and the weary actor produces the weary audience."

To illustrate his point, Mr. Jefferson told how Macready once asked Mrs. Warner, who acted with him, how it was that his speech, which once aroused the audience, now fell flat and unnoticed. "Is it," he said to her, "that it is an old story to the audience?"

"No," said Mrs. Warner, "it is because it is an old story to you."

"Then," continued Macready, "she went over the part with me, and said: 'Once you spoke like the character who committed that theft: now you speak like a man who has committed a great many thefts.'"

"That was a lesson to me," said Mr. Jefferson. "I don't say it is an easy matter to apply the thought intended; but I have tried to come

[1] Referring to the Herbartian custom of having each lesson developed through certain "formal stages."

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as near it as possible—to act as if the ideas in the characters or parts I play had just struck me, had occurred for the first time. But it is the only way to get into that terribly sincere style that is the merit of the performance of the best actors."

The same is liable to be true of the teacher. He must often repeat the same lesson over and over, year after year. He may lose interest in a lesson often repeated. This is fatal. For this reason continued study is necessary, so that new aspects may be seen and the interest maintained; and interest in the children must take the place of a certain inevitable loss of interest in the subject-matter.

This classification of teachers' faults is, of course, an arbitrary one. There are plenty of others to which they are prone, such as priggishness, pedantry, arrogance, insincerity, self-conceit, infallibility, and chronic habits of reproving, arbitrarily commanding, and posing; but most of these are venial or involved in those already mentioned. Again, the habits of worry, irritability, and nervousness, common among teachers, might be classed as faults; but they are quite as much pathological habits,—the result of overwork combined with one or more of the faults mentioned.

With the over-pressure resulting from crowded classes, from extra work out of school-hours in helping the backward, visiting the parents of wayward children, correcting examination-papers, making out reports, and the nervous strain resulting from the obligation to teach subjects in which they are not prepared, from prescribed rules and methods, and an uncertain tenure of office on account of political intrigue,—with all these it is no wonder that teachers are prone to these faults. The more honor to those who, in spite of all adverse conditions, keep sympathetic, free from the idolatry of method, sincere, sweet-tempered, enthusiastic, and youthful. But the prevalence of the above-mentioned faults is one of the causes of the relatively low standing of the profession.

It would be beyond the limits of this paper to describe corresponding virtues, and to discuss the details of therapeutics. Only one general consideration can be mentioned. Growth is the one thing needed. Just as all faults in the adolescent are to be judged leniently, and there is always good hope that they will be outgrown, so there is hope for any teacher, in spite of all these seven deadly sins, if he be growing. Whatever the professional training, it should be such that it will foster growth. In other words, the first essential in a teacher is education, *i.e.*, the development of permanent culture interests and permanent professional interests.

WILLIAM H. BURNHAM.

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A FRENCH VIEW OF THE AMERICAN WORKING-MAN.

EVERY year the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute of France sends one of its members on an economic mission. In 1893, apropos of the World's Fair at Chicago, this charge was conferred on M. Emile Levasseur, the distinguished professor of the College of France, and one of the leading authorities in Europe on statistics, political economy, and allied subjects. He was requested by his colleagues to make a thorough study of the Labor Question in the United States—a topic peculiarly timely in France when the Working-men's party is gaining a strong foothold in the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Levasseur had visited this country in 1876, at the time of the Centennial Exhibition, in whose proceedings he took an official part. So, when he landed on our shores in the summer of 1893, he was already well acquainted with our people and our language. During five months he examined our factories, shops, and working-men's homes. He had much personal intercourse with manufacturers, workman economists, and statisticians. He collected materials in conversation, and by reading; and brought together such a mass of printed documents that it clogged the shelves of his study. Seldom has a traveller and observer returned home more heavily ladened.

But M. Levasseur is not simply an indefatigable collector. He also possesses the art and ability to make good use of what he has gathered. For three years he has been assiduously putting into shape these varied and numerous data. During most of this time he has lectured at the College of France on the American laborer, read parts of his forthcoming book at the monthly meetings of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and has given advance sheets to several periodicals in Europe and America. The proofs have been gone over by American experts on labor questions. In a word, M. Levasseur has striven in every way to familiarize himself with his subject, to secure the collaboration of others, and to obtain the greatest possible exactitude before publishing to the world the result of his studies.

Such is the history of "L'Ouvrier Américain,"[1] two thick volumes of

[1] "L'Ouvrier Américain." Paris: Larose, 22 Rue Soufflot.

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five to six hundred pages each, the most complete and impartial work that a foreigner has ever written on the whole subject of the American working-man. They admirably supplement Prof. Bryce's work; doing for our economic world what he did for our political world.

M. Levasseur divides his work into three parts. The first, entitled "The Working-man at His Labor," is devoted to a careful consideration of the workman himself in his relations with his task, his employer, the labor organizations, etc. The second part deals with "The Working-man at Home"; and here the man himself is the subject of study. The author describes the American laborer's habits, food, dress, amusements, etc.,—in short, his home and family life. In the third and last part, "Labor Questions," facts are abandoned for ideas, and all the many and complex labor problems of the hour are taken up one by one and looked at on every side.

This passage from his preface shows the frame of mind in which M. Levasseur comes to his task:

"Labor questions have assumed in society and politics a position of prime importance. Among those of us who study them, some look upon them as the grand danger of the hour, while others welcome them as the first step toward social regeneration. To me they appear rather as a crisis of evolution, which has become acute through conflicting passions rather than through divergent interests. The world will doubtless be long troubled with them. But it is highly probable that, through the force of circumstances, there will come about a pacification among these conflicting interests which, without changing the base of the social organization, will calm the passions by securing a fairer condition of things. Without being absolutely optimistic on this point, I am quite ready to apply to Europe what I say, at the end of this work, of America, 'Fata viam invenient.'"

The chief reason why this book was written is thus given by the author:

"On account of the number of its inhabitants, the spirit of enterprise which is one of their marked characteristics, and the industrial liberty which they enjoy, the United States has become one of the largest and most active laboratories for industrial and social experiments which exists in the world. It is well, therefore, to study them, both in order to know the country and because of the light which they throw on the same problems in Europe. Hence it is that I have written 'The American Working-man.'"

Scattered throughout these volumes are many valuable appreciations and suggestions. Thus, in the matter of working-men's unions and federations, M. Levasseur finds that American lawmakers have not yet succeeded in hitting on the rules and regulations best suited for the smooth working of these organizations and for the repression of what is bad in them. Our legislators, he thinks, should take the matter in hand in the interest of the institution itself, as well as in that of in-

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dustrialism and liberty; for he believes that the institution is destined to live, and consequently should be kept, as far as possible, on the right lines. He says:

"In the United States, the good will not be diminished and the evil will be attenuated, if the State and Federal statutes require sufficient guarantees of responsibility of the labor organizations which seek the benefits arising from incorporation. In a country where the right of association is entirely free nobody could object to a law which should impose such conditions as the designation of the office of the organization, the names of its officers, the annual publication of its financial condition, etc. This should be done, if for no other reason than as a means of protection to outside parties."

M. Levasseur examines at considerable length the question of optional and obligatory arbitration. He is opposed to the latter. "The authorities and the courts," he puts it tersely,

"have no more right to oblige an employer to enter into negotiations with his former workmen who are out on a strike, and to take them back, than they have to require him to employ any other men who may be looking for a job. Nor have they any better ground for forcing a workman to return to the factory on terms unacceptable to him than for making him a slave, or for shutting him up in the workhouse. This is the true legal view. The contrary doctrine infringes on liberty and property rights. And even the obligation to hand over the dispute to an arbitrator does not escape from this same adverse criticism."

Looked at from a moral standpoint, M. Levasseur does not consider that the question differs from its legal aspect. It is simply wider and deeper. The duration of the relations between workman and employer may have brought about a situation which, in the best interests of society, industry, and the individuals, should be maintained. It is desirable, therefore, to secure a reconciliation. But, as in the case of the falling out of two friends, there is ground only for a kindly intervention which is not forced on the parties and which, if acceptable, owes its efficacy wholly to the consent of these parties. "It is a case," says M. Levasseur, "of unconstrained conciliation leading, in some instances, to voluntary arbitration."

This idea of arbitration in labor difficulties is a new one, which the gravity of the present conflict between the capitalist and the workingman has caused to germinate and develop. In order to show that the institution is still in its infancy, M. Levasseur gives an account of the situation in Europe and points out the half-success obtained by arbitration in England and Belgium. He then goes on to say:

"The American and English have often cited as a model in this matter the French *conseils de prud'hommes*, which were created in 1806. They are indeed a model in certain respects, so long as their members—employers and employed—are governed by the single sentiment of justice, and not by the instructions of their constituents.

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But these are not what are generally understood by the term "arbitration boards." They are called upon to pass judgment on facts which have already been established, such as unpaid wages, discharged workmen, bad work, etc. They have not the authority for calming a strike or for settling future labor conditions. They judge past acts. They do not step in and force contending parties to accept future acts. That these *conseils* exert a conciliatory influence, there can be no doubt; but, now that a spirit of antagonism has penetrated these bodies,—especially those of Paris,—as, in fact, the whole mass of the working-class, the good results obtained through them have become more and more rare."

But the Labor Act, carried through the French Parliament in 1892, after debates extending over six years, is the most interesting and effective measure in the matter of conciliation and arbitration to be found in the history of French legislation. According to the stipulations of this Act, both parties—or one of the two—may lay their differences before the justice of the peace; and the latter may then propose to the contending parties an arrangement of these differences. If both parties accept his intervention, he invites them to designate delegates for the formation of a sort of committee of arbitration. If this committee cannot agree, the justice requests them to name one or more arbitrators; and, in case the latter fail in their mission, the judge of the civil court appoints a single arbitrator, whose decisions, whether accepted by the parties or not, is made public, and public opinion thus becomes a sort of final judge of the conflict. "Though these regulations are good, for the most part," remarks M. Levasseur, "they are perhaps carried too far in the matter of publicity; and yet this French law is one of the best that has so far been drawn up on this delicate subject."

That M. Levasseur keeps within bounds in this statement is shown by the results. Thus, in 1893 one-sixth of the strikes of that year came up before these committees. In 1894 the number rose to one-quarter. It is true that, in about one-half of these cases, it was the justice of the peace who took the first step, that also only about one-half were settled in a friendly spirit, and that but two were arbitrated. This initial effort should not be treated with disdain, however. "But it shows," remarks M. Levasseur, "that under many circumstances arbitration is far from possible, and that, where it is possible, the habit has not yet been adopted by the French any more than by the Americans."

M. Levasseur devotes a long chapter to socialism; examining it in its various phases. He sums up as follows:

"In America, as in Europe, socialism is rapidly gaining ground in certain directions, not only among the emigrants, but among the native-born Americans; not only among the working-men, but in the lettered class where aspirations of an idealistic nature are more developed than those of a more practical kind. . . . I am inclined

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to think that pacific socialism finds its recruits principally among the native element, and that the revolutionists seek their adepts chiefly among the citizens of foreign birth. Whether purposely or not, American socialists are not explicit enough in their language to enable one to say clearly whether their final aim is in the direction of collectivism or communism. All that can be safely said is, that their demands imply the suppression of the capitalist, the free disposal of capital, the whole result of production to go to the workers,—all of which doctrines are pure chimeras. It is evident, at the same time, that they demand an extension of state socialism, —which is much less chimerical and which may even be just in some cases, but which, at bottom, all things considered, is much more dangerous. In a country where democracy is all-powerful, and where the working-man, notwithstanding the fact that his party has secured but a mediocre success at the polls, can cast a considerable number of votes, this state socialism may assume proportions threatening to American industry and liberty."

Perhaps the most interesting portion of M. Levasseur's volumes is the concluding chapter of nearly one hundred pages, in which the author gives a summary of his whole *magnum opus*. A few of his deductions, comments, and predictions may now be briefly given. But the whole chapter should be carefully read by every student of the Labor Question, and, if translated into English, would form an admirable pamphlet for general circulation.

M. Levasseur points out that the marked tendency of our industry is toward concentration, and that, while production increases, the number of shops and factories decreases:—

"The great manufacturing nations of the world, if they mean to compete with the Americans and increase their own dealings in the world's markets, must follow the example set by the United States and turn toward concentration, by which I do not mean monopoly."

The extreme development of machinery in American industries is another of our striking characteristics in M. Levasseur's eyes. This fact is closely allied with another, which he dwells upon at some length:

"The American mechanic is generally active and a hard worker. As he is paid high wages, he will not be suffered to be indolent. Consequently, the productiveness of the American working-man may be considered to be, on an average, greater than that of the working-men of most European nations."

M. Levasseur pronounces our great heads of industries to be "profoundly individualistic," or, in plain English, very selfish. He goes on to say:

"I mention the fact without intending to cast any blame, as some of their countrymen do. But I must confess that there is sometimes ground for accusing them of being selfish and hard on their fellow-men. They carry out the conditions of the contract and they require their men to do the same. And then, the work done and the wages paid, employers and employed consider that they are quits, which is quite true legally."

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But it is evident that M. Levasseur does not believe that the relations which bind both parties together in labor should cease at the workshop door, although he admits that the "American working-man is very independent and knows that he is, as a citizen, the equal of his employer."

The idea, so generally accepted in Europe, and often in the United States, too, that living is dearer in America than in the Old World, is not shared by M. Levasseur, at least in so far as the working-classes are concerned. He says, on this point:

"The objects of ordinary consumption in a laborer's family, quantity and quality being equal, cost less, rather than more, in American cities than in those of France, especially less in New York than in Paris. Rents are not here taken into the account, however. Consequently, the American working-man enjoys, on an average, not only a nominal, but probably also an actual, wage more than double that of the French workman."

Nor is this all. M. Levasseur goes still further, and says:

"Having higher wages, the American working-man can have greater comforts than the generality of European working-men, if we except, in certain cases, the English. The American is better fed than the working-man of Continental Europe. He dresses better. He is better housed, and often owns the habitation in which he lives. In a word, his standard of living is higher than that of the European laborer. . . . The United States is proud of this, and with reason; for it is a result that should be sought after by every civilization."

The question is again examined from a different and even more interesting point of view, when M. Levasseur says:

"The American workman spends more on his living than the European because he has created needs in proportion to his resources. . . . These needs, rooted by habit in working-men's families, must be satisfied under penalty of personal suffering and social fall. Now, everybody wishes to keep up his social position and to be the equal of his equals, and not to fall from his rank. Viewed in this light, one may say that the existence of the working-man in the United States is dear, and that, if the commercial power of money, that is to say the quantity of ordinary merchandise which can be bought with a certain weight of money, is not less than in Europe, the social power of money—the sum it is necessary to spend in order to attain a certain rank in society—is much less in America than here."

In this portion of his work, M. Levasseur returns to the question of socialism, and points out the three principal causes of its growth, which are: immigration, manufacturing on a grand scale, and the development of great cities. He closes his statements with these encouraging words:

"However, notwithstanding the unfortunate influences exerted by these three factors, and the scandalous conduct of certain portions of the emigrants, the evil is happily met by the pronounced personality of the American working-man, whose democratic education causes him to distrust the fictions advanced by the Communists."

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M. Levasseur terminates his book with this prediction concerning the future condition of the American working-man and the labor movement in general in the United States:

"The New World will be agitated for the next twenty or thirty years, as it is to-day, by the problems which perplex Western and Central Europe. But the country possesses such vital force that I do not think its vigorous constitution will be debilitated thereby. At bottom, there is in the American people a certain conservative spirit which it will cling to in the midst of these incessant agitations. . . . It is not astonished at a new thing, and does not hesitate to try every experiment. It is not long deceived by sonorous words, if they are found to be empty. In politics, it loves the concrete democracy which heaves in its breast, producing tumultuous and disquieting agitations. But up to the present time there has never been but a momentary overflow when democracy has returned to the bed of reason and gone on its prosperous course again. The American people has faith in its own destiny as well as in progress, and, somewhat intoxicated by its prodigious good fortune, finds pleasure in the belief that in its hand is the sceptre of civilization. This optimistic faith is a barrier against all systems of violent revolution. I do not doubt that in the twentieth century, notwithstanding the troubles that may come, the prosperity of the United States will go on increasing. If this new century does not succeed in solving the pending questions—in which respect it will only resemble the nineteenth—it will very probably ameliorate, in more than one respect, the present condition of the working-classes, as this century has done, especially the second half of it; and I can, with the same confidence that the Americans have in their future, say of their industrial interests and the problems attached thereto, 'Fata viam invenient.' "

THEODORE STANTON.

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HAVE WE STILL NEED OF POETRY?

HOWEVER bright the nimbus that still invests the great poetry of the past, it seems to be very generally felt that in our time the art has fallen upon evil days of waning influence and decadent production. It would appear that poetry is no longer a power in the lives of men, but, at the best, merely the delight of refined connoisseurs,—a competitor of rare orchids and delicate china. All admit that the connoisseurs are pretty numerous, and that there is no sign that the springs of production are drying up. On the contrary, it is a well-understood fact that a much larger number of persons than ever before can now make verses that are pretty good. The paragrapher must have his fling at our magazine poetry; but the fact remains that not a little of it, taken as it runs, is really better, from an artistic point of view, than much that can be found in the pages of the Immortals. This is something that the pessimist ought not to forget, since it testifies that, in spite of all the adverse influences of which we hear so much, the poetic art is really loved and cultivated by many. And publishers corroborate the evidence.

On the other hand, there is no denying that the great bulk of our newest poetry seems to lack the sovereign quality of inevitableness. It is not the spontaneous overflow of a burdened soul, often not even the product of a rapt mood: it is a spray which sparkles prettily in the sunlight, perhaps, but is well understood by the judicious to have been pumped up from a hidden reservoir of artificial emotion. Its note, at the best, is the note of clever craftsmanship rather than of weighty utterance. Here, perhaps, it gives mellifluous expression to some strange conceit that never would have occurred to anyone not on the lookout for strange conceits. There, it takes a theme which really lies near to the general heart, and proceeds to spin out of it a web of fantastic and impossible emotion. Again, it feigns a fervid excitement over some simple matter which the most of us do not find exciting at all. I say these things, fully aware that the description is not universally apt. How could it be when one is attempting to generalize upon so large a subject? There is some recent verse which is neither hollow

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nor far-fetched nor tuneful trifling; and let us by all means cultivate thankfulness for the blessings we enjoy, and keep hearts and minds open to the poets who are yet with us.

But, with all due respect to the lights that are still burning, it must be said—and they themselves would be the first to admit—that they do not shine with the full-orbed lustre of their forebears. The vocation of the poet—it is now usually an avocation—has lost somewhat of its old impressiveness. Wordsworth and Tennyson and Browning and Longfellow and Lowell have no living successors whom the mantle of the seer seems perfectly to fit. It is hard to think of Swinburne Societies as a possible development of the future; and Mr. Aldrich, conscientious and delightful artist as he is,—*Serus in cælum redeat!*—has always seemed to possess, rather than to be possessed by, his art. When the present Laureate of England was invested with the bays of Tennyson, well-informed people in two hemispheres might have been heard whispering to each other, "Who *is* Alfred Austin?" And yet Mr. Austin is a poet of many volumes and, of course, undeniable gifts. Nor is it in the English-speaking world alone that the poetic art is now represented in the upper altitudes by clever artificers who sing for each other and for connoisseurs, —ministering to a fastidious taste for novel emotions and graceful effects, —but are not taken very seriously by the great serious public because of a rooted suspicion that they have nothing of importance to say.

Now all this invites speculation, and suggests many a query which one would like to put to the sphinx of evolution. What is the matter? Is the fault with the public, with the poets, or with the times? What are the real causes of the decline we seem to notice in the prestige and influence of verse? Are the causes ephemeral? It is a well-known fact of literary history that periods of magnificent production alternate more or less regularly with periods of comparative sterility, and that the sterile periods are very apt to be characterized by excessive attention to the matters of form and technic. Are we living now in one of those less-favored epochs from which we may reasonably hope to emerge pretty soon into a new renaissance of great creation, or have we reached a final level? Have we, as many seem to think, entered at last upon an era in which verse-making is to have only the status of an elegant amusement, while the really soul-stirring things will find expression in prose? Or may we look forward to new triumphs of song like those we have known in the past? To put the problem in the only form which admits of any discussion that is not pure guesswork: Are

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there any far-reaching influences at work in these latter days which bode a lasting impairment of the prestige and influence of poetry?

Whenever the horoscope of poetry is darkly cast, whether in gloom or in glee, we usually hear such things as the following: "Ours is a practical age given to money-grubbing and utilitarianism; and its character, as thus defined, tends to become more pronounced with the lapse of time. We have little time for dreams and fancies; and our children will have less." Again, the scientific spirit is made in some way responsible for the blight; and as science has no doubt come to stay, and to dominate our minds more and more, a glacial epoch for poetry is evidently impending. Still more often, probably, it is urged that life is a tremendously solemn thing, and grows more solemn as we comprehend it better in the light of a new science and a new ethics. There is work to do for serious people; and poetry is frivolous play.

Now I have no intention of traversing systematically all the ground marked off by these lines of observation. In most of its aspects the subject has been pretty thoroughly debated. But there are two or three that suggest some considerations which seem worth presenting.

And first, this of the frivolity of poetry is interesting. The attitude of Carlyle is well remembered. His rugged nature demanded a stern grapple with what he called realities, and could not brook the jingling rhymester peddling bon-bons and rose-water to a wicked and perverse generation that needed the bread of life. So, too, Count Tolstoï is an enemy of poetry in metrical form; but his point of view is a little different. He holds that rhythm and rhyme chain down thought, and that whatever interferes with the complete expression of the idea is an evil. Therefore he regards the decline in our esteem for verse as an evidence of progress, a sign that we are putting away childish things and becoming sensible. This way of looking at the matter, whether Carlyle's or Tolstoï's, is well enough brought out by one of the speakers in George Eliot's poem, "A College Breakfast-party," in which scorn is poured upon our modern art and poesy under the image of

> . . . "two stalwart greybeards, imbecile,
> With limbs still active, playing at belief
> That hunt the slipper, football, hide-and-seek,
> Are sweetly merry, donning pinafores
> And lisping emulously in their speech."

With regard to all this, it seems pertinent, if not profound, to remark, that whether poetry, in its relation to the ideals and aspirations of an epoch, is frivolous or not depends not on the nature of things,

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but upon the nature of the poetry. At the very time when Carlyle was pronouncing verse an anachronism, Tennyson was producing some of the noblest verse in English literature. Is there any less of manly seriousness in "In Memoriam" than in "Sartor Resartus"? And as for Tolstoï's objection to the clogging element of rhythm, it can be urged with equal force against the constraints of style in prose. In the Count's Utopia there will be, it would seem, no artistic expression whatever; since rules and conventions that operate as a constraint are of its very essence. If it is child's play to make words sing, it must be child's play to make them preach. The play theory of art was formerly made much of in æsthetic discussion, notably by Schiller. I have never been able to get much help from it; but if there is anything at all in it, we must clearly regard the "Kreutzer Sonata" as coming under the head of play no less than a song or a sonnet.

Frivolity, like most of the abstract nouns we bandy about in debate, is a relative term. It denotes a point of view as well as a kind of conduct. If anyone thinks the poetry of to-day frivolous, he will probably not be converted by argument. Still it will do him no harm to recall that Plato thought Homer frivolous. Poets have always been more or less taxed with frivolity by persons of a severe disposition; and the moralists have very often been wrong. About the middle of the last century there was in Germany a flood of Anacreontic verse which struck the sedate mind, and still strikes it, as very frivolous indeed. Nevertheless we can now see that a genuine seriousness underlay it. The Germans were just escaping from the tyranny of theological standards that had imposed a very austere view of life, and their exultation in the new freedom found expression in endless babble about Chloe and kisses and vine-wreaths; the chorus being swelled by many steady-going citizens, who really kept their service of love and wine within the limits of law and propriety. Is there not some comfort in the reflection that frivolous poetry may turn out after a while to have meant something? It is a large world, with room in it for all kinds of people to amuse themselves in their own way. The most that the moralist can reasonably demand is, that the amusements shall be harmless; and surely the making of verses that seem to have nothing in them must count among the least noxious of vices.

I have been trying to suggest the thought that cynical views of poetry, based upon its alleged lack of seriousness, are very inconclusive. They are nothing new in the world, and need to be heavily discounted. Seriousness manifests itself variously in different natures, according to

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the time and place. The hostile attitude of Carlyle was not a matter of logic, but grew out of his personal limitations and prejudices. While himself a wonderful artist in prose, he was a poor performer in verse, and was, moreover, inclined to see unrealities all about him in every phase of contemporary life. Bent as he was upon the spiritual regeneration of his poor, weak fellow-men, he conceived life much too strenuously from the moralist's point of view. He did not sufficiently consider what his converts were to do with themselves, and how their lives were to be enriched, after they had cleared their minds of cant, swallowed the formulæ, and become decent citizens of this spacious and interesting world. He was no doubt right in thinking that for the purposes of preaching, at least for the lower, hortatory kind, prose is the best vehicle of expression. But man cannot live by preaching alone.

And now a word as to the blighting effect of the scientific spirit. Coleridge is quoted as having said in conversation that the real antithesis of poetry is not prose, but science. If this is true, it seems reasonable, at first blush, to expect that the development of science will gradually render poetry superfluous, if not impossible. That this is bound to take place, and is already taking place on a large scale, is an idea that seems to have found lodgment in many minds. But when one inquires just how the result is to be brought about, one gets no very clear or conclusive answer. Is it that the scientific habit of mind tends to make people indifferent to everything but hard facts and logical conclusions? If this were so, we might still be moderately cheerful about the future of poetry, because the scientific habit of thought is not making such a swift conquest of the general mind as to occasion immediate alarm. Men of science, who take a deeper view of the matter, can only wonder and groan that its progress is after all so discouragingly slow. But it is a groundless and calumnious assumption, that the study of science has any such effect. On the contrary, its natural effect, under normal conditions, is to increase a man's susceptibility to whatever makes for the enrichment of life. It is true that long and unremitting attention to the details of scientific work or any other work will usually result in impairing the imaginative faculty and the capacity to be moved by an æsthetic appeal. The case of Darwin, who gradually lost all interest in music and poetry, is in point. But this instance, which is offset by the case of Goethe, only illustrates the familiar truth that any organ or faculty will decay if not exercised. A man of science, like a lawyer or doctor, may bury himself completely in his facts and problems, and let his æsthetic nature un-

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dergo atrophy; but if he does so it is his own fault and not that of his business. There are many scientific men who are lovers and connoisseurs of poetry, and who would scout the idea that there is anything in their vocation which tends exceptionally to paralyze the æsthetic nerve-centres. It is all a matter of temperament, early training, and continued cultivation. A youthful susceptibility to poetry and romance needs to be cherished, otherwise the absorbing pursuits of later life will be apt to kill it. This is an old, old story. I believe, however, that the pursuit of accurate knowledge is, if anything, rather less lethal than most other pursuits.

There is another phase of this anxiety about the effects of science —a phase with which it is difficult to deal fairly in a few words. The idea prevails quite widely that the tendency of science is to destroy faith in the reality and importance of things spiritual. If that were so we should have to regard it indeed as the deadly enemy of poetry. But it is not so. The effect of science is to transform, not to destroy, our inheritance of thought and feeling; and the welfare of poetry is not bound up with any particular forms of emotion or conviction. When we speak of science, we ought to mean all the sciences together. Now the idealism of science, taken in this sense, is the love of the whole truth. It cannot despiritualize the world: for it deals with facts, with all the facts; and the human mind is the most important among them. Whatever science may have in store, however ruthlessly it may lay its hand upon particular beliefs and illusions, human beings will always be what nature made them; that is, not primarily thinking-machines, but emotional creatures who must live much more in what they feel than in what they can prove,—creatures for whom affection, joy, hope, aspiration, will always play a more important *rôle* than logic. And this, which is the domain of poetry, is not shrinking, but enlarging, with the lapse of time. The gain of positive knowledge, which renders the spectacle of life more complicate, opens at the same time new domains of feeling, and calls for a continual readjustment of relations between the head and the heart. And so it must be forever, while

> ". . . still, as we proceed,
> The mass swells more and more,
> Of volumes yet to read,
> Of secrets yet to explore."

It was a contention of Macaulay, that, as knowledge extends and reason develops itself, the imaginative arts must decay; and I have

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lately read of a college entrance-examination in which a formal proof of this proposition, or one of quite similar import, was set as a theme for composition. But, though the doctrine seems to be widely accepted as commonplace truth, there is really nothing in it. It is only one of those illusions to which we are all more or less liable through generalizing too widely from the movement of our own minds, or from a limited range of observation. From the condition of our private larder we forebode that soon there will be "no more cakes and ale" anywhere. Having ourselves passed the age of youth and romance, we imagine that the world is growing old. But the world does not grow old in any but a geological sense. It renews its youth continually. Each generation sets out with fresh eagerness, as if it were a new thing to live. Under slightly different forms it dreams the same old dreams and kindles to the same old passions as in the days of Homer. It is touched anew by the same sorrows, and finds joy in the same old sources. Now it is this ever-renewed youth of the human heart that guarantees the future of poetry. We need have no fear of a permanent decadence of the art. It will have its ups and downs. Old forms will wear themselves out; but others will come to take their place. There will be sterile epochs like our own, in which men will wonder, as many do now, if poetry has not really had its day. And then it will flourish again, appropriating new domains and exerting its old influence as the most intellectual and the most useful of the arts. It is an ancient effluence of the human soul, has lived through all kinds of vicissitudes, and will survive in the future for the same reason as in the past. And that reason is, in a word, that it meets and satisfies, as no other art can, certain fundamental and imperishable needs of human nature. I contend that we have need of poetry, and that the need is not diminishing with the lapse of time.

We need it, in the first place, for pleasure. Just in proportion as our modern life tends to assume a very solemn aspect and to become, for the great majority, a treadmill or a struggle, do we need to guard all the more jealously our available resources of elevating pleasure. If the poet, with his bagatelles of fancy, can beguile us now and then to forget the awful burden of our responsibility for the world's welfare, we should bless him as a benefactor, instead of chiding him for his frivolity. As a means of pleasure, poetry has some obvious advantages over its chief modern competitors. It is less expensive than a yacht or a cottage by the sea. It has not the nameless drawbacks of an ocean voyage; and it is more accessible than the Alps or Venice or the

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Louvre. It does not afflict one with backache, like the picture-galleries, nor prepare the way for a sad morrow, like the festive banquet. It is easy to come at; and you do not need to dress for it. You are tolerably sure of good society; and if you chance to be bored, escape is quickly practicable. You are not dependent upon a course of technical training; and you can dispense with the services of an interpreter.

This would make, I trow, an impregnable case, were it not that all these advantages can be claimed likewise for prose fiction. Ours is a generation of novel-readers; wherefore, one who is arguing that we still have need of poetry must be prepared to show that prose fiction cannot altogether "fill the bill." But this is no very hard task. Let it be granted that very good novels can do, in some degree, the work of poetry; still they can do it only in a degree, not perfectly. There is a long descent from the best poetry to the best fiction; and as for ordinary novels, they hardly do the work of poetry at all. They are better, perhaps, for rest, and form a more acceptable substitute for narcotics in the case of those who are deficient in literary sense. This explains their greater popularity. Take any one of the myriads who read novels, but eschew poetry, inquire into the grounds of his preference, and you will probably get an answer equivalent to this: "Poetry is too hard reading. It demands greater alertness and concentration, hurrying one from image to image and compelling one to think, to visualize, perhaps even to parse. On the other hand, the prose tale adapts itself more readily to a lethargic condition of the mind, whether this result from fatigue or from a natural ineptitude for cerebral effort." But if the jaded or indolent mind finds its account in prose fiction, which is apt to fix attention on the matter, the alert and active mind has the keener pleasure in verse, which appeals more decidedly to the sense of form.

It is of course useless to urge the pleasure-giving qualities of poetry upon those who, as a matter of fact, find no pleasure in it. That the name of this class is to-day legion, even among the cultivated, is the effect partly of recent educational developments. As long as education was an aristocratic distinction and was mainly occupied with poetry and matters germane thereto, the reading-public was relatively small; but nearly all cared for poetry who cared for anything in the domain of mind and art. Now the poet must bring his wares to an immensely greater public, that has all sorts of intellectual and æsthetic interests, and is overwhelmed with books, reviews and magazines. And a very large part of this public have contrived to get through school and college, and take the prescribed dose of literary study in a number of different languages,

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without acquiring a very fervid interest in good literature of any kind. They have found their account in other fields. Poetry does not appeal to them. It is this state of affairs, I am persuaded, which has given rise to the widespread illusion, that the world is growing weary of poetry. The number of those who seemingly ought to care for it, but do not, is enormous. But, on the other hand, the number of those who do care for it is much greater than ever before, and is bound to increase. For them the art is a living source of pleasure which has lost none of its old potency.

In the second place, I do not hesitate to argue that we need poetry for instruction. The dogma of art for art's sake has done good service as a battle-cry. It was in the beginning a wholesome protest against narrow views of the relation of art to conventional morality and religion. The time had come to proclaim forcibly that art was in no need of leading-strings, but had a right to take things as they are and be judged by its own standards. But it was putting good doctrine to a bad use, to appeal to it in defence of poetry that has no excuse for being except to titillate the depraved æsthetic sense of moral degenerates. It is carrying the protest too far, to maintain that poetry has nothing to do with making us wiser and better. Thus stated, the theory is unsound; and some of the practice to which it has given rise in Europe is simply detestable.

We get our best instruction from the poets by a very indirect process, through the widening of intellectual sympathies and the deepening of emotional life. They teach us, as Goethe expresses it, by "calling our attention to that whereof instruction were desirable"; and our gain comes not in the form of rules and maxims, but in the culture which enables us to test the worth of all rules and maxims whatsoever. In other words, they teach us by putting us more and more in a position to teach ourselves—always the most precious kind of instruction. It was a saying of Matthew Arnold, that "the noblest nations are those which know how to make the best use of poetry." This means that, as the world has been, poetry is our best discipline in nobility. Will it be otherwise in the future? Are we outgrowing the need of the wisdom which the poets teach? Can science or formal philosophy take its place? Will the mighty forces that make for the vulgarization of life be able to prevail against it? I do not think so. It will rather grow strong to meet the enemy.

Again, we have need of poetry for consolation. When the times seem out of joint; when we are appalled at the tremendous strength of

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the wrong, and are moved to cynicism because of the slow progress of the good cause we have at heart; when we are disheartened by the fatuity of our politicians, judges, teachers, ministers of religion, and so forth, there is always comfort in the poets, who show us benignly that all those multifarious reprobates have appeared on earth before, and have not succeeded in making it uninhabitable. In the stress of our partisanship, in the vehemence of our indignation, we get relief by taking now and then the artistic point of view, comparing our misguided brethren with their predecessors of long ago, and thus learning to regard them as necessary manifestations of the eternal power not ourselves that makes for deviltry. And for the times of private sorrow and depression, for the moods of gloom and revolt, there is also nepenthe in the poets. It is true they cannot instantly assuage a poignant grief; but they do that which is better—they transfigure it. And this they effect by letting us see that our personal woes are not unprecedented; that many others have borne a like burden or a greater, and in bearing have not been crushed, but have found their benediction. This is what Wordsworth meant by

> "The soothing thoughts that spring
> Out of human suffering."

Finally, we have need of poetry for joy—"the joy of elevated thoughts." It is here that the art of arts performs its most precious benefaction. I speak now more especially of the great poets and of the total effect of long occupation with them. As we come to know them intimately and as life discloses ever more fully the meaning and the truth of their words, as their messages take on a personal tinge through association with our own crises and turning-points, their ministry of the lower benefits that I have mentioned deepens at last into a ministry of pure joy like that we have in the love of a dear friend. This, rather than the æsthetic culture that vaunteth itself in critical estimates and learned discussions, is the finest fruitage of the study of the poets. They have not done their perfect work until admiration of artistic genius has kindled into the joy of a personal affection.

CALVIN THOMAS.

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The Forum

JULY, 1898.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.[1]

I CAN well remember the day when I first saw Mr. Gladstone. I am not likely to forget it, any more than I am likely to forget the day on which I saw him last. The first time I saw him was on the occasion of his unveiling at Manchester a statue in honor of his great friend and teacher, Sir Robert Peel. The statue stands in front of the Manchester Infirmary. I have never passed it since in all these many years without thinking of that day and of the great orator who pronounced the eulogy of the other great orator. That was on October 12, 1853: many days have passed since then. It was just before the outbreak of the Crimean War. Mr. Gladstone was still what would be called in English political life a young man; and he looked younger than he actually was. Somehow to me he had a disappointing look. Except for the deep, burning eyes, he seemed at first to be almost commonplace. In later years he flashed on everyone as something absolutely out of the common.

For many years back, a stranger going at any time into a room crowded with the most brilliant company in London would have been certain that his eye would first light on Gladstone. Also it was quite certain that the stranger would find, or fancy that he found, the eye of Gladstone resting upon him. For many years the eye of Gladstone thus dominated the House of Commons. There was no escaping from it. The youngest and most obscure member of the House who ven-

[1] This sketch was written for THE FORUM about four years ago, with the stipulation that it should not be published till after Mr. Gladstone's decease.—ED.

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tured to interrupt, though merely by a question or a word from the most distant seat, the speech of the great orator, found the burning eye turned on him at once, and the overwhelming answer poured out upon him.

But in the far-off days of October 12, 1853, when I first, as a youth, saw and heard Mr. Gladstone, this strange, all-dominating power had not yet asserted itself. At least it did not reveal itself to my then youthful and inexperienced eyes. I heard Mr. Gladstone make two or three speeches on that occasion, and it was clear to me that he was a great speaker; but it was not quite clear to me that he was going to become the all-conquering Parliamentary orator that in later days he proved himself to be. Since that time I have been present at nearly all the great Parliamentary debates between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. I became familiar with the House of Commons while Mr. Gladstone was its inspiring presence, and I have been trying to become familiar with it since his great influence has been withdrawn from it forever. I well remember Palmerston and Lord John Russell; and I knew Cobden and Bright.

I think Bright the greatest orator in the House of Commons during my time. When the occasion came he could prove himself a greater orator than Gladstone,and a far greater orator than Disraeli, who indeed was not in the true sense a great orator at all, but only a consummate master of sarcastic phraseology. But then Bright, although undoubtedly he now and then shot his arrow into the air higher than Gladstone could do, was not and could not be the incessant and unfailing archer that Gladstone proved himself. About Gladstone there was no mood of fatigue or weariness or unwillingness: he was always ready for the fight. Bright was a great orator: Gladstone was a great orator, and a great debater as well. Bright's strength was not in debate. I have gained somehow the impression that Fox and Gladstone were the greatest English Parliamentary debaters since the days of Bolingbroke.

When I first saw Mr. Gladstone—in 1853—he was a very handsome man, with a profusion of dark, wavy hair. At that time it was still the fashion for men to display all the hair they could grow. The day of close-cropped heads had not come up again. Dickens wore a mass of hair; and Disraeli had not long given up the wearing of ringlets. Mr. Gladstone was, as I have said, a very handsome man. He had been a very handsome boy. The late Sir Roderick Murchison described him in 1821 as "the prettiest little boy that ever went to Eton." But I must say that he did not seem to me to be nearly so handsome a man in 1853 as he was when I saw him for the last time as Prime Minister

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of England, in his official residence in Downing Street on Monday, March 5, 1894. In 1853 there was something about Mr. Gladstone which bordered on the merely respectable. He was well dressed and well got up in every way; but somehow his appearance failed to command me. I did not see in him a king of men: perhaps I had then no notion that he was destined to become such a king of men as we all have known him since. In much later years he appeared to carry his kingship in his face. Wordsworth speaks of Coleridge as "the rapt one with the god-like forehead—the heaven-eyed creature." The words would do admirably for Mr. Gladstone as we have known him during the last quarter of a century. In his moods of deepest emotion I have often been reminded of Byron's lines describing one "on whose brow the thunder-scars are graven." The late Crabbe Robinson spoke of Goethe, whom he had known, as being "oppressively handsome." I think Mr. Gladstone in his later years was all but oppressively handsome. His eyes reminded one of all that one has read about the eyes of Robert Burns.

Then, in speaking of his physical outfit for a great place in political life, something has to be said—a great deal could be said—about his voice. It spoke indeed with most miraculous organ. It had more subtle shades of meaning than the voice of any man I have ever heard, even if I include that of the great actor, Salvini. Its semitones, its half-notes were alive with varying expression. I came too late into political observation to hear the great Sir Robert Peel, with that majestic voice of his, which Disraeli said had no superior in the House of Commons of that time—"except indeed the thrilling tones of O'Connell." But of the English Parliamentary orators of my time Gladstone had the finest voice for all its various purposes. John Bright's voice bore much the same relation to Gladstone's that, as I think, his eloquence did. There were times when Bright could be more eloquent than Gladstone. There were times when the magnificent voice of Bright could ring out more thrillingly, more musically than even the voice of Gladstone. But, for the constant work of Parliament, I have never heard a voice which could maintain its command over an audience so constantly, so irresistibly, as the voice of Gladstone.

We have, then, the Parliamentary hero starting from the very beginning well equipped for the fight. He had genius, he had presence, he had voice—and he had fortune. Mr. Gladstone was a Liverpool man by birth, a genuine Scotsman by descent. He was born in Rodney Street, Liverpool, on December 29, 1809. His people were thoroughly Scot-

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tish—Lowland Scots. The name of the family originally was, it would seem, Gledstane. The Gledstanes owned almost from time immemorial a property in Lanarkshire, from which they took their name. My friend Mr. George W. E. Russell, M.P., in his careful and most interesting memoir of Mr. Gladstone, explains the origin of the name of the property, which became, after the Scottish fashion, the name of the family later on. "*Gled*," he says, "means a hawk; and that fierce and beautiful bird would have found its natural home among the *stanes*, or rocks, of the craggy moorlands which surround the fortalice of Gledstanes." As generations went on the Gledstanes became Gladstones; and, finally, the name was abbreviated to Gladstone. It is not likely to change again. It is not probable that any descendants of the house will ever arise with a desire to change the name from that which has been made illustrious and immortal by the William Ewart Gladstone of our times. One member of the family, John Gladstone, settled in Liverpool, became a merchant prince there, entered the House of Commons, and was made a baronet. He had six children, the third of whom was the great man who rose to be Prime Minister of England and one of the orators and statesmen who helped to make the fame of the British Parliament and of the British Empire.

Seven of my early working-years were passed as a journalist in Liverpool; and there I came to know some of the members of the Gladstone family. William Ewart Gladstone had passed long before my time into Imperial politics and into a great place in Parliament. I knew his elder brother, Robertson Gladstone,—a man of somewhat eccentric manners, but of remarkable and original ability. He was a man of striking presence. I have often seen people stop to look at him as he passed through the crowded streets of London. In his own city, Liverpool, people were used to him, and took no heed. He was one of the tallest men I have ever seen out of a show of giants. His height, I think, was about six feet seven. He was in advance of the political life of his age. He had been brought up a Tory of the strictest order; but he soon left the family traditions behind. He became a Liberal, and even a Radical. He went long before his much more gifted brother in his acceptance of modern principles in politics and in finance. He had great ability in finance; and he lent much assistance to William Ewart in connection with the early budgets of the latter.

From Mr. Russell's book, to which I have already referred, I learn that Sir John Gladstone brought up his sons and daughters to study everything and to discuss everything. Nothing was ever taken for

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granted between him and his sons. "A succession of arguments on great topics and small topics alike—arguments conducted with the most perfect good humor, but also with the most implacable logic—formed the staple of the family conversation." Sir John Gladstone's house was, as Mr. Russell truly observes, "a home preëminently calculated to mould the thoughts and direct the course of an intelligent and receptive nature." When one thinks of how the Gladstone of our time turned to incessant account that paternal training in dialectics, one is reminded of what used to be said of the younger Pitt when he began to impress the House of Commons with his arguments and his eloquence—that he was "taught by his dad on a stool." Sir John Gladstone was certainly not so great a man by any means as the elder Pitt; but he seems to have had something of the same faculty for directing into its right course the genius of his son.

The young William Ewart Gladstone, when he had reached the age of eleven, was sent, almost as a matter of course, to Eton. No place could be more appropriate for the opening studies of a boy like the youthful Gladstone. The scene itself is characterized by all the peculiar beauty that an English landscape and an ancient English town and ancient English traditions and historical and personal associations can possibly inspire. The famous College of Eton is sheltered in the shadow of the great castle of Windsor: Windsor and Eton are as one. Eton is almost like a cathedral town; and there are few things in the world more beautiful and venerable than an English cathedral town.

Gladstone led the life of a student at Eton. He was especially fond of the classics; and, although he never became a great classical scholar, in the sense of German scholarship, he had a keen, almost an impassioned, interest in the great masterpieces of Greece and Rome. He read the books rather for what was in them than for what might be said about their structure and their grammar. Gladstone unquestionably exercised a high and almost a commanding influence among his young contemporaries at Eton. He was an entirely well-behaved boy; and yet he was not in the slightest degree a prig. A prig at Eton could not possibly have any influence at all. He was not given to gymnastic exercises; but he was a great walker, and afterward was very fond of riding. He set himself boldly against coarseness of any kind. He made himself the champion of a movement against cruelty to animals, and, Mr. Russell says, "when bantered by his schoolfellows for his humanity, offered to write his reply in good round-hand upon their faces." Clearly he was the sort of boy who might venture on new theories, even at Eton.

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At Eton Mr. Gladstone first foreshadowed the possession of that gift of eloquence which afterward made so brilliant and so splendid an impress upon the history of his time. At the close of 1827 he left Eton, and, after a few months with a private tutor, passed on to Oxford. There he studied hard; and there, in the Oxford Union Debating Society, he made his mark as an orator. He was soon chosen as secretary, and afterward became president of the Union. I mention these facts only to show that at every stage of his career, from boyhood, almost from childhood up, there was nothing that he undertook in which he did not excel. In the Oxford Union Debating Society he supported Catholic Emancipation, but opposed the removal of the political disabilities imposed upon the Jews. How far off it seems to look back upon all that! Catholic Emancipation still having to be fought for, the removal of the religious disabilities of the Jews still fought against, by educated and enlightened men!

Gladstone particularly distinguished himself in Oxford by his speech against the Reform Bill of Earl Grey and Lord John Russell. He denounced the Bill as destined to break up the whole conditions of social order in Great Britain. What a modest, timid, tentative Bill it seems to us now! It merely abolished a few rotten boroughs and pocket-boroughs, and allowed the middle classes generally to have a vote for the election of Members of Parliament. It left the whole of the working-class out in the cold,—indeed, by abolishing some old-fashioned labor franchises in certain constituencies, it left the laboring-classes much worse off than it had found them. One of the great works of Mr. Gladstone's life was to redress the balance of that halting measure and, above all other things, to admit the working-population to its fair share in the right of electing Members to the Imperial Parliament.

That speech in the Oxford Union Debating Society became an important event in young Gladstone's life. It attracted the attention of a great Tory nobleman of the day—great in position and in influence, but great in nothing else except obstinacy, the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Newcastle will live in political history for two reasons—first, because, with regard to the representation of Newark, he insisted bluntly on his right to "do what he liked with his own," and, next, because he brought Mr. Gladstone into political life. The Duke of Newcastle's son, Lord Lincoln, was a great friend and college chum of Gladstone's,—he was afterward his official colleague,—and he wrote to his father enthusiastically about Gladstone's speech at the Oxford Union Debating Society. Meanwhile Gladstone had left the University. He graduated in 1831

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with highest honors both in classics and in mathematics (a double first-class). At that time he had a very serious idea of entering the church. His father, however, preferred that he should go in for a political career; and Gladstone deferred to the parental wishes.

There has been a good deal of futile speculation as to what sort of name Mr. Gladstone would have made if he had gone into the English Church, and also as to what might have happened to him if he had remained at Oxford a little longer, and come under the influence of what we may call the Catholic revival and of the bewitching mastery of the late Cardinal Newman. It is idle to think of these things now. What did happen was, that Gladstone went to Italy to study the language and to enjoy the scenery and the art and the traditions of the country, and was recalled to England, after some six months, to contest, at the request of the Duke of Newcastle, the borough of Newark against a Liberal candidate. Fate seems to have a way of bringing back illustrious Englishmen from Italy to take part in political affairs. Milton came back from Florence; Sir Robert Peel was summoned home from Rome; John Bright returned from Florence; and Mr. Gladstone hurried from Italy to fight the Tory battle at Newark.

Gladstone was successful. The success was not certain in advance: for the influence of the Duke of Newcastle had been challenged effectively on a former occasion; and the Reform Bill had meanwhile been passed into law. The Bill received the Royal assent,—how reluctantly that assent was given we all know,—and Mr. Gladstone stood for Newark in December of the same year. He was returned at the head of the poll, and was thus launched upon his Parliamentary career.

Gladstone found ample means afterward to recompense himself for his shortened stay in Italy. Whenever he had leisure during the rest of his busy and eventful life, he delighted to spend it in Italy. He loved the country, was steeped in its literature and its traditions, and hailed the prospect of its unity. He learned to speak the language well. A distinguished member of the Italian Parliament told me that if Gladstone could somehow be got into either of the two Chambers at Rome, and were to make a speech there, he might easily pass for a native of the country, —only that a man of one Italian province would take him for a native of another. After his own country, Gladstone loved Italy best—until he became interested in the story of Ireland. He had of course a great affection for Greece also. He was suffused with the literature of classic Greece, and was full of sympathy with the hopes and struggles of modern Greece. Later in his life he had an opportunity of visiting Athens

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and standing on the Acropolis and studying the Parthenon, and of looking over that scene which, for rock, river, sea, and island,—physical beauty combined with artistic perfection and immortal association,—is surely without comparison in all the world. Mr. Gladstone was welcomed everywhere in Greece as "the Philhellene."

This of course is anticipating events in his career. I have introduced so much here and just now only to point to the early predilections which were formed in him by the study of the great authors of what are called the classic times of Greece and Rome. His love of Italian literature was as much aflame for the days of Dante as for the days of Vergil. So far as I know, he does not seem to have had any great passion for the literature of Germany. German literature burst upon the world like a flood. One day it was wholly unknown to Europe in general; the tongue of the German courts was French; and the language of many philosophical German writers was Latin. The next day, if I may put it in this way, the scholarship of Lessing and the poetic genius of Goethe and Schiller had conquered Europe and the world. Mr. Gladstone did not seem to have quite caught up with it. I have heard him quote very effectively in the House of Commons from Schiller's "Mary Stuart"; but I do not remember ever to have heard him adorn a speech with any citation from Goethe or Heine. His heart's love was given to the literature of England, of Greece, and of Italy. Such was the literary outfit with which he entered the House of Commons in the reformed Parliament of 1832. That first Parliament met on January 29, 1833,—we name a Parliament after the year of its origin, not of its first actual assembling. In January, 1833, Mr. Gladstone first entered that House of Commons with which his name must ever be associated so long as men read English history.

Mr. Gladstone, then, is launched into political life as a Tory—as what I may be allowed to call a High-Church Tory. It is not surprising that he should have entered into public life thus. His father was a Tory of the Tories. The times were well calculated to make moderate men—especially men of property—lean to Conservative opinions, to take refuge in them, with the natural, human, futile idea that one's holding this opinion or that can avert the course of an organic political development. When Gladstone was born, Napoleon was still at the height of his fame. Not many months had passed since Wagram. Napoleon was himself in fact a genuine Conservative, and even a reactionary; but the Conservative politicians of England, and indeed of Europe, seemed to regard him as if he were the author and the inspiration of all the extravagances of the French Revolution. Throne and altar, peace, property, religion, the cash-

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box, the currency, the chalky cliffs of England, and the domestic hearth alike seemed to be threatened by the influences and the objects of the French Revolution.

Sir John Gladstone naturally remained a Conservative; and his son followed him in the same line of thought. The father was a great friend and supporter of Canning, who represented Liverpool for many years; and the son may be said to have grown up under the influence of Canning's teaching. Gladstone himself has told us all about it. In his immortal speech on the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1866—his own and Lord Russell's Reform Bill—Mr. Gladstone said, in explanation of his early Conservative doctrines:

> "I was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning; every influence connected with that name governed the politics of my childhood and my youth; with Canning I rejoiced in the removal of religious disabilities, and in the character which he gave to our policy abroad; with Canning I rejoiced in the opening he made toward the establishment of the commercial interchanges between nations; with Canning, and under the shadow of that great name, and under the shadow of that yet more venerable name of Burke, I grant my youthful mind and imagination were impressed."

Canning's influence, curiously enough, has faded entirely out of public memory in our time. He was hardly what could be called a Conservative, in the narrower sense of the word. Indeed he was an intellectual Liberal in everything except where Parliamentary reform was concerned. He appears to have been a sort of miniature Burke—with a handsome presence and a beautiful voice. He impressed and captivated the Majority of the House of Commons in his time: but Lord Brougham has denied that he ever possessed the real fibre of an orator; and Disraeli has mercilessly disparaged him. Still, he was just the sort of statesman to impress the youthful Gladstone. John Bright once said to me, "Gladstone is always struggling toward the light." So, in a certain sense, was Canning. So, most assuredly, Canning must have appeared to Gladstone.

Under these influences, then,—the name of Canning and the "yet more venerable name of Burke,"—Mr. Gladstone blossomed into Conservatism. His success was foretold by all men who came to know him well. One man, who certainly did *not* know him well at the time, nor indeed ever after, saw no promise in him. This was Mr. Disraeli—his great rival in later years, and the only Conservative orator in the House of Commons who was able to hold the lists in any effective sort of way against Gladstone. In Gladstone's early political career, when people were already beginning to talk about him, Disraeli met him somewhere in London, and wrote, I think, to his sister, to tell her she might depend

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upon it that "that young man has no future in politics." Some eminent person or other said, in Julius Cæsar's earlier days, that, whatever might come of that young man, he never would make a soldier. Alva scoffed at the notion of William the Silent leading a formidable rebellion.

Gladstone's commercial education stood him in good stead when he came into Parliament. Commercial questions were then occupying close and eager attention. It is not generally remembered, although of course it is recorded in all his biographies, that Gladstone spent some years in studying for the bar, and gave up his idea of becoming an advocate only when the opening seemed so clearly to present itself for a successful career in politics. I cannot help thinking what a superb advocate he would have made; what ingenuity he would have displayed; how he would have wound himself in and out of any evidence; how he would have dazzled the jury by his eloquence; how he would have bewildered the judge by the plausibility and the pertinacity of his argument. Still I think we must all be glad that the English bar did not get what was meant for the English Parliament. But I have always thought that Gladstone's studies in law, such as they were, must have been of great advantage to his Parliamentary career. Combined with his early training to business ways, they carried him far in the House of Commons. He soon attracted the attention, the admiration, and the confidence of Sir Robert Peel, then approaching the height of his fame and influence.

Peel gave the young Gladstone his first chance of office. In December, 1834, Peel appointed him a Junior Lord of the Treasury,—really a sort of Parliamentary under-secretaryship with a fine-sounding name to it,—an office with which promising young men usually begin. In 1835 he was invited by Peel and consented to become Under-Secretary for the Colonies. This is a post of real political importance in the House of Commons,—if the Secretary, the chief, happens to be in the House of Lords. Disraeli, in one of his political novels, says that the Foreign or Colonial Under-Secretary whose chief is in the House of Lords is master of the situation. At least he puts these words into the mouth of one of the personages of his novel; and another of the personages, a lady, takes the words literally and assumes that the Under-Secretary so favored by fortune really obtains a position which is officially described as "master of the situation." In this sense Mr. Gladstone was master of the situation. His official chief was Lord Aberdeen, the "travelled Thane, Athenian Aberdeen," of Byron, and the Aberdeen of the Crimean War—a curious link between the present and the past. The friendship which sprang up between Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone survived many political

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changes. But the new Under-Secretary for the Colonies had not much chance of showing what he could do in the House of Commons as master of the situation. Sir Robert Peel was turned out of office very soon; and Mr. Gladstone, it is needless to say, cheerfully followed his friend and leader into opposition. It is a remarkable historical fact that the motion on which the Government of Sir Robert Peel was dismissed from office, and which sent Mr. Gladstone into opposition for the time, was a motion directed by Lord John Russell against the Irish State Church—that church which Mr. Gladstone himself afterward disestablished and disendowed.

The year 1838 was an important, indeed it might almost be called an eventful, year in Mr. Gladstone's life-story. In that year he published his book, "The State in its Relations with the Church,"—the book which Lord Macaulay did so much to bring into literary importance by that review in which he described Gladstone as "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories." The book would have been forgotten long ago, if it had been written by a different man and been reviewed by a different man. What it asserted was, in brief, that the state as a state has a conscience in religious matters, and is bound to act upon that conscience —is bound, for example, to maintain its own religion to the disadvantage of every other. The mere lapse of time has settled that controversy for Great Britain and Ireland. It has hardly ever come up in the United States since the colonies formed themselves into a Union; nor would it at present have the slightest interest as a subject of discussion in Canada or Australasia. But there was a great fascination about it to a mind like that of Gladstone. The state is supreme; the state must care for its people; the supremest care for its people is the care for their immortal souls; therefore, the state is bound to encourage and even to enforce its own chosen religion. Now, between this doctrine and the much-denounced doctrines of the Inquisition, I, for one, do not see a pin to choose.

We must remember, however, that Gladstone was bred in Oxford, and that the influence of the religious revival there took fast hold of him. The religious revival began with a generous desire to make the church once again the inspiring force of the nation. The leader of that movement was the late Cardinal Newman. Two of Gladstone's nearest and dearest friends were Mr. James Hope, afterward Mr. Hope Scott, whom I well remember as one of the most brilliant and successful members of our Parliamentary bar, and Mr. Henry Edward Manning, afterward Cardinal Manning, whose friendship I had the honor to possess, and whose advice I sought at many a critical moment. These two men had at first

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only the thought of reviving and reawakening the English State Church to a sense of her duty as a light and a leader of the nation. After a long struggle they followed Newman; having convinced themselves by different forms of reasoning that there was no church but the Church of Rome. The determination of his friends filled Gladstone with the deepest grief. I know of nothing more touching in its way than the language of some of the letters written many years later by Mr. Gladstone to the daughter of his old friend, Hope Scott.

All this I mention to show how deeply rooted in Mr. Gladstone's earlier mind was the theory that the state is bound to maintain a religion of its own. In his book he expressly defended on this principle the Irish State Church—that church which he afterward abolished as a state-supported institution. He defended it on the very ground on which he afterward abolished it. The Irish State Church had been planted by conquest among a people who would not and could not accept its teaching. It was the church of only one-sixth of the population. But the other five-sixths had to pay for its maintenance. One need not discuss a question of this kind now. Mr. Gladstone, in his book, contended that, the smaller the number of Protestants in Ireland, the greater was the need of a Protestant establishment maintained by the state. From his point of view he was strictly logical. It would be the duty of the state, from that point of view, to spend all its available resources to save one single soul. But it must have given a sudden shock to Gladstone's mind when he found that three of the men he best understood and most looked up to in the world had carried the logical principle one step farther and to its final movement, and had seen no way out of the difficulty but to become members of the Church of Rome. In truth, Gladstone's nature was made up of three strands which were closely intertwined. He was a churchman; he was a financier; and he was a believer in the doctrine of nationalities. The more closely we examine the work of his great life, the more we shall find that these three principles wrought and interwrought upon each other—they compelled compromise and gave some appearance of inconsistency. By this light I think is Gladstone to be judged in the political sense. He began as a Tory, a Protectionist, and a devotee of the principle of a state conscience. But then he had the genius and the training of a financier; and he had faith in the national principle.

At a time when other English statesmen seemed to have no idea but that of fusing all parts of Great Britain and Ireland into one homogeneous, monotonous mass, Mr. Gladstone was always urging that each division of the Kingdom should keep to its ancient traditions, should love

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its own ways and its own poetry and its own art—should be, in short, a nationality. He wanted the Englishman to be an Englishman; but he also wanted the Scotchman to be a Scotchman, the Welshman to be a Welshman, and the Irishman to be an Irishman. At a very early period of his political career he was filled with a desire to go to Ireland and to judge of its condition for himself. He was anxious that his friend Hope should accompany him; but the expedition did not come off at that time nor under the desired conditions.

I am not writing a biography of Mr. Gladstone. Even if I were to attempt such a task in the most condensed form possible to do the subject justice, it would still have to expand much too far for an article such as I am now concerned to write. The public life of Gladstone belongs to history, and is open to the study of anyone and everyone. I am rather desirous of telling in a cursory sort of way how that life began, how that career was directed from its beginning, how the nature and the genius of the man asserted themselves, how he came to slough old beliefs and to cast away old prejudices, how, as Bright said of him, he was always struggling to the light. I have also desired to give a sort of impressionist picture of Mr. Gladstone—to tell of him as I knew him. We need not go over his public career. We know how, with Sir Robert Peel, he became a Free-Trader; how, from being a Tory, opposed to the whole principle of a popular vote, he grew to support and even to introduce measures which fell hardly short of complete manhood suffrage; how, from excusing, or defending, or indeed advocating, the principle of small pocket-boroughs, he came to decree their total extinction; how he devoted himself to the principle of nationalities all over the world. We know how he became Chancellor of the Exchequer—the greatest Chancellor of the Exchequer since the days of Pitt—and how he became Prime Minister. We know that he was four times Prime Minister of England. "They may say of me," said Lord Beaconsfield to a friend, "anything they like; but they cannot deny that I have been Prime Minister of England." They cannot deny—whoever they are—that Mr. Gladstone was four times Prime Minister of England, and that the resignation of his fourth Prime Ministry was a purely voluntary act, prompted indeed by his consciousness of fading sight and failing health and deepening old age, but deprecated and deplored by all his followers. Anybody who does not know all about that, and who wants to know of it, can read of it elsewhere. My idea is to make a study from personal memory of the man rather than a chronicle of his career.

Mr. Gladstone's was an intensely earnest nature. Deep sincerity was

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the keynote of his character. For many people he was too serious and too earnest and too impassioned. There were some who could not, or perhaps would not, understand such a man. They refused to believe that anyone could be so conscientious; and, to relieve their own souls and to maintain themselves in their own estimation, a certain number of persons in political life—and they were not always Gladstone's political opponents—chose to persuade themselves that he was hypocritical. "Pecksniff," it was at one time the fashion to call him among certain London Tory sets and cliques. In later years even his bitterest political opponents became more just to him, and recognized his splendid and truthful earnestness and his magnificent power of self-sacrifice. But I freely acknowledge that his earnestness sometimes took a form that put people against him. If a man did not always follow the political course that Gladstone thought he ought to have followed, Gladstone was very likely to express his convictions in his manner. I have been told again and again of men who were his habitual followers, but who went against him on some passing question, and whom, therefore, he visited with his severe displeasure. I have heard of men whom for years he cut off even from mere personal recognition, on account of some falling away from political principle which Gladstone believed them to have committed. This feeling never extended to avowed political opponents: to them he was all frankness and graciousness in private life. But he was apt to be much too severe on any of those who, as he thought, ought to have battled with him on all questions, but who had battled against him on some one particular and passing question.

Gladstone had not the art of propitiating men, such as Lord Palmerston always had, and as Lord Beaconsfield occasionally had. Lord Palmerston was always in the mood to conciliate people—it was natural to him. He did not take his politics too seriously, nor did he much care whether men went right or wrong, except as regarded the effect on an immediate vote in the House of Commons; and it came easily to him to be genial. Lord Beaconsfield could be genial when he was not too much in fear of being bored. There were times when he would shrink into himself, and could not by any influence whatever be induced to come out. Gladstone never could have been bored. He had too quick and keen an interest in everything. But he was too serious and too sensitive to take things lightly, or to make allowance for people who took things lightly; and, if he came in contact with a man whom he considered an offender, he could hardly keep from giving the man a silent suggestion as to his offence.

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A great deal has been made of Mr. Gladstone's sudden conversion to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland. Was it sudden? On that question I can call attention to some public evidence, and can give some private evidence of my own. So long ago as 1874, when Mr. Gladstone was leader of the Opposition—having been suddenly turned out of office at a general election which he as Prime Minister had just brought on—he spoke in a debate on Home Rule raised by Mr. Isaac Butt, then the leader of the newly formed Home Rule party. Mr. Gladstone opposed Home Rule, but only on the ground that the principle was not accepted either by Great Britain or by Ireland. He emphatically declared, however, that if the principle were accepted by Great Britain and by Ireland, he would not give much for the statesmanship which could not fashion a practical and working scheme of Home Rule. I emphasize my reference to this declaration of Mr. Gladstone's for the reason that, through the whole course of the debate, the one great argument advanced by the opponents of Home Rule was that it would be impossible to devise a scheme of Irish Home Rule which could be practically worked with any consideration for the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. The one most important declaration made by Mr. Gladstone in his speech was, that if public opinion accepted the principle, there would be no real difficulty in working out the scheme. I was not a member of the House of Commons when that declaration was made: but I sat in one of the galleries and heard it; and I said to myself that such a declaration marked out Gladstone as a certain convert to Home Rule. Four or five years later I entered Parliament, and wrote in a leading London review two articles on Home Rule. They were intended to bring out, as far as possible, the answer to two questions: (1) Is Home Rule demanded by the Irish people as a whole? (2) Is Home Rule compatible with the working of the Imperial Parliament? The suggestion that these articles should be written came from Mr. Gladstone. The suggestion as to the time when they could most effectively appear also came from him. At that time he was not a convinced Home Ruler; but even then he was anxious that the case for Home Rule should be put in the best light. That was in the latter part of 1879. A general election was expected before very long,—it took place in fact in the spring of 1880,—and Mr. Gladstone was anxious that the articles should come before the public of Great Britain in advance of it. To me it was clear, more clear than ever, that he was advancing in the direction of Home Rule. Yet another year or two went on, and the whirligig of fate threw us Irish Nationalist Members into constant antagonism with Mr. Gladstone's Government, which

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had come back into power in the spring of 1880. One night I met Mr. Gladstone in a division-lobby of the House of Commons. Our Irish National party was then but a very small party—some twenty perhaps. The Irish franchise was then ridiculously restricted; and the great bulk of the Irish working-population had literally nothing to do with it. Mr. Gladstone spoke to me in rather an animated tone, and said that he did not really quite understand why a mere handful of men chose to call themselves *par excellence* Irish Nationalist Members. "You are a small minority," he said, "twenty out of a hundred; and all the other Irish Members assure me that you do not represent Ireland at all." I said to him: "Mr. Gladstone, give us a popular franchise in Ireland, and we shall soon show you whether we do or do not represent the opinions of the Irish people." He said: "You know I have always done my best to get a popular suffrage for Ireland as well as for England and Scotland and Wales." And I answered: "Yes, I know that well; but when you do get it for us—and you will get it some day—then we shall be able to show you that our Nationalist opinions are the opinions of the people of Ireland." Thereupon somebody else came up, and the talk between Mr. Gladstone and myself was over. But I was always impressed by that short conversation—have always borne it in memory. I felt convinced that Mr. Gladstone was waiting for nothing but to be assured on undoubted evidence that the great majority of the Irish people were eager for Home Rule.

What happened? The Reform legislation of 1884 and 1885, introduced and carried through by Mr. Gladstone, gave Ireland for the first time a genuine national suffrage; and then we—the Irish Nationalists—came back, after the subsequent general election, as the great majority of the representatives of Ireland. Immediately, or almost immediately, thereafter, Mr. Gladstone announced—first in private, then in public—his acceptance of the principle of Home Rule. He had, as I have shown, been convinced for many years that, if the principle were accepted, it could be embodied in legislation. He had not been satisfied that the majority of the Irish nation approved of it. When that was made clear, it was enough for him. Let it be added, as a further proof of his disinterestedness, that, at the elections of 1885, the Irish vote was cast for the Tories, and Mr. Gladstone came into office without our support and in despite of us. That did not affect his course of policy.

In March, 1886, Mr. Gladstone brought in his first Home Rule Bill. That Bill was thrown out by a majority in the House of Commons itself. The majority against Home Rule was caused by the secession from the

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Liberal party of Lord Hartington,—now the Duke of Devonshire,—Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Henry James, and many others. Such a secession is an event of regular occurrence, or recurrence, in the fortunes of the Liberal party. It comes with the regularity of a planet's appearances and disappearances. Some great Liberal leader goes farther on the way of reform than some of his former followers are inclined to go—and then there is a secession. Perhaps some of the seceders are further prompted to secession by the inward belief that they were not consulted early enough, that they were not taken sufficient account of at the forming of an administration; but let that pass. Certain it is, that whenever a reforming leader starts a great work of progress, a number of doubtful Liberals fall off; becoming after a while the sworn allies of the Tories. This happened in the days of Gladstone's Reform Bill of 1866, when the secession was formed which Mr. Bright described as the "Cave of Adullam." That secession, unlike the secession of our more recent time, was led by a man of culture, almost of genius, Mr. Robert Lowe,—commonly known as "Bob Lowe," and afterward Lord Sherbrooke.

Robert Lowe "blazed, the comet of a season." I remember nothing in my time like to his sudden and short success. He had made a reputation in Australia; and when he came over and settled in England, and entered the House of Commons, everybody knew that he was a man of great natural ability, high scholarship, and rare literary talent. He became one of the principal leader-writers on the "Times" newspaper. In the House of Commons he was recognized for years as a capable and highly accomplished man; but nobody ever thought of him as a man who could stand up in debate and hold his own against Gladstone or Disraeli or Bright. When, however, he suddenly came out as leader of the secession from the Liberal party in 1866, against Gladstone's Reform Bill, he stood up and held his own in debate against both Gladstone and Bright. That secession threw out Gladstone's Reform Bill and Gladstone's Government. But the Tory party was then led by a master-spirit, a consummate politician, an opportunist of the rarest kind—the Tories were led in fact by Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Disraeli saw that a popular suffrage was inevitable, even though he and his secessionist allies had defeated Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone; and he made up his mind that, since reform had to come, there was no reason why it should not come through a Tory Ministry. In the very next session Disraeli and his Government brought in a Reform Bill, which he allowed the Radicals to hammer into a much more advanced measure than that which Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone had introduced. "Bob Lowe" remained firm to his opposition;

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and, as the Liberals had to support the new Bill, he had to stand up in debate against Gladstone, Disraeli, and Bright in succession. All I can say is that, so far as mere debating-power was concerned, he held his own and did not get the worst of it. Then his day was done. He never before nor after made a great figure in fight. I mention all this to show that a Liberal secession is an incident of every great measure of reform.

Mr. Lowe, with all his extraordinary fighting-power, was not able to stop the movement of reform for more than a session. None of the movements set going by the Liberal secession of our time will be long delayed by the united powers of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, and the Tory party. The one supreme work that Mr. Gladstone did in later years was the reconciliation of Great Britain and Ireland. All the old misinterpretations and misjudgments and hatreds melted and vanished under the genial breath of his spell-working influence and eloquence. He did what even Charles James Fox was unable to do—and Fox was the orator and statesman who first proclaimed that Ireland ought to be governed according to Irish ideas. To have accomplished that one healing triumph alone, might well be regarded as the crown of statesmanship. When Mr. Gladstone determined on withdrawing from office and from public life, the announcement was received with more distress and dismay in Ireland than even in England or Scotland or Wales. "What shall we do without him?" was the cry of the Irish people.

To turn again to his Parliamentary career, I may say that Mr. Gladstone was singularly gifted with the art of happy and original quotation. When I speak of original quotation I mean of course the art of finding something which directly applies to the case in point, and which has not been quoted before. Gladstone surpassed even Sir Robert Peel in this art, as he surpassed him in many others. Disraeli once sneered at Peel and his quotations, on the ground that Peel never ventured on any quotation which had not already well commended itself to the House of Commons by frequent repetition. I take leave to think that Peel was especially fresh and original in his quotations. But Gladstone was still more happy and, I may add, still more courageous. I have heard him quote from Aristophanes, from Lucretius, from Chaucer, from Schiller, and carry the House of Commons with him as well as if he had been quoting from Horace or from Shakespeare. It is a gift worth mentioning, even among the many other and far more important gifts of a great orator.

Mr. Gladstone was not successful as an after-dinner speaker. Perhaps there was something too deeply earnest in his whole nature and temperament to allow him to strike that bright and happy note made up

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of sense and nonsense, humor, wit, penetrating symbolism—if I may use such an expression—that go to the making of successful after-dinner speeches. Nor was Mr. Gladstone's great rival, Lord Beaconsfield, heard at his best, or anything like his best, in an after-dinner speech. In the case of Mr. Disraeli, it certainly was not a superabundance of earnestness or even seriousness that could be held to account for his comparative failure as an after-dinner speaker. Of course it was only a comparative failure in either case—simply the fact that the man was not so apt for that as he was for other oratorical work. It is a special art, that art of making successful after-dinner speeches; and in England, as in America, it is an art which carries considerable influence with it. So far as I can remember, I think the greatest English-speaking masters of the craft whom I have known were Charles Dickens, Lord Granville, James Russell Lowell, and Chauncey Depew. Perhaps I should add Lord Dufferin and Lord Rosebery and Sir Frederick Leighton to the list. But I could not include in it Gladstone, Disraeli, or Bright.

Perhaps the one reason why Mr. Gladstone—with all his magnificent reaches over the domain of eloquence, with his power to run through each mode of the lyre and be master of nearly all—failed to conquer that particular strain of oratory which is known as after-dinner eloquence, was just the fact that he lacked a certain sense of humor. He was possessed of a gift of strong and subtle satire, which often stood him in good stead in Parliamentary debate. He could scorch with a sarcasm. His scorn had on occasion much that was sardonic in it. But he had not that strange, indefinable gift of what we call humor. Lord Palmerston had it; John Bright had it; Henry Ward Beecher had it; Bismarck has it; but it was not revealed to Gladstone. Therefore, he could not possibly succeed as an after-dinner speaker. Of course he made eloquent and powerful speeches on after-dinner occasions. He could not help doing that. He could not have been Gladstone if he had not done that. But the great difference between him and others at such a moment was this: You listened to Gladstone because it was Gladstone who addressed the company, and you did not want to lose a word he said; but you listened to Charles Dickens or to Lord Granville or to Lowell because you could not help it, because you never knew what was coming next, because the play of fancy had an intoxication for you, because the flash was always darting across your eyes, because you grudged every sound, even the sound of sympathetic, irresistible applause, that might snatch from you one of the chance words, the casual possibilities of the orator. "Don't make a noise," was your idea. "Who knows what he may say and what we may

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lose?" Now this is exactly what men felt in the House of Commons while Mr. Gladstone was speaking. This is not what anybody felt when Mr. Gladstone spoke to the company gathered round a public table as the after-dinner toasts came to be proposed and acknowledged. Naturally Gladstone was not fond of presiding at public dinners. It was not his work. But he put up with it whenever he believed that he was bound to undertake it; and it can hardly be said that he ever failed: it can only be said that he never surprised by a success.

I must say something of Gladstone as a talker—I mean in private life. I do so wish that he had a Boswell—I do so hope that there may have been a Boswell lurking round somewhere, who will proclaim himself when the right moment comes. It will be a sad thing if the Boswell has not been in attendance and taking notes all the time. Gladstone was really, I am convinced, one of the great talkers of the modern world. I do not quite know with whom one could compare him. He did not bear down crushingly upon an adversary in argument, as Dr. Johnson so often did. It is quite impossible to think of him as ever being rude in discussion or contradiction, as Carlyle could be. He did not want to keep the whole talk to himself, as Macaulay very often did. In fact, he was as remarkable a listener as he was a remarkable talker. He had an intense desire to get from everybody all that he or she knew on any subject whatever with which Gladstone himself did not happen to be thoroughly acquainted, or on which he thought there were any new lights to be thrown. He liked to ask questions of all sorts of persons and to get answers, and to reason out the whole affair. I have said that I do not know whether Mr. Gladstone was much of a reader of Goethe; but he certainly always seemed to me to be filled with Goethe's conviction, that the most commonplace man or woman he came across could not leave his company without giving him some idea which had not been in his mind before. When he wanted to talk, he could pour out his talk in a flood—in a torrent. He was a much more energetic talker than Oliver Wendell Holmes, for example. Holmes was a delightful, poetical, musical, ever-flowing brook: Gladstone was a rushing river. Holmes had infinitely more fancy; and, of course, he was all compact of humor: Gladstone had more strength, more emotion, more definite purpose. He talked for the sake of learning, or of teaching; for the sake of convincing, or of being convinced; to draw from his companion whatever he could get; to give out in return all that he had to give. He did not often care to play with a subject or around a subject, as Holmes or Lowell might have done.

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I account it a good fortune to have been able to follow closely and at a near distance the greater part of Gladstone's great career. As I have explained already, Mr. Gladstone was really only at the opening of the best part of his statesmanship, financial and other, when I first listened to his speech in Manchester more than forty years ago. Since then I have naturally watched over every chapter of his political history, have heard nearly all his great Parliamentary speeches and many of his speeches made outside Parliament, have sat in the House of Commons and supported him, have been compelled by principle to oppose him, and then have supported him once more and to the end. I account it one of the greatest privileges of my life to have been allowed to form his personal acquaintance—to have been permitted now and again to look into his great, hopeful heart. I saw, of course, some of his defects as a leader of Parliaments. He was, as I have said, curiously wanting in the art and craft of managing men. Perhaps, even if he had had the skill, he would have despised it too much to make any use of it. He could captivate the House of Commons, he could dominate a vast public meeting, he could carry the country with him; but he never knew—or, if he knew, never put his knowledge into practice, —the way to manage the men with whom he came in contact. If he liked a man, and felt drawn to him, he would delightedly welcome that man to his hospitality and his friendship. But he had no idea of winning men over by throwing open his house and his welcome to them. He assumed, apparently, that men were bound to act on principle, as he did himself, and to vote right if they felt right. The genial, superficial arts by which Lord Palmerston always kept himself popular were totally unknown to Mr. Gladstone—or, as I have said, if he knew them, he renounced and despised them. My own opinion is that he knew nothing of them, and never troubled his mind about them.

Gladstone was always gracious of speech; and his nature was full of the nobler kind of sympathy. But he could not concern himself about the fact that, in order to conciliate this or that man, or to keep him still on the right side, it was necessary to ask him now and then to dinner. I point out this defect without hesitation, because I know that many will think, as I think, that even that frailty "lean'd to virtue's side." It certainly went against him in political leadership—it will not count much against him in history. What history must tell of him is, that, in elevation of character, as well as in political genius and Parliamentary eloquence, he was the greatest Englishman of the nineteenth century.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

ADMIRAL DEWEY has given a new world to the United States, almost as literally as Columbus gave a new world to Spain; and, until recently, the majority of Americans knew almost as little of the one as did the people of Spain about the other. Beyond the fact, that there existed an Asiatic country which supplied us with Manila hemp, and from which we imported sugar in large quantities, few of our citizens knew anything concerning Spain's island empire in the Orient. Now, suddenly, a war, undertaken for the purpose of rescuing a neighboring people from an intolerable bondage, and without any purpose of territorial aggrandizement, has thrown into our hands a region rich in resources, and teeming with great commercial possibilities, and has imposed on us the grave responsibility of shaping the destiny of eight millions of people.

Whatever may be the decision of our statesmen as to the future form of government to be established in the Philippines, the civilized world will hold us responsible for its success or failure; and we owe it to our own people that the commercial advantages to be derived from this unexpected turn of events shall be utilized for their benefit.

However we may differ as to the fiscal policy of our Government, whether Free Trade or Protection should regulate our importations from other countries, there is but one opinion as to the necessity of the expansion of our export trade, and of finding markets for our ever-increasing surplus of products and manufactures. As the commercial activities of the nations of Europe have so filled every avenue of trade across the Atlantic that there is little left for us in that direction, it is to the Pacific that we must turn for the development of our commerce.

W. H. Seward, the far-seeing statesman who secured Alaska for us, recognized that our future commercial energies must be largely directed from the Pacific Coast. On July 29, 1852, he delivered a speech in the Senate which, in the light of recent events, seems prophetic. He said:

"Who does not see, then, that every year hereafter European commerce, European politics, European thoughts, and European activities, although actually gaining greater force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will, nevertheless, ultimately sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean,

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its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter?"

The opportunity of securing in the Philippines a magnificent vantage-ground from which to strive for our share of the vast commerce of the Orient has now been placed in our hands. No such prize has fallen to any nation since Great Britain acquired Burma. To ascertain its full value, scientifically to explore, examine, and classify the magnificent natural resources of the islands, our Government should, without loss of time, imitate the example of Napoleon, who, when he sent an army to Egypt, appointed a scientific commission to accompany it. We have in the Government scientific bureaus all the machinery for organizing such an expedition, and an ample corps of trained observers well fitted for the work. In the meantime every scrap of reliable information concerning this little-known region has its value.

The Philippine Islands form an important factor in the great Archipelago which lies to the southeast of the continent of Asia. The actual number of them is not definitely known, but is variously stated at from six hundred to two thousand. The latter figure is probably intended to include the Mariana, or Ladrone, Islands, the Carolines, and the Pelew Islands, which are all under the jurisdiction of the Government of the Philippines. Some of them are mere islets, or rocks, too small for habitation; but others are magnificent in size, scenery, and resources. The largest, Luzon, on which is situated Manila, the capital, has an area of about 41,000 square miles, and equals in size the State of Ohio. Mindanao, the next in size, contains about 38,000 square miles. As the group has never been thoroughly surveyed, no definite statement can be given of its aggregate land-area; but the most reliable estimate is 114,356 square miles,—equal to the combined area of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The Philippines are situated directly in the line of volcanic activity, which extends westerly from Japan to Java; and that volcanic forces have largely contributed to their formation and topography, is evidenced by the number of mountains which show traces of former destructive eruptions and by several volcanoes which are still active. The islands are generally hilly and mountainous; but none of the summits much exceeds a height of eight thousand feet.

As a consequence of these subterraneous forces, earthquakes are frequent and violent; the historic records during the Spanish occupation of the Islands containing many accounts of such disasters and their frequent recurrence, which has led to the adoption of a method of erecting

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buildings specially adapted to such exigencies. One of the most destructive of these convulsions occurred in 1880, when many prominent buildings were wrecked,—among them the cathedral at Manila, which has been since rebuilt. Its ruined tower is still standing, and bears testimony to the violence of the shock.

The generally accepted hypothesis is, that the Philippines are portions of a continent, which at some distant period of the earth's history extended southward to Australia. Of their geology, however, little is known; the absence of roads, the primitive appliances for travel, and the luxuriant tropical vegetation rendering ordinary exploration and surveys very difficult. These would have proved still greater obstacles to a geologic survey or scientific search for minerals.

It is a fact, however, that gold is profusely and widely distributed throughout the whole group. Evidence exists that gold-mining by very primitive methods was practised by the natives for many centuries before the advent of the Spaniards; and gold in considerable quantities is still produced, though in a very desultory and wasteful manner,—in some places, by washing the alluvial deposits, and, in others, by breaking the gold-bearing rock with hammers, grinding it in rude mills, and washing the pulverized quartz in the same manner as sand and gravel from rivers are treated. The returns yielded by these crude methods are of course poor; but they are sufficient to supply the modest wants of the operators.

It seems remarkable that the Spaniards, though possessing the knowledge of the existence of gold in paying quantities, have not taken measures to prosecute a search for it and to apply modern scientific methods to procure profitable results. This, however, may not appear so strange, when we remember that the gold deposits of California were for centuries in their possession without being utilized. Is it not a curious coincidence, that the gold-fields of California and those of the Philippines should both be cast into our hands by the fortunes of war from the same original owners? There is little doubt that skill and industry similar to those which have been employed in California would produce like or even greater results in the Philippines, and that under American management the Islands would assume an important place among the gold-producing countries.

Iron ore of good quality is abundant; but under existing conditions it has not been possible to manufacture iron as cheaply as it can be imported. Many small ventures of this character have been made; but they have been soon abandoned as unprofitable.

Considerable deposits of copper ore also exist, some of which were

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worked by the natives for centuries, and, later, by a company formed in Spain; but poor methods and still poorer roads caused the collapse of the enterprise.

Several promising coal-fields are known; and some of them have been utilized to a small extent. The coal produced, while not of the highest quality, has been pronounced fit for use on steam-vessels. By proper exploration, there is no doubt that deposits equal in quality to Japanese coal will be discovered and, by the employment of improved machinery, can be profitably worked. In this, as in all other efforts to develop the mineral resources of the region, the absence of roads, with the consequent expense and difficulty of transportation, has proved an obstacle, to be surmounted only by the employment of larger capital than can be obtained under existing political conditions.

Great as are the manifestations of mineral wealth in the Philippines, the greatest permanent source of their prosperity will be, as in California, their vegetable products; and of these the forest growths will form an important factor. Ebony, cedar, iron-wood, sapan-wood, logwood, and the ever-present cocoanut tree abound. In addition to these familiar varieties there are hundreds of others—not generally known even by name—which produce ornamental woods useful for many purposes. Of all the indigenous vegetable products the bamboo is the most plentiful, useful, and beautiful. It is scattered everywhere in profusion, and is never far distant from native habitations. It is utilized for a multitude of purposes, including the construction of bridges and dwellings, furniture of all kinds, pipes for conveying water, musical instruments, mats, fences, scaffolds; the roots, branches, and leaves being utilized. It is represented by almost innumerable varieties, from those attaining a height of from fifty to sixty feet and a diameter of eight to nine inches to others no larger than an ordinary rattan. The forests also abound in all the varieties of canes, rattans, and other members of the Calamus family, which are important and valuable as serving a great variety of uses. The Areca palm also is a valuable tree; producing in enormous quantities a nut which is chewed by men, women, and children. A piece of the nut is wrapped in a leaf of the betel-pepper, which is smeared with shell lime made into a paste with water. It can be found on sale, prepared ready for use, in every town and village.

In the agricultural products there is a great similarity between those of Cuba and those of the Philippines. In both, sugar and tobacco are great staples. But the latter islands possess a unique product which hitherto it has not been found possible to raise successfully elsewhere.

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This product is known commercially as Manila hemp, which is, however, a misnomer, as it has no relation to the hemp plant. Its native name is *abacá;* and it is the product of a species of plantain or banana, *Musa textilis*, which differs very slightly in appearance from the edible variety, *Musa paradisiaca*. Its fruit is small, unpleasant to the taste, and not edible. The plant attains a height of from twelve to fifteen feet.

There is evidently some peculiarity of soil or climate, or of both, that enables these islands to retain the monopoly of this fibre, which has proved of such immense commercial value. It grows best in hilly or mountainous districts, particularly in the volcanic districts in the eastern parts of the Islands, is hardy, and suffers little from any enemy but drought. It has the advantage of being a perennial, like its fruit-bearing relation; and month after month young shoots spring up from the original root. In starting a plantation the trees and brush are cleared off and burned, and the young sprouts are planted. They receive no cultivation beyond the clearing away of weeds and extraneous growths. They reach maturity in about three years, at which age they yield the best fibre. The plantations cover a large area, as the plants require a great deal of room; and it takes the product of five or six acres to make a ton of fibre at each cutting. Although many machines for the decortication of the fibre have been experimented with, none has proved satisfactory; and the crude native implement is still the only one in use. The latter consists of a rough wooden bench, with a long knife-blade hinged to it at one end, and connected at the other with a treadle. Strips of the plant are drawn several times between the blade and the bench. This operation removes the pulp and outer skin; leaving the fibre, which is then dried in the sun, and packed for shipment. The importance of this crop may be estimated from the fact that nearly 1,000,000 bales are exported annually. Of these, 40 per cent are consigned to the United States.

Sugar is grown very extensively. The cane (*Saccharum violaceum*) is not the same species as that cultivated in the western hemisphere, but is of the kind common throughout Malaysia and Polynesia. In consequence of slovenly cultivation and manufacture, and of the lack of improved machinery, the sugar produced is coarse and of poor quality. The quantity, however, is very large; supplying all that is required for home consumption, and 250,000 tons for exportation. This could be indefinitely increased by the introduction of machinery, skill, and capital.

Tobacco is an important crop; and Manila cheroots and cigars are as highly appreciated east of the Cape of Good Hope as the Cuban product

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is among Western nations. It has been estimated that in the neighborhood of Manila twenty thousand or more persons find employment in the preparation of tobacco and the manufacture of cigars. In one factory alone 9,000 girls and young women are employed. Tobacco was made a Government monopoly by Capt.-Gen. José Basco y Vargas in 1781, and remained so until 1882, when the trade was thrown open.

The use of rice as an article of food is universal among the natives: it is consequently grown in large quantities. There are several varieties; but they may be classified under two heads,—the upland rice, which is sown broadcast on the hill lands, and matures in three or four months, and the water rice, which is sown later in the season, after the rains have commenced, in the water and mud of the overflowed lowlands. In about six weeks the young plants are transplanted to the fields, which are kept constantly irrigated.

Coffee of good quality has been produced; but the crop is not an extensive one. The cacao bean (*Theobroma cacao*), which was introduced from Mexico by the Spaniards, has found a congenial home. It grows luxuriantly, and produces good crops. Corn, cotton, vanilla, cassia, ginger, and pepper are also grown to some extent. All the usual varieties of tropical fruits are abundant and of fine quality.

The Philippines lie between 4° 40′ and 20° N. lat.; extending, therefore, nearly to the northern limit of the tropical zone. There is consequently a considerable variety of climate, which also changes with the physical aspect of the country and the elevation; but all the general characteristics are of course tropical. Some recent newspaper writers, who evidently do not rely on personal experience, have described the summer climate as something terrible; but the truth is that for the tropics the heat is not excessive.

On the western side of Luzon, where Manila is situated, the hottest season is from March to June, the greatest heat being felt generally in May, before the rainy season sets in, when the maximum ranges from 80° to 100° in the shade; while the mean temperature for that month, calculated from data gathered during a period of seventeen years, is 84° —only about 2 degrees higher than the summer temperature of New Orleans, or about 9 degrees higher than the mean temperature of the warmest summer month in Washington, District of Columbia.

The seasons may be classified as hot and wet, or cool and dry; the latter lasting from October to March, when the atmosphere is cool, the sky clear, and the weather in every way delightful. The northern islands, however, are occasionally liable to terrible storms, as they lie in the

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immediate track of the dreaded typhoons, which periodically develop in the Pacific, and sweep over the China Sea from northeast to southwest. They are liable to occur at any time between May and November; but it is in the months of July, August, and September that they are most frequent. In the early part of the season the northern part of the region is most subject to these storms, and feels their greatest force. As the season advances, they gradually work southward, so that the most dangerous time in Manila is about the end of October and beginning of November. These storms never pass further south than 9° N. lat.; so that the islands south of that line are exempt from their ravages. Sometimes the typhoon is of large diameter and travels slowly, so far as progressive motion is concerned; at other times it is of smaller dimensions, and both the circular and progressive motions are more rapid; but it always exerts terrific energy. These storms are accompanied by torrential rains, and frequently cause great destruction of crops and property on shore, as well as of shipping.

For a tropical climate, that of the Islands is very healthy. If people of the white races who are not acclimated will pay ordinary attention to hygienic laws, particularly as to cleanliness and temperance in eating and drinking, there is no reason why they should not enjoy good health. Leprosy, elephantiasis, and beri-beri are somewhat common among the poorer class of natives. Yellow fever is unknown; but typhoid fever is prevalent at times. The white inhabitants seldom suffer from the latter, or from other diseases which affect the natives; and this is to be explained by their better nutrition, and the more sanitary conditions in their dwellings.

On the immense coast-line of the Islands there are many good harbors; but as foreign ships have been excluded from nearly all of them, they are little known, except to seamen engaged in the coasting trade. Foreign commerce is confined chiefly to Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, and Sual. Zamboanga, on the island of Mindanao, is also an open port; but the amount of business transacted there is not large.

The bay of Manila, which is about one hundred and twenty miles in circumference, is one of the finest in the world. The River Pasig, at the mouth of which the city of Manila is situated, enters the bay on the eastern side. There is good anchorage for ships opposite the city; but it is not considered safe during the stormy season. There is, however, excellent shelter for ships at Cavité, which lies about eight miles in a direct line southwest from Manila. At Cavité the Spaniards have a naval establishment, with a marine railroad, capable of taking from

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the water vessels of two thousand tons displacement; also a dock for small vessels, shops containing machinery and appliances for repairs, an arsenal, and a hospital. There are many towns of considerable size and innumerable villages on the Islands; but the policy of concentration and restriction pursued by the Spanish Colonial Government has tended to make Manila the only great city. The facilities for communication with the interior afforded by the River Pasig and Lake Bay, of which the river forms the outlet, evidently influenced the location of the town which was found there when Europeans first landed. It was called by the natives Maynila, and was rudely fortified.

Although the name Manila is applied to the city—on both sides of the River Pasig—which forms the metropolis of the Islands, it was only to the old walled city, situated on the left, or south, bank of the river, that Philip III of Spain gave the title of "La muy noble ciudad" ("the very noble city"). Its neighbor across the river was considered a suburb, and was called Binondo; but it progressed while the old city stood still, has now become the centre of activity and business, and is the capital so far as wealth and commercial influence are concerned. The old city is a typical, old-fashioned Spanish town, which has seen very little alteration or improvement during the past two hundred years. In it the Governor-General, the Archbishop, and the whole retinue of civil, military and ecclesiastical officers and employees have their residences. It also contains the Custom-House, and barracks for the military. It is connected with the newer town by several bridges; and to cross from the old town to the new is like stepping at once from the sixteenth into the nineteenth century. The crowded streets, lined with stores and business places of all classes, the street-cars, and the electric lights are all evidences that the spirit of progress is making itself felt in spite of the inertia and conservatism which have so long prevented the city from assuming its proper place among the commercial communities of the world. The population of the twin cities and suburbs is from 250,000 to 300,000. Many of the suburban villages are very populous; having from 5,000 to 30,000 inhabitants.

Spanish statistics are notoriously unreliable; and it is difficult to ascertain the exact population of the Islands. It is generally supposed, however, to be about 8,000,000; the bulk being of Malay origin. In Mindanao and some of the other southern islands there are some people of pure Malay blood who are Mohammedans. The Spaniards call them "Moros" (Moors). There are also scattered in the interior of the islands some remnants of the aborigines, called by the Spaniards "Ne-

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gritos." They are of small stature, very dark colored, and have hair inclined to be woolly. In the mountainous districts there are also other semi-savage tribes, who have never submitted to Spanish rule.

In the early days of Spanish dominion it was fortunate for the natives that the great distance of the Islands from Spain prevented them from being overrun by greedy and cruel adventurers, as was the case with the countries acquired by Spain in America. The natives thus escaped extermination, and have since increased in numbers.

The Philippine Malays are a good-looking race, and in almost every characteristic are superior to the average of Asiatic peoples. They are courteous, honest, orderly, and hospitable, but exceedingly superstitious; and those who profess Christianity are easily influenced by the priests. Living in a genial climate and on a fertile soil, their wants are easily supplied; and they take life easy. They are not steady workers; and, like most tropical people, are lacking in energy and always ready to leave work for amusement. They are fond of music, dancing, and gambling. Cock-fighting is their absorbing passion. No one is too poor to own a fighting-fowl, or to bet his last coin on its prowess. Every town and village has its cock-pit, which generally absorbs all the spare coin of the community.

The *mestizos*, or mixed races, form a large and influential element in the population. A considerable proportion of the merchants and landed proprietors are descendants of Spanish fathers and native mothers, and are also numerously represented in the subordinate and clerical offices of the Government. Those of Chinese and native blood are very numerous. Very few Chinese women come to the Islands; and the men intermarry with the native women. In their offspring the paternal type predominates; and no distinction is made by the Chinese between them and pure Mongolians.

The Chinese form a very useful and important part of the community. They are industrious, thrifty, and economical; in most of the towns the bulk of the retail trade, banking, and money-lending is in their hands; and many of them own considerable property. To the Chinese the Islands owe their earliest commercial operations, which consisted of an exchange of commodities with China and Japan. This was carried on by annual trading expeditions: but in course of time the Chinese merchants found it more profitable to remain permanently; and they formed that Chinese commercial colony, which, in spite of occasional outbursts of fanatical persecution, and of oppressive taxation, has been the mainstay of commerce in the Islands.

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Excluding the military, there are probably in the Islands not more than twenty thousand Spaniards, or people of pure Spanish blood, who are permanent, or even temporary, residents; and the number of other foreigners is not large. The majority of them are in Manila, and are connected with the foreign mercantile establishments.

The commercial policy of the Spaniards, after obtaining possession of the Philippines, was to secure for Spanish subjects a monopoly of trade, by methods similar to those employed in their American colonies. For a long time a single ship only was allowed to make the voyage once a year from Mexico to the Islands, and from them to Mexico. This monopoly insured enormous profits to the adventurers who supplied the cargoes; and the whole business was permeated with bribery and corruption. In 1784 a company was chartered in Spain, called "Compañia de Filipinas," which, by opening direct commerce with Spain, caused the decline and final extinction of the trade *via* Mexico; and in 1815 the last of the vessels thus engaged was despatched from Acapulco. The company, however, in consequence of poor management and injudicious ventures, was not successful; and at the end of fifty years it passed out of existence.

In the meantime some relaxation of the system of exclusion had taken place. In 1789 the port of Manila was opened to foreign vessels; and in 1809 an English firm received permission to establish a business house in Manila; being the first foreigners to receive such concession. In 1814 this permission was made general. It is only since 1834, when the operations of the Philippine Company came to an end, that greater freedom of intercourse, and larger introduction of foreign capital and business methods, have materially affected the development of the resources of the country, as well as its foreign commerce, which, although far smaller in amount than it ought to be, is a fair indication of what it might and would become, were the country in the hands of a liberal and progressive Government.

Internal commerce, as well as the exportation of the products of the Islands, suffers from the lack of facilities for transportation. This is most marked in the rainy season, when stormy weather interferes with coastwise navigation, and land carriage is obstructed by wretched roads and the absence of bridges; necessitating the floating of goods across the swollen streams on rafts. Passenger transit is confined to horseback, or to uncomfortable two-wheeled vehicles, called *carromatos*, over roads execrable in the dry season, but which, in the wet season, become seas of mud to be traversed only in rude sledges drawn by buffaloes.

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The traveller in the interior of Luzon will find neither hotels nor inns for his accommodation; but every village has a public building,—generally a rude structure, and sometimes a mere hut,—where he is entitled to shelter, and can obtain food, frequently of poor character, at a fixed tariff rate. Wherever a priest or a convent is located, he is sure of more commodious quarters and better fare.

There is, however, a hopeful sign of progress in the matter of transportation, as the first railroad has been built, and is in operation from Manila to Dagupin,—a distance of 123 miles,—connecting the capital with the rice-growing district of Pangasinan. It is a single-track road, well and substantially built; and its earnings have been sufficient to encourage an extension of railroad facilities when the country shall be again at peace and under a settled government.

Considering that the Philippines are essentially agricultural, the manufacture of textile fabrics has attained considerable development; but it is not carried on in large establishments. In certain districts, there are communities where almost every family possesses a loom; and in the houses of some of the more prosperous natives a number of looms may be found which are operated by hired labor. The looms are made of bamboo, and are of the simplest construction; but little having been done to introduce modern machinery.

The products are principally cotton cloths, sail-cloths, quilts, and coverlets. Coarse fabrics are also made from fibres extracted from the leaves of the sago palm, Manila hemp, and other materials. The most beautiful fabric produced is that called *piña*, which is made from fibre obtained from leaves of the pineapple-plant. The weaving is a delicate process; and the fabric is so exquisitely fine that sometimes a few inches only result from a day's work. Sometimes silk imported from China is mixed with the anana fibre; but the plain *piña* is the most esteemed. The latter is sent in considerable quantities to Manila, where large numbers of women in the suburban villages are employed in embroidering upon it. Their work is frequently of exquisite quality, and is sold at high prices.

In the villages near Manila, and in many other places, women are employed in making hats,—somewhat similar to the celebrated Panama hats,—cigar-cases, and other small wares, in which they display great skill and taste. Mats are also largely manufactured; and, as they are generally used to sleep upon, the demand is constant. They are of various qualities, some of them being of fine texture and ornamented with colors, and gold or silver thread.

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The government of the Philippine Islands is in Spain, under the direction of the Minister of the Colonies, assisted by a council of state for the Islands, which acts as an advisory board. At Manila the administration of the government is in the hands of the Governor-General. Next to the Captain-Generalship of Cuba, this is the most important and lucrative post at the disposal of the Spanish Government. The jurisdiction extends also over the Mariana, or Ladrone, Islands, the Carolines, and the Pelew Islands. There is a Lieutenant-Governor, who takes the place of the Governor-General in case of his death, and a Council at Manila, which has a voice in all questions concerning the internal affairs of the Islands. The Archbishop also exerts considerable power; and ecclesiastical authority is interwoven in all the machinery of government.

Limitations of space have necessitated my confining this description of these beautiful islands to a mere outline sketch. To fill in the details, so as to do full justice to their fertility and magnificent resources, and to depict their superb scenery of mountain and forest, river and lake, valley and fertile plain, would necessitate a volume.

The world contains no fairer nor more fertile lands, no more promising field for commercial enterprise, and no people more worthy to be elevated to a higher place in the scale of nations, and to be assisted by education and good government to obtain it. This is no imaginative statement, but the result of personal observation of the country and of intercourse with its people. If the Government of the United States accepts this mission and fulfils its obligations in accordance with the principles of liberty and the rights of man embodied in our Declaration of Independence, it will render good service both to humanity and progress as well as to our own citizens, who will reap a rich commercial harvest.

F. F. HILDER.

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OUR INADEQUATE CONSULAR SERVICE.

THE consular service of the United States is confessedly far from perfect. That it is even tolerable justifies surprise, when the peculiarities of its organization are understood. Existing for more than a century, this branch of our system has been maintained with but trifling legislative interference, or executive regulation. Notwithstanding several well-intentioned efforts in the direction of greater efficiency, the old conditions have, for the most part, remained; and valuable lessons deducible from the investigations of other nations seem to have made but little impression here.

However much prejudice may blind men and peoples, an honorable place in the competition for national preëminence must be conceded to the United States. Americans are not unreasonably proud of the laurels which have been accorded them—not without contestation—by powerful rivals in a world of enterprise. We do not shrink from comparisons as regards our progress in literature, art, and science. We have won enduring victories in war as well as in peace. The triumphs of our arms, from Lexington to Manila, have kindled patriotism and inspired manhood everywhere. Internal problems of serious import have challenged and received painstaking care; and in the main they have been wisely solved. Though far from claiming perfection, we have sought to supply deficiencies and to discover defects, in order that corresponding correctives might be applied. But we must, I fear, plead guilty to much inattention with reference to the requirements of our consular service. Its importance, not only to our dignity and national standing, but also with relation to commercial affairs, is, however, becoming more thoroughly understood; and it is to be hoped that recent developments will eventuate in wholesome changes in prevailing methods, and that there will be less hesitancy in adopting appropriate means to bring about requisite alterations.

While many do not look with satisfaction toward the disposition, evinced in some quarters, to force the Republic into wars of conquest and to adopt a colonial policy which the purest and wisest of our statesmen have uniformly condemned, yet it must be conceded that the

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natural and inevitable requirements of trade-conditions abroad, and the developments of foreign intercourse, not only at the different seats of government, but in less prominent centres, call for increased attention and better treatment. The United States is no longer content with the home market. We meet the world in the world's markets. Though confident of our ability to hold our own, we can reap our just reward only by utilizing all the legitimate advantages within our reach. Our merchants and manufacturers are alert, intelligent, and determined. They are entitled to insist that the Government shall do its share, within proper lines, toward their protection. Their citizenship warrants this. In these days of frequent international complications a consul must not only look out for the business interests of his countrymen and the revenues of his Government, but it happens now and then that he is called upon to decide an issue which might well puzzle an ambassador. Such emergencies should be anticipated.

Is our present consular system defective? If so, what must be done to improve it?

These inquiries may be considered together; and they can be best answered by a brief review of the position in which we have been placed by our legislation and practices.

Everyone who assumes to discharge any duty holds himself out as possessing, in a fair degree at least, the attainments involved in the fulfilment of the obligation. While it is not uncommon to meet those who merely pretend to capability, it should be rare to find an appointive officer of the class under consideration unfitted to represent his country creditably. If we have many honest and brilliant men in this service, it is a tribute to our resources, and is not in any sense due to the plan we are pursuing. The necessities of commerce primarily suggested the designation of agents abroad. The imposition of duties, the inspection of taxed goods destined for the United States, and the prevention of frauds upon the revenue, have, from an early day, rendered consular examination essential.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the enormous expansion of the commerce of the United States. The statistics of recent years especially are plain and convincing. Our steel manufacturers not long ago demanded high protective tariffs to save them from English and Continental invasion, and to enable them to hold the home market. Now a Member of Parliament asks to be informed why it is that the British Government has purchased steel rails for an East India railroad from a Baltimore concern, and is told that the American article is cheaper

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and as good. So it is in many other lines. It is not only probable, but certain, that our trade will continue to prosper, and that our surplus will meet the shrewd and wide-awake foreigner in the remorseless struggle of untrammelled competition. While, therefore, the consul of fifty, or even twenty-five, years ago, owing to the absence of trying demands upon him, might have spent his term without exciting criticism, his attitude now is entirely different. His obligations have not only increased, but have become much more complicated.

Whatever may be the effect of recent international entanglements,—whether or not we shall proceed, as some ambitious and, I beg to submit, over-zealous folks, desire us to do, to raise the Stars and Stripes in distant climes and over alien and non-assimilative races,—it is clear that in any event we shall have more interest in foreign disputes than ever before. Our navy must be increased. Our position as a sea Power is destined to favorable change. With our cruisers and battleships moving in stirring scenes, and our manufacturers, merchants, traders, and tourists soliciting assistance, a new state of things is presented. Consular officers, summoned to advise and act in the face of such issues, ought to be familiar with international affairs and with the rules of conduct governing civilized nations. An officer controlling such a situation should be a man of uncommon intelligence, with little about him indicating the novice. He should be able to shield the American citizen, whether travelling for pleasure, or pausing for business, from undue interference. To him his countrymen must appeal for information and counsel. Is it, therefore, unreasonable to demand that one chosen for such employment should be conversant with the important subjects to which I have just adverted, and should be so trained as to meet the delicate possibilities of his avocation?

We sometimes hear it said that a newly appointed consul is bright and can qualify himself. But how costly may be the errors incident to such qualification. How dearly may we pay for an education which should have preceded incumbency. I do not, however, deem the time spent in obtaining the requisite information as constituting the most serious cause for reflection. The removal from office of a good consul who has become an expert in his business, and who is useful to his country, is always unfortunate, and sometimes disastrous. The naming of men unfamiliar with the language of the locality in which they are to act is inexcusable. Great Britain—always quick to discover fields for the opening of lucrative trade—not only insists upon ample general education and legal attainments, including international law, but requires a

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knowledge of French, and, in many instances, other languages. France, too, is most insistent in this regard; subjecting the candidate to a strict examination, and keeping in view his adaptability to the place to which he seeks to be assigned. Many of our consuls in Mexico and Central and South America cannot speak Spanish; and where this is the case their efforts are seriously hampered. Such a man finds his English, German, and French rivals fully equipped and daily outstripping him in the advancement of home interests. An interpreter may be used; but this method of communication is at best unsatisfactory. A consul thus embarrassed not only encounters obstacles of a social character, but is annoyed on all sides. He feels out of place. The losses which we annually sustain on this account cannot be readily measured, but must be very large. We take notice of patent blunders, but do not observe and cannot know the extent of the injury entailed by the want of competency in our agents to utilize their opportunities.

Whenever a consul is selected, there are personal peculiarities and preferences which ought to be kept in view. One individual may proceed very smoothly and be exceedingly congenial in a certain part of the world, and yet may fail absolutely elsewhere. We have instances showing that naturalized citizens are not always looked upon with favor in the land of their birth. Where there is a local prejudice of this kind, however unreasonable, it cannot be frowned down. Prudence obviates such controversies. I am not by any means convinced that an examination such as that given under civil service rules, or kindred tests, will meet the case. Experience, as well as education, should count materially. What has been said, and much more which might readily be suggested, will suffice to indicate the general scope of the investigation which should precede an appointment. The mode of conducting it is a matter of detail.

Many of our most prominent statesmen have argued for an improved consular service. Secretary Seward deemed knowledge of international law imperative: but his exertions came to naught; and his advice was disregarded by his successor. Secretary Frelinghuysen sought to better the service, and made cogent comments upon it. President Cleveland more than once endeavored to convince Congress of the irrational and ineffectual nature of existing methods; and on September 20, 1895, an Executive Order was issued, providing that when any vacancy occurred in consular or commercial agencies, where an annual salary of not more than $2,500 nor less than $1,000 was paid, the same should be filled by transfer or promotion, or by the appointment of a person selected

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after examination. Mr. Cleveland very pertinently noted the growth of our interests in foreign lands, the encouraging prospects of the general expansion of our commerce, and the obvious propriety of stimulating these interests.

During the last Congress several measures were considered by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with reference to this topic; and, while there were differences of view, the general scheme outlined involved appointment after examination, required qualifications as to general history,—with special regard to treaties,—some familiarity with constitutional and international law, as well as geography, arithmetic, English, and, in some instances, a foreign language. These measures never advanced beyond a favorable report.

The fact, that nothing definite has been accomplished during the present Congress, must not be taken as manifesting indisposition or waning interest. The presence of war, with its problems, fully explains the delay. When normal conditions are restored, it is believed that this vital matter will be thoroughly discussed and satisfactorily settled.

It cannot be denied that we have many very excellent men in the service; and the Consular Reports issued by the State Department disclose research, ability, and loyalty to duty. It is remarkable that so many who are efficient remain in an employment which is precarious, and by no means munificently rewarded. After all, the leading defect, the cardinal vice, of the present consular system consists in the uncertainty of tenure. Take the case of a most competent appointee, glowing with enthusiasm, and anxious to distinguish himself in his chosen career. He enters upon his duties among strangers, remote from his home, unfamiliar with the customs, habits, and idiosyncrasies of those with whom he is to deal. He familiarizes himself with the local language, and diligently prosecutes his labors; finally mastering all details, and becoming known and appreciated among his neighbors. His tastes lead him to make uncommon exertions. While the salary is small, he is satisfied because of his adaptability to the routine of his station. He enjoys the work. Every day something novel presents itself. He discovers that there are openings for home products. He promptly notifies those interested, and apprises American manufacturers of the advisability of sending goods of a certain kind in harmony with the fashion or wishes of customers. He is recognized as an exceedingly efficient man. Older heads from other lands appreciate in him a dangerous opponent. He is benefiting his country. But there is a change of administration. The once-dominant party is overthrown; and, as soon as the patronage-

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mill is put in working order, someone who has rendered, or claims to have rendered, party service arises and declares that he wishes or must have this particular consulate. The President is absorbed in important affairs. He is expected to follow the time-worn, if not honored, practices of his predecessors.

The new aspirant is successful; and his name is sent to the Senate. The ancient programme is carried out, confirmation follows, and the competent, ambitious, and painstaking consul is removed, to give place to a novice. Whether the last man be or be not competent is quite immaterial: his fate will be the same. Is it rational to expect good results from such a system? Is there any incentive to patriotic effort in all this? It is astonishing that under these conditions anyone cares to devote himself to a consular life. There is, as I have said, no monetary inducement; and, if opportunities for compliance with a laudable desire to engage in the pursuit of an honorable calling are taken away, not a single attractive feature remains, and there is nothing left to induce improvement in any direction.

I venture to assert that there are ambitious young men in almost every community, excellently educated, not only possessing ordinary college acquirements, but also experienced practically in every-day affairs, who would delight in devoting themselves to the diplomatic and consular services, and would take the greatest pleasure in exploring a region so rich in possibilities. But our system not only deters, but in most cases prevents, any such indulgence. When Americans of this class are compelled to choose an avocation, they, as a rule, eliminate consular life. They know that, if they are successful in an application, the incumbency will be short, and the realization transitory.

American consuls are not infrequently compelled to determine important judicial questions. In such instances they usually reach conclusions without specific instructions. They may be suddenly invited to solve difficulties without time to receive advice from the seat of government. Life or death, war or peace, are sometimes dependent upon their learning, diplomacy, and judgment. When a nation becomes involved in extreme complications, it is the custom to turn over the business of the consulate to a friendly official neighbor. In this procedure there is involved much delicate and important negotiation. It is not easy to fix limits to the responsibilities that may be assumed by such an officer. Learning derived wholly from books or schools, a brilliant intellect unaided by experience, will not suffice in such a contingency. Actual knowledge of all pertinent facts incident

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to the particular jurisdiction is not only useful, but requisite. Is it not worse than absurd to spend the time and money of the individual and of the nation in qualifying one for expert work, only to relegate him to private life in order that room may be made for another who must serve a similar apprenticeship?

This is not the case of an ordinary official. The duties are peculiar; the situation, unique. It is notorious in Congressional circles that States which are able to keep the same representatives from year to year are more potential, and obtain concessions and favors not granted to commonwealths represented by new men. The removal of a consul without cause does positive injury to the public. It is impossible to have an efficient service if constant changes occur. This is as true here as in the military service. Whatever may be the case as to other positions, consuls should be relieved from the "scramble for place" which occurs every four years.

The bad policy against which I protest will be better comprehended when it is remembered that there are now about 330 principal consuls and some 400 consular agencies. That a tempting opportunity to the spoilsman is presented in the presence of all this patronage, cannot be denied. That the service should not be so impaired, every thoughtful man must declare. Consular agencies are, in the nature of things, of less moment than the principal places. Consular agents are not, strictly speaking, officers of the Government. They are often treated as the employees of the consul by whom they are selected. This circumstance leads to serious abuses. Agencies have been farmed out, sometimes to the lowest bidder; the main consideration being the extent of the emoluments which will be turned over to the principal. Efficiency cannot accompany such a practice. It is vicious. I have had occasion to observe the ills attending this plan. We are entitled to something better.

Our consuls' salaries are small. Of course we encounter the familiar argument, that there is no dearth of candidates at ruling rates. This is quite true. It is also probable that the salaries paid are ample for many of those who aspire. Indeed, a high authority—a gentleman long familiar with the State Department—has remarked that "it very rarely happens that a man offers himself for appointment to the service because he is attracted by its character, or hopes to make it his profession." This declaration does not furnish food for pleasant thought. Not only would the elevation of the service add to the nation's dignity, but it would be a pecuniary gain to an extent difficult of computation.

Persons of means may indeed covet an office otherwise alluring even

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when the emoluments are small; but it is only just that rich and poor alike should be afforded a fair opportunity of contributing their services to the welfare of their country, and the advancement of their legitimate and cherished aspirations. We constantly antagonize the theory, that the good things of earth are the heritage of any class or section; and we preach equality of opportunity, and seek to open the doors to all who are meritorious. Therefore, while the rich occupy a vantage-ground, no one will I trust urge that we should so legislate as to permit poverty to operate as a positive disqualification. It is curious that, although men of great ability and moderate means are often prevented from holding prominent official places by reason of insufficient compensation, yet those who argue for parsimony not uncommonly belong to the class thus injuriously affected. Extravagant salaries are not advisable; but enough should be allowed to enable consular officers to maintain themselves and their families comfortably, and to keep the service in the front rank as to respectability and thoroughness. Where the salary is less than sufficient to pay reasonable house-rent and to supply family necessities, the official cannot be expected to do his best. It is the duty of the patriot to practise self-sacrifice; but men do not always accept place upon this theory. In times of peace it is not to be anticipated that a capable and poor man, whose abilities will enable him to net at home $5,000 or $10,000 a year in an honest calling, will, whatever his tastes, deliberately devote himself and his family to "hard times" in order to build up our trade, or otherwise advance our interests, in South America, Asia, or elsewhere.

There are numerous annoyances incident to consular life under our laws which it is unnecessary to enumerate, but which can be readily obviated. They constitute the lesser evils; and I will not elaborate upon them.

I have in mind a former representative of this country at Tamatave, who was compelled to conduct the trial of a person charged with murder. The defendant was found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' incarceration. Our Government made no provision for his detention; and the unfortunate consul, serving in a tropical clime at a small salary, was compelled at his own expense to hold and board the prisoner. He was providentially relieved; for, after several months' imprisonment, his unwelcome charge died. Not a cent has ever been awarded on account of this trial or imprisonment.

Again, travelling expenses are not allowed. In lieu of this an advance of thirty days' salary before leaving the United States, with an

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addition for the time occupied in transit, is permitted. There are posts where the expense of transportation is equivalent to more than one-third of a year's compensation; and when the possibilities of an early removal, with the outlay for the return trip, are contemplated, the hardship of the present system is clear.

It would be interesting to trace and dwell upon the relations existing between consular and diplomatic work, but space will not permit.

I have been told that the imperfections commented upon are due to the negligence of the Executive and the Senate. There may be some justice in this criticism; but it does not reach the core nor touch the real cause of the trouble. The appointing power proceeds as it has proceeded for years. The groove approved by time and Congressional action is followed. When the elections are over anxious office-hunters throng the Capitol, fervid in their detailment of invaluable party toil. The weary Congressman betakes himself to the Executive, and asks that his influential constituent, an "original supporter" of the President, be given something. Position after position is filled; and still the soliciting brigade is but slightly diminished. The President may hesitate, and may entertain the idea that removals ought only to be made for cause; but here is the unbroken practice of years—the virtual law of the case—strongly presented to him by earnest and importunate visitors. He adheres to the beaten track; the Senate acquiesces; and the Opposition party recognizes that the dominant element is entitled to this as a part of the "spoils" said to belong to the victor. Thus the wrong is done, inefficiency wins, logic and patriotism fail, and the new consul goes abroad and "sees the sights."

A change will occur as to these abuses when public sentiment is crystallized in favor of reform, and when the Congress shall enact a statute removing the service—particularly as to tenure of office—from the arena of party passion and party clamor, requiring proper qualifications, and ensuring promotion and advancement for merit. Nor should the question of compensation be overlooked. The service can also be much benefited, as already hinted, in other directions. No country possesses better material for this important work; and I am convinced that the day is not far distant when we shall have a consular service the efficiency and dignity of which will be universally recognized.

STEPHEN M. WHITE.

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THE ETHICS OF MODERN WARFARE.

In 1718 an Englishman, James Puckle, secured a British patent for what seems to have been an attempt at a breech-loading, rapid-firing gun. An original feature of the invention was the use of two different breech-plates, one for square bullets, to be used against the Turks, and the other for round bullets, to be used against Christians. It is curious to find two opposing tendencies in the same invention: (1) the desire to construct a gun that should be more effective because more destructive, and (2) a desire to recognize certain ethical distinctions in its use. If a round bullet was too good for a Turk, a square one was too bad for a Christian.

These two tendencies, one operating to make war more destructive, and the other, to mitigate its harshness, are struggling for preëminence to-day as they have been for centuries. War is an evidence of the imperfection of modern civilization. But if we seek proof of the development of the humane sentiment, and of the extension of the sphere of ethics to unethical relations, we may find it in the arts of war as surely as in the arts of peace.

The introduction of new and powerful explosives and of guns of enormous power and range, the application of electricity to submarine mines, the construction of modern battleships and torpedo-boats, the improvements in long-range rifles and rapid-firing guns, and many other inventions invest the whole enginery of war to-day with a terrible destructiveness. The serious student of ethics, not to speak of the cynic, may well ask whether the development of philanthropy, in mitigating the hardships of war, has kept pace with these destructive tendencies, and whether ethics might not be better employed in discouraging such inventions than in palliating their effects. But, without speculating on our distance from the millennium, it is a fact that the sense of obligation between nations, and the recognition of duties to civilization and humanity, have made such progress that war cannot wholly abrogate them.

"Silent leges inter arma" expresses what, until a comparatively recent period in the history of the civilized world, has been the usual effect of war,—not only the suspension of laws, and the annulment of

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treaties, which to some extent still take place, but the disregard of the ordinary ethical relations that obtain in times of peace. "Everything is fair in war" has meant a free rein for fraud, treachery, violence, pillage, devastation, wantonness, and outrage. Under such license the distinctions between private and public property were promptly banished; the rights of combatants or non-combatants, and duties toward the wounded and prisoners of war, were scarcely recognized.

It is hard to see how war can be conducted with humanity and be war. Military disputes are not settled by Quaker guns and sham fights. With all the mitigations that are possible, war will still remain a contravention of the codes and reciprocities of civilization in relation to life and property. The code of the duellist is, however, a great refinement of the savage mode of personal combat. The duellist may kill his antagonist; but he does not mutilate his victim. Neither does he drag his body behind his carriage, like Achilles, nor steal his purse, nor ravage his estate. Likewise duels between nations have not only relations of etiquette and refinement, but profess a broader, nobler code of honor and humanity. Wars may be prosecuted for great ends, and in a righteous spirit. The laws of war rest partly upon a basis of general utility, but also upon the higher demands of justice and humanity. They are the result of the steady growth of usage and precedent among civilized nations, of direct treaty or compact, or of adhesion to propositions formulated by international conventions and conferences.

The laws of war naturally depend much for their faithful application upon the character of the commanders of armies and navies, the discipline which they exercise over their soldiers and sailors, as well as upon the degree of civilization of the countries they represent. Various nations have undertaken to frame codes for the use of their soldiers in time of war. One of the best of these, representing the most modern ideas at the time of its compilation, and framed by one of the highest authorities upon constitutional and ethical principles, is "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," prepared in 1863 by Francis Lieber, LL.D., and revised by a board of officers of which Maj.-Gen. E. Hitchcock was president. The reputation and authority which Wheaton, Story, and Kent secured for American expositions in the general domain of international law were secured by Dr. Lieber in this special field. His work brought the United States to the very front in regard to the ethics and humanities of war. It not only received well-merited praise from writers on international law, but it may be said that it has not been possible to write anything since on the sub-

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ject without making liberal use of this manual. Bluntschli made it the foundation of his own exposition of the laws of war.

When Russia proposed an international convention, to establish a basis of general agreement, resulting in the Brussels Conference of 1876, the proposed code, says an English writer, was "substantially identical on all points with the code adopted for the American Federal army at the beginning of the Civil War." At the opening of the Conference the President, Baron Jomini, the Russian First Delegate, stated that the basis of the convention offered for discussion was suggested by what took place in the United States during the War of Secession—"the rules of President Lincoln to alleviate the miseries of war being yet fresh in the memory of all." Though President Lincoln did not prepare the rules, as Commander-in-Chief he felt the need of such a code, and knew to whom this work could be committed. Lieut.-Col. Tovey, of the Royal Engineers of the English Army, says the American "Instructions" "are of great value, as having necessarily been prepared with great care, and as having been practically carried out during one of the greatest contests of modern times."

Dr. Lieber's love for great principles gives to this book a broader character than it could have if it were simply a code of arbitrary rules. He not only issues an order, but frequently gives the argument for it. Some of his paragraphs glow like a treatise on transcendental ethics:

"As martial law is executed by military force, it is incumbent upon those who administer it, to be strictly guided by the laws of justice, honor, and humanity—virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men, for the very reason that he possesses the power of his arms against the unarmed.

The law of war does not only disclaim all cruelty and bad faith concerning engagements concluded with an enemy during the war, but also the breaking of stipulations solemnly contracted by the belligerents in time of peace, and avowedly intended to remain in force in case of war between the contracting parties. It disclaims all extortions and other transactions for individual gain, all acts of private revenge or connivance at such acts. . . . Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God.

Ever since the formation and coexistence of modern nations, and ever since wars have become great, national wars, war has come to be acknowledged not to be its own end, but the means to obtain great ends of state, or to consist in defence against the wrong; and no conventional restriction of the modes adopted to injure the enemy is any longer admitted, but the law of war imposes many limitations and restrictions, on principles of justice, faith, and honor."

Since the compilation of the American "Instructions" in 1863, the most notable national and international contributions to the laws of war —setting aside private works and discussions—have been the Geneva

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Convention of 1864, the propositions of the St. Petersburg Conference of 1868, the Brussels Conference of 1876, the code recommended for adoption by the Institute of International Law at its session in Oxford in 1880, and the official manuals compiled by France, Russia, and Holland. Excepting the Geneva Convention, none of these international propositions has been formally accepted by the nations represented in framing them. Taken together, they may be said to express, however, the modern consensus of opinion and sentiment of civilized nations on the laws of war. They differ in details; but their general unanimity is more remarkable than their diversity. It is easier to agree on general principles than on their practical application. There is little difference concerning the principles underlying the conduct of war; but there are many things concerning which no agreement between nations can be effected. Nations are not willing to bind themselves by rules which shall weaken any of their natural or acquired advantages in times of war. Thus England, fearing that the free action of her navy might be restricted, made it a condition, in sending a representative to the Brussels Conference, that the discussions and propositions should be confined to wars on land. The proceedings of that Conference are interesting, not only for what was adopted, but for what was omitted because of no definite agreement.

Lieut.-Col. Davis, of West Point, has ventured to suggest that the American "Instructions," because of their having been written for our Civil War, are not wholly adapted for wars with foreign nations. President Jomini, of the Brussels Conference, on the contrary, pointed out in his opening address that the essential conditions of an international war were represented in our great conflict; and it has been said that during the Franco-German War but one case arose which was not practically covered by the principles or the letter of the American "Instructions." Special questions may develop under new conditions in the present war, but the United States will hardly need to revise its code until such questions arise; and if its officers and soldiers live up to the broad principles as well as to the specific instructions of that code, there is hardly an exigency that cannot be met in a humane and ethical spirit.

One of the first questions arising in the conduct of war is as to the means to be employed. When Odysseus went to an ally to get some poison for his arrows, his more humane and pious friend refused him the request, because it was displeasing to the gods. Even in that remote age, in which little quarter was granted, we may see, in these scruples against the use of poisoned arrows, the glimmer of a new ethical

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conception. A warrant did not need to be a death-warrant: to disable the enemy it was not always necessary to kill him. Modern laws are but the fuller development of this idea. Humanity dictates that the results of war shall be attained with as little loss of life as possible. "Modern wars," say the "Instructions" to our armies,

"are not internecine wars, in which the killing of the enemy is the object. The destruction of the enemy in modern war, and indeed modern war itself, are means to obtain that object of the belligerent which lies beyond the war."

While the ethics of modern warfare permit the use of rapid-firing guns, hot shot, and guns of vast range, the supreme object is not to kill for the sake of killing, but to render aggression ineffective and resistance useless. The laws of war do not limit the range of a rifle; but they have something to say as to the character of the ball. By the St. Petersburg Convention, held December 11, 1868, certain of the Powers agreed that explosive bullets of less than four hundred grammes (fourteen ounces avoirdupois) should not be used. It may seem like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, to permit explosive shells and explosive mines while excluding explosive bullets: but the prime object of heavy shells is to reduce fortifications and disable vessels; while explosive bullets, like poisoned arrows, are directed at troops and tend to inflict mortal wounds. In the Franco-Prussian War each side charged the other with using these bullets; but the charges do not appear to have been sustained. If it be true that the expense of these balls had something to do with discouraging their use, we may be grateful that economy is on the side of humanity. It is claimed on behalf of the United States magazine rifle, calibre .30, that, while its effective range is very great, its pencil-like bullet makes a less dangerous wound. But this is disputed. Certainly the piece was not adopted from humanitarian motives.

The French "Manual" for 1884 prohibits

"broken glass, roughened bullets, slugs, small shot, barbed arrows, balls containing lime or glass, and in general every other means which, without exercising a direct influence on the issue of the fight, has only the effect of producing more grievous wounds."

In the seventeenth century the lawfulness of chain-shot was disputed; and curious distinctions were made in regard to hot shot. At the siege of Gibraltar the Spanish said that they refrained from using them because they were unlawful means of defence. It was contended by certain authorities that forts might use hot shot where they were denied to ships of war, on the ground that it was proper to use in de-

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fence what it was not proper to use in aggression. This fine distinction has long since been ignored. The use of petroleum-bombs and dynamite-guns is now permitted.

In future wars it is certain that balloons will play a great part, not only for purposes of observation and communication, but also for offensive warfare. A balloon, dropping dynamite-bombs over a fort or fleet, would be a powerful agent of destruction. The Germans, it is charged, in the War of 1870, refused to treat as ordinary prisoners of war those captured in balloons: but air-ships with explosives from above are certainly as justifiable as ironclads, torpedo-boats, and submarine mines, or other new horrors which modern civilization permits; and an officer reconnoitring in a balloon should not be treated as a spy.

The poisoning of food, water, or weapons in any way is interdicted, as is also the propagation of contagious diseases in an enemy's country. The cutting off of water-supplies, and attempts to starve the enemy into surrender, have been considered lawful from the earliest times. Though excluding poison, the French permit the mixing of water with substances which make it eventually undrinkable, as a method of preventing its use. In addition to the exclusion of arms causing unnecessary suffering, the Brussels Conference prohibited the murder by treachery of individuals belonging to a hostile nation or army, the murder of an antagonist who has laid down his arms, declarations that no quarter will be given, and the abuse of protective flags or flags of truce.

The French "Manual" of 1884 considers it permissible that

> "the flags, uniform, sounds, or signals of the enemy may be used before the fight as a ruse by which the enemy may be induced to approach or be drawn into an ambuscade."

On the other hand, the American "Instructions" say:

> "The use of the enemy's national standard, flag, or any other emblem of nationality for the purpose of deceiving the enemy in battle, is an act of perfidy by which they lose all claim to the protection of the laws of war. . . . And troops who fight in the uniform of their enemies without any plain, striking, and uniform mark of distinction of their own can expect no quarter."

The "Manual of the Institute of International Law" forbids attacking an enemy "by concealing the distinctive signs of an armed force."

Deception of the enemy by the transmission of false intelligence or the tapping of telegraph lines, is considered lawful. The cutting of telegraph cables may be necessary to prevent communication with the enemy. Lord Wolseley, according to Col. Tovey, recommends the deception of the enemy "by spreading false news among newspaper correspondents, now

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attached to all civilized armies in the field." But army correspondents usually succeed in obtaining a good deal of false news without having it furnished by the commanding general. Concerning the general subject of deception, Dr. Lieber says:

"While deception in war is admitted as a just and necessary means of hostility, and is consistent with honorable warfare, the common law of war allows even capital punishment for clandestine or treacherous attempts to injure an enemy, because they are so dangerous, and it is so difficult to guard against them."

It used to be common to pay head-money to soldiers for the numbers they killed, just as rewards are offered for blackbirds and squirrels. It is hardly a century since this pernicious practice was abolished. Cobden and Joseph Hume protested against the alleged use of these means by the English in Borneo. While in the arts of peace we are several thousand years removed from savagery, in the art of war we are not more than a hundred years away from barbarous practices which would make us blush. The modern distinction between civilized and savage warfare should render inadmissible the employment by civilized nations of savage troops who do not know the laws of war. Heffter puts this practice on the same plane as the use of poisoned weapons. In 1812, as in 1776, the English used the Indians to fight the American forces, with the result that many United States prisoners taken by the Indians were held in captivity until long after the close of the War. Congress passed Acts in 1817 and 1823 providing for the reimbursement of persons having ransomed American captives.

In modern warfare native troops have often been employed who were not more than half-civilized, but who, by reason of being acclimated, and knowing the country in which they operated, made effective soldiers. The right of employing such troops would seem to depend upon the ability of their officers to keep them within the bounds of civilized usage. The French were criticised for employing African troops in 1870.

In no respect has there been a greater amelioration of the horrors of war than in the treatment of prisoners. In early times slavery was their usual destiny; and they were often condemned to servitude for life. The Barbary Powers thrived for centuries on the ransom-money obtained from prisoners taken in piratical expeditions. They were generally treated with some respect due to their rank, and without positive cruelty.

Captivity among the American Indians, though sometimes followed by torture and cruelty, was also marked by a humane and interesting feature. In many cases, especially with young persons, the captive was adopted into the tribe, and became a member thereof, free from servi-

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tude, and with every right and privilege possessed by native members of the tribe.

It is now curious to turn to the United States "Instructions," and read that

"slavery, complicating and confounding the ideas of property [that is, of a *thing*] and of personality [that is, of *humanity*], exists according to municipal or local law only. The law of nature and nations has never acknowledged it. . . . Therefore, in a war between the United States and a belligerent which admits of slavery, if a person, held in bondage by that belligerent, be captured by, or come as a fugitive under the protection of the military forces of, the United States, such person is immediately entitled to the rights and privileges of a freeman. To return such persons into slavery would amount to enslaving a free person; and neither the United States nor any officer under their authority can enslave any human being."

These "Instructions" were approved April 24, 1863. To read them, one would suppose that no such thing as slavery had ever been recognized by the United States, and that the Dred Scott decision had never been rendered by the United States Supreme Court. Yet it was only four months before—January 1, 1863—that Lincoln issued his final Proclamation of Emancipation, declaring slaves free in the States, or parts of States, then in rebellion; and that Proclamation was not directly based upon the laws of humanity, though undoubtedly instigated by them, but upon military necessity, "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion." Gen. Butler, without caring whether he confounded ideas of property or personality, had solved the difficulty by treating slaves as contraband of war. As a matter of fact there were eight States of the Union in which slavery was not abolished until two years after these instructions to our soldiers, and then by constitutional amendment. But the paragraph shows that Dr. Lieber preferred the laws of humanity to some enacted by the States, and sanctioned by the Supreme Court. He succeeded, therefore, in making a military code which, in regard to slavery, was two years ahead of the Thirteenth Amendment.

The terrible treatment of American prisoners in our War of Independence is a matter of history. Ten prison-ships anchored in Wallabout Bay, Brooklyn, were filled by the British with American prisoners, who were treated with the most shocking brutality. It is estimated in Congressional reports that between 11,000 and 12,000 prisoners perished on these vessels. The mortality of the "Old Jersey," which received the baptism of "Hell," was estimated at five a day. Congress, in 1781, in a resolution, declared that

"no circumstances of the enemy's particular situation can justify this outrage on humanity, it being contrary to the usage and custom of civilized nations thus deliberately to murder their captives in cold blood."

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And Gen. Washington was instructed to remonstrate with the proper officers. An article in the treaty of 1785 between the United States and Prussia repudiates the practice of sending prisoners into distant and inclement countries, or of crowding them into close and obnoxious places, and prescribes various humane regulations for their treatment. In modern usage the prisoner of war is a prisoner of the Government, and not of the captor, as for many centuries he was considered to be. He may be confined to prevent escape, but must not be subjected to indignity or cruelty. "The enemy," says Hall, "has been captured while performing a legal act; and his imprisonment cannot consequently be penal." It was an early custom for states to pay the cost of the maintenance of their prisoners in an enemy's country. The expectation was that at the close of the war such amounts would be repaid. The French National Convention of 1793 authorized the payment to prisoners of sums equal to those received by the French soldiers of equal rank. During the war of 1870 the French, in reply to a charge that they were not treating their prisoners of war properly, showed that the allowance they made to prisoners was much more liberal than that paid by the Germans.

The subjects of a hostile Power within the territory of the other are liable to seizure and detention as prisoners of war. Napoleon is said to have shut up 10,000 English in prison as a retaliatory measure for the seizure of French ships. During the Crimean War Russians were allowed to live without molestation in France and England. In 1870, French citizens were allowed to reside in Germany; but Germans were ordered off the soil of France. This was an unusual and indefensible act.

Prisoners may be shot while trying to escape; but the law of war does not justify punishment or execution for attempts at escape, though a more rigid confinement may follow. It seems to be generally agreed that prisoners of war may be required to work with due respect to their rank. Hall makes the distinction that such work should have no direct relation to the war. Prisoners are sometimes allowed to work on their own account. In the Franco-German War of 1870, Germany had an immense number of prisoners thrown upon her hands at short notice, whom she was not prepared to receive. It was inevitable that they should undergo hardships at first, for lack of sufficient food and shelter; but the German troops in the field underwent almost similar hardships. Later the French prisoners transported to German soil were treated with great kindness.

According to Sir Travers Twiss, it seems not improbable that hu-

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manity is indebted to the Dutch for initiating the modern practice of exchanging prisoners whilst war is proceeding. At first this exchange was made for a money equivalent, afterward for a personal equivalent based upon the relative rank and number of the prisoners exchanged. A vestige of the remote practice of ransom seems to be still recognized in the United States "Instructions," in which it is said:

"The surplus number of prisoners of war remaining after an exchange has taken place is sometimes released, either for the payment of a stipulated sum of money, or, in urgent cases, of provision, clothing, or other necessaries. Such arrangement, however, requires the sanction of the highest authority."

It would be interesting to know if this was ever done in the late war. An exchange of prisoners is not obligatory; but it is evident that it may often be a matter of great convenience to both parties.

A less common form of release is by parole, which may take various forms, but is generally a pledge of the released person not to serve during the continuance of the war. Privates and non-commissioned officers cannot give their parole, except through commissioned officers; and even these must obtain the consent of superior officers within reach. Lists of the paroled are kept; and the breaking of a parole is punishable by death. The modern interpretation of the parole is, that it refers only to service in the field, and does not forbid the paroled person to work for his Government in an administrative capacity, or even to drill recruits or fortify places not besieged.

In his famous description of the Battle of Waterloo, Victor Hugo has painted a grim picture of the ghouls that stalked over the battle-field at night; adding to the horrors of war by looting the wounded and by cutting off the fingers of the dead, to obtain rings and jewelry. We need not go back so far. Eye-witnesses of great European battles prior to 1870 have described the terrible scenes which ensued when the wounded were left for two or three days upon the field, racked with thirst and pain, and exposed to the human, but inhumane, vultures who followed every camp. It was the experience of a noble-minded Swiss gentleman, M. Henri Dunant, on the field of Solferino in 1859, which led, through the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross, to the greatest change which, by international agreement, has taken place in the treatment of the wounded on the field of battle. The field-work of the Red Cross was practically anticipated by that gigantic organization, the United States Sanitary Commission, in its remarkable work during the Civil War. With its branches, it expended the equivalent of $19,000,000. Other volunteer organizations swelled the amount to $70,000,000.

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Archdeacon (now Dean) Farrar, in an article in "Macmillan's Magazine" for 1869, says: "No country has equalled America in the care of its own wounded soldiers."

The Sanitary Commission did not confine its work to Union soldiers. Its duties were fulfilled in a broad, humanitarian spirit. Though a volunteer society, it had the authority and sanction of the Government. The real contribution of M. Dunant to martial philanthropy was not in organizing national or international volunteer relief corps,—for the Geneva Convention did not contemplate volunteer relief societies, and, indeed, makes no provision for them,—but rather in securing the neutralization of hospitals, ambulances, medical service, and chapels on the field of battle. The Convention provided the Red Cross badge as a badge of neutrality; and the *brassard*, or armlet, was to be issued only by military authorities on either side. It also extended protection to the inhabitants of an invaded country who should succor the wounded. Nevertheless, the practical result of the Convention and of the philanthropic efforts based upon it was the organization of volunteer aid societies in every country, to supplement the regular medical service in time of war. These societies, like our own, were primarily organized to meet the wants of the nation by which they were formed. But the spirit of philanthropy could not be bound by national lines. The War of 1870 was remarkable for the astonishing amount of money, supplies, and service furnished to the wounded from neutral sources. The British Society was formed under royal patronage, and spent $1,000,000 for the relief of the wounded. A similar amount was sent from the United States; and English and American surgeons worked together on the battle-field. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Russia, Sweden, and Italy all sent stores and surgeons to both belligerents. But all this neutral service was accepted "solely by favor of the commanders of the armies engaged," and not because it was stipulated in the Geneva Convention. The giving of help by neutrals to belligerents in the way of stores and supplies may create serious complication in war; but in the War of 1870 the spirit of philanthropy swept aside all technical distinctions. On sea, hospital ships have been brought under the scope of the Geneva Convention; and the United States and Spain have accepted a *modus vivendi* in regard to them.

While the question, "Who may relieve the wounded in time of war?" is answered by a generous and humane extension of privilege, the answer to the question, "Who may kill in war?" has been narrowed in modern contests. Theoretically, the citizen of a hostile country is an enemy. In early times he was practically so regarded. In modern

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times, though the theory remains for the sake of logical symmetry, the practice is wholly different. The distinction is made between combatants and non-combatants; and "the unarmed citizen is to be spared in person and property as much as the exigencies of war will admit." Non-combatants secure this immunity only by refraining from participation in battle. Hence the practical need of uniforms to distinguish soldiers from citizens.

Irregular troops, not acting under authority, are treated as brigands. In 1813 the French treated the Prussian militia as such. In 1870 the Prussians, on the other hand, refused to recognize as regular troops the French Francs-Tireurs. Bismarck explained that they were not sufficiently uniformed to be distinguished from ordinary citizens. Dr. Lieber, in a valuable paper on guerilla parties, says: "It must be remembered that a uniform dress is a matter of impossibility in a levy *en masse.*" Many Southern soldiers had no uniform; but they were treated as prisoners of war. A national guard should have some distinguishing badge, and ought to act under direct authority and under oath to conform to the laws of war. There is still much difference of opinion as to levies *en masse;* but the Institute of International Law recognizes as part of the armed force of the state "the inhabitants of non-occupied territory who, at the approach of the enemy, take arms openly and spontaneously, to resist an invader, even if they have not had time to organize."

While taking every precaution against freebooters and brigands, it has been customary to accord to insurgents the rights of prisoners of war. When the Governor-General of Cuba, in 1871, issued a proclamation threatening death to insurgents with arms in their hands, Secretary Fish protested against it, "as at variance with the practice of Christian civilized states in modern times."

The law of war permits retaliation; but it is not to be carried to barbarous or inhuman extremes. Spies and traitors are not exchanged; but they should not be put to death without trial by a military tribunal. Unauthorized communication with the enemy is considered treasonable.

On the subject of bombardment theory and practice are not in accord. The great majority of the people in a fortified city are non-combatants, and, as such, are presumed to be free from attack. Theoretically, the best writers, supported by the Brussels Conference, contend that bombardment should be directed against the works only and not against the city. The Germans, however, bombarded Strasburg for two days; doing great damage to the cathedral, the picture-gallery, and other pub-

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lic buildings. Von Moltke defended the action: other writers have severely condemned it. The Brussels Conference laid down the rule, that fortified places alone are liable to be besieged, and that open or undefended towns should not be bombarded. At times it may be impossible for a commander to reduce forts without firing into a city or town. In that case, humanity demands that notice of the bombardment should be given, and the non-combatants permitted to leave.

In this article I have considered the rules of modern warfare mainly with reference to the means permitted, and their relation to human life. I have not space to show to what extent they affect property; but as in relation to life the rules of modern warfare are more humane, so in relation to property they are more just. Both life and property are held subordinate to the purpose for which war is waged. It is not the object of a war wantonly to destroy either. All useless destruction of property is prohibited. It is conceded that an enemy must contribute to the expenses of a war. The treaty between the United States and Prussia of 1785 provided that any property taken should be paid for at a fair price. The Germans made vast requisitions in France; but they were made in writing, and receipts were given, so that owners might be reimbursed by communal or national funds. Wellington in India ordered that grain be paid for before being taken. Whatever the hardships of requisition, they do not compare with the evils of the indiscriminate pillage and brutality which formerly prevailed. The general testimony is that the German troops in France respected the rights of private property to a great degree. The United States "Instructions" forbid, under penalty of death, all wanton violence, all destruction of property not commanded by an authorized officer, all robbery, pillage, and sacking; and

"a soldier, officer, or private, in the act of committing such violence, and disobeying a superior ordering him to abstain from it, may be lawfully killed on the spot by such superior."

So far as usage between belligerents is concerned, the subject of private property at sea stands on a different basis from private property on land. While private property on land is respected to a considerable extent,—the enemy taking only that which is necessary for his use,—private property at sea, on the other hand (with occasional qualms of the international conscience), has been considered a fit prey for appropriation by the enemy, or for wanton destruction. The practice of giving prize-money incidentally helps to perpetuate this form of piracy. The difference in the usage has been justified by Wheaton, Dana, and

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English writers. Their arguments are traditional rather than ethical. Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison took a different view, and believed there was no ethical basis for the distinction. The Treaty of 1785 between the United States and Prussia, negotiated by those illustrious statesmen, expressed their ideal. It not only provided for the payment of all requisitions made on land, but allowed all merchant vessels to pass free and unmolested. On the vexed subject of contraband of war, it provided for full compensation for everything used, including a reasonable compensation for the detention of vessels when necessary. In 1823 France, in her war with Spain, refrained from capturing the Spanish mercantile marine. Germany, in 1870, announced her determination to respect private property at sea; but, France not reciprocating, she withdrew her proclamation.

The rights of neutrals at sea, which were once wholly disregarded, are now sufficiently protected. Neutral goods under an enemy's flag, and the enemy's goods under a neutral flag, with the exception of contraband of war in both cases, are protected. "Contraband of war," however, has been extended to include coal and many other things; and Benjamin Franklin's high notions as to paying for it are abandoned. The provisions of the treaty with Prussia have long since expired. England still determinately sets her face against the change. In a treaty, however, between the United States and Italy, of 1871, this early principle of American diplomacy is thus reasserted:

"The high contracting parties agree that, in the unfortunate event of a war between them, the private property of their respective citizens and subjects, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure, on the high seas or elsewhere, by the armed vessels or by the military forces of either party; it being understood that this exemption shall not extend to vessels and their cargoes which may attempt to enter a port blockaded by the naval forces of either party."

Is it too much to hope that this principle, which even Napoleon conceded to be just, shall eventually be recognized the world over?

There was a time when the cry, "Free goods make free ships," was derided; but that battle has been won for civilization. M. Rolin-Jacquemyns has well said:

"It has always been thus in the development of international as of national law. Few liberal reforms have succeeded without the initiative of a nation or of a party interested to make them succeed."

SAMUEL J. BARROWS.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISTURBED BY AN INSECT.

On February 5, 1898, the Emperor of Germany issued a Decree prohibiting the admission of American fruits and living plants into Germany. A day or so later a shipment of California pears arrived at the port of Hamburg, and was refused admittance. The fact was telegraphed to American newspapers; and there was much excitement both in horticultural and in official circles. The newspapers were short of "news" at the time; and the general interest was intensified by the more or less sensational articles published.

For some days there was no knowledge in this country of the wording of the Decree; and, beyond the fact that it was understood that the introduction of injurious insects from America was feared, no reason for its promulgation could be assigned. The general impression seemed to be that the Decree was issued at the instigation of the Agrarian party in Germany, and that it was to be considered as a retaliatory measure against the United States for certain Tariff legislation by this country. All the early articles published in the United States protested vigorously against the enactment, and insisted that there was no ground for it, since the danger to Germany from American insect pests was purely imaginary.

Californians were particularly indignant; and interviews with the Congressional representatives of that State, published in Washington, reported that California especially prided herself on the cleanness of her fruit, and upon the vigorous measures which, for a number of years, she had taken to prevent the introduction of injurious insects within her boundaries. It was reported in the newspapers that vigorous diplomatic correspondence between the two Governments ensued, and that Ambassador White was instructed to protest energetically against the edict, and to endeavor to secure a modification of its terms.

It was not long, however, before the text of the Imperial Decree became known; and it was then found that the particular insect aimed at was the San José scale (*Aspidiotus perniciosus*). It was further learned that the German Government was fully informed as to the habits of this injurious insect, its startling spread in the Eastern States during the past

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few years, and the legislation which several States had enacted in the effort to exterminate it, or at least to limit its spread. Publications of the agricultural experiment stations of the different States and of the United States Department of Agriculture had been read by the officials of the German Government; and these officials were quite as fully informed about the American insect as were the officials of our own Government, with the exception, perhaps, of the Secretary of Agriculture.

These facts having been learned, it became at once apparent that, even if the Decree had some ulterior retaliatory motive, it was certainly the misfortune of the United States that Germany had so good an excuse.

Persons interested in horticulture had known the remarkable history of this scale insect for some time. They knew that, introduced from some unknown region, it made its appearance in the vicinity of San José, California, late in the seventies; that it spread rapidly over the State of California; and that it was soon known as the most dangerous enemy to deciduous fruit-trees on the Pacific Coast. They further knew that it was unwittingly brought to the East upon nursery stock in 1887 or 1888, by two innocent nurserymen living in New Jersey, and that its presence in the Eastern States was not discovered until five or six years later, when it had already been spread far and wide upon shipments of young trees.

In fact so great an industry has the sale of nursery stock become during recent years, and so rapid is the multiplication of this insect, that, without another introduction of the scale from California, the product of the two introductions into the East had in six years been spread through portions of almost every one of the Eastern and Middle States. The scale established itself at almost every point where it was introduced, with the exception of certain northern localities, where the climate appears to have been too cold for its development; and it multiplied so excessively as to cause the death of thousands of trees before its presence became known.

In the summer of 1893 it fell to the lot of the writer of this article to discover the distressing fact that this most pernicious insect had become established in the Eastern States. The scale came to him upon a pear grown at Charlottesville, Virginia, to which point it had been brought some years previously upon currant-bushes purchased from one of the New Jersey nurserymen above-mentioned. Its presence in other localities was discovered the following season; warning publications were issued to fruit-growers and nurserymen; and year after year discoveries of

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its occurrence in unsuspected regions have multiplied, until at present there is hardly an important fruit-growing region in the United States which is not directly threatened by the pest.

In the meantime there has been the greatest activity with regard to the insect on the part of economic entomologists, agricultural and horticultural societies, agricultural journals, and State organizations. In the five years which have elapsed since its discovery, the literature relating to this insect has become enormous. Its bibliography already comprises several hundred titles of permanent record, and several thousand titles in ephemeral publications. It has occupied the attention of nearly every meeting of farmers and fruit-growers that has been held in the Eastern States for the past four years, from the village club to the great State horticultural or agricultural society; it has been the exciting cause of a national convention of fruit-growers, farmers, entomologists, and nurserymen; it has been the subject of legislation in sixteen States of the Union; and its suppression is the principal object of two Bills now before Congress.

With all this disturbance in our own country, with all this widespread publicity, necessitated by the threatened danger to one of our greatest industries, is it any wonder that foreign Governments should have taken alarm? And, viewing the matter dispassionately, is the German Government to be blamed for an effort to protect its horticultural interests?

It is true that in her desire to prevent most effectually the introduction of the insect, or possibly to utilize the emergency to its fullest extent in the way of deterring American imports, Germany has gone further than the situation warranted. The early interpretation of the Decree, to cover the case of dried fruits, was certainly unwarranted by what we know of the life-history of the insect. Even the disbarment of all fresh fruit was in a measure unwarranted; but it must in justice be said, that the subsequent modification of the edict, so as to confine the absolute prohibition to living plants,—fresh fruit being prohibited only when inspection shows it to be affected by living scale,—indicates that Germany is disposed to deal fairly with the United States in this matter.

As was to be expected, the action of Germany immediately called the attention of other nations to the danger which similarly threatened them. Canada had already had under consideration the subject of the prohibition of living plants imported from the United States; and on March 18, 1898, an Act, known as the San José Scale Act, passed the Canadian Legislature. By the terms of this Act the importation of

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living plants—commonly called nursery stock—from any countries or places designated by the Governor-General in Council was prohibited. An Order in Council immediately followed, placing the United States, Australia, Japan, and the Hawaiian Islands under the ban. Another Order of Council, issued the same day, exempted from the provisions of the Act greenhouse plants, with the exception of roses, herbaceous perennials, herbaceous bedding-plants, all conifers, bulbs, and tubers.

A month later the Government of Austria-Hungary issued a Decree simultaneously at Vienna and Budapest prohibiting the importation into that country from America of living plants, grafts, and layers, as well as the packings and coverings of such plants. In this Decree, however, the importation of fresh fruit was not prohibited; but an inspection at the Austro-Hungarian custom-house was provided for, coupled with the announcement that such fruit would be excluded if the presence of San José scale were proved.

Following this Decree of Austria-Hungary, the Government of the Netherlands sent to the United States one of the most eminent scientific men in Holland, Dr. J. Ritzema Bos, for the purpose of investigating the status of the San José scale. Upon his report will probably depend the passage of a Bill, now before the Second Chamber of the States-General, prohibiting the entrance of fruits and living plants from America into the Netherlands. About the same time, an employee of the Agricultural Department of Sweden, Dr. Yngve Sjöstedt, was also sent to the United States, partly for the purpose of investigating this much-talked-about insect. The same matter has been discussed in official circles in other European countries, including England; but no definite action has been taken. All this foreign legislation is having and will continue to have a distressing effect upon American exports of fruits and living plants; but, if our Government is as apt as usual, we shall learn from this experience a lesson of value.

It was necessary, of course, in order to protect our internal interests, that a hue and cry should be issued from the National Department of Agriculture and from the experiment stations of the different States as soon as the extreme danger of the spread of the insect in the Eastern States was realized; and it was necessary also that fruit-growers should be constantly informed of the progress of the pest, as well as of the results of the experimental remedial work which was being carried on by our State and National Governments. Therefore, with all this publicity, it was only a question of time when foreign Governments should take alarm, and at least begin to investigate the possibilities of

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danger to their own fruit-growing industries. That Germany was the first Government to gain exact information on the subject, and the first to take action, was due to the fact that for some years she had had a scientific man of ability and standing attached to her embassy at Washington. This attaché, stationed there for the sole purpose of studying everything relating to American agriculture, was all along as well posted in regard to the spread of the San José scale as were our own Government officials; and through his efforts Germany was able to issue the Decree at what seemed to be the proper moment.

This would obviously suggest to our own Government a similar policy; and it is interesting to note that as early as 1892 the Secretary of Agriculture strongly urged in his annual report to the President that representatives of the Department of Agriculture should be attached to our legations in the principal countries with which we have agricultural relations. The present Secretary, Mr. Wilson, has repeatedly advocated such a course since the beginning of the existing Administration.

How long the present embargo against American plants and fruits will continue in effect it is impossible to foretell; but, apart from all thought of retaliation, it is plain that foreign nations are just beginning to do what we ourselves might long ago have done with advantage. The majority of our principal insect pests are of foreign origin; and many of them might have been prevented from entering our ports, had there been at least a national system of quarantine and inspection such as is now carried on successfully by the State of California at the port of San Francisco.

L. O. HOWARD.

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY UNDER THE REIGN OF FRANCIS JOSEPH.—I.

On December 2, 1898, it will be fifty years since the Emperor Francis Joseph ascended the throne of Austria; and everywhere throughout the Empire the people are already beginning to prepare for the Golden Jubilee. It is needless to say that the celebration will be truly popular, and the ovation well-merited. The well-known words of Horace, "Integer vitæ scelerisque purus," may, without flattery, be applied to our Emperor; and it would be difficult to find anywhere a man more faithful and kind and just than he.

Despite this veneration for the person of the monarch, however, the strife between the various national elements composing the Empire will probably tend to mar the forthcoming festivities. It is true that thirty-two years of peace—unprecedented in the history of Austria—have resulted in an unparalleled material prosperity. But people demand something more than mere bread: they desire to develop according to their specific endowments; and for this purpose they require internal peace. Although forty years have passed since the inauguration of constitutional government,—to the conditions of which Francis Joseph has steadfastly adhered,—internal peace has not yet been secured. The relations between the two main divisions of the Empire, *i.e.*, Hungary, on the one hand, and Cisleithania[1] (Austria proper) on the other, have now reached a critical stage. Both divisions of the Empire are quarrelling over their relative contributions to the national fund. Cisleithania refuses to bear the burden of 70 per cent for the next ten years; while Hungary is unwilling to contribute in excess of the rate which it has been accustomed to pay for the last thirty years, viz., 30 per cent.

In the interior of Hungary there exists an intense hatred of the foreign elements,—Rumanians, Transylvanians, Germans, Servians, Croatians, etc.,—as well as of denationalization and centralization. In Croatia and Lower Hungary the small farmers of the Slavonic and Magyar races

[1] Cisleithania, *i.e.*, all the territory on this side of the River Leitha, is officially designated as "all the kingdoms and lands represented at the Imperial Diet at Vienna."

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have repeatedly risen against the large landowners. The Conservatives and the Clericals of all nationalities are now fiercely opposing the domination of the Magyar and Jewish Liberals,—a domination which has existed since 1867. By a measure introduced into the Diet by the Count Badeni, the Bohemian language was given an official importance equal to that of the German; and, in consequence, the old hatred between the Germans and Czechs broke out anew. By reason of a hitherto unheard-of obstructionary attitude on the part of a Liberal minority, a parliamentary majority was debarred from passing a resolution. Riots occurred in the streets of Vienna and Prague; and the parliamentary machinery of the government was brought to a standstill.

At present the figures, in an attitude of flight, surmounting the four corners of the Capitol at Vienna, are nothing more than an extremely successful symbolization of dissensions which divide the nations and parties represented at the Austrian Capitol. It is not astonishing, therefore, that our political ravens are once more croaking their "Finis Austriæ"; nor is it surprising that the foreign Powers of both hemispheres are asking in alarm: "What will be the end of all this? Will Austria succeed in maintaining permanently her position as a useful member of the Triple Alliance?" These questions are perfectly justified. As it is extremely difficult for foreigners to follow the drift of political opinion in Austria, the Editor of THE FORUM has requested me to present my views on the subject.

I find it necessary to say at the outset that I am not at all of the opinion that the end of Austria is near. Indeed, having followed the development of our political parties for the last forty years, and, since 1871, from an entirely non-partisan standpoint, I find very little justification for the pessimistic views entertained by many. Nor do I base my argument upon the ancient prophecy, "Austria erit in orbe ultima." The present age, which has become accustomed to political revolutions, is no believer in ancient prophecies. My opinions are based upon the political nature of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy itself, and upon the varied character of its numerous lands and nationalities. In short, I have arrived at my conclusions after a close study of our entire historical development, and a life-long observation of our national tendencies. It is upon this basis, therefore, that I venture to express the belief that we shall eventually find an outlet from the labyrinth of party-complications in which we have been immeshed for the past thirty years. I do not share the fears of those who regard as imminent a revival of the absolutism of Schwarzenberg and Bach during the period

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1850–1860; nor do I fear a return of the old-time conservative federalism.

Neither constitutionalism—introduced into Austria proper in 1860, and into Hungary in 1867—nor dualism of government is responsible for the present complications. The responsibility lies not in the system itself, but in the mode of administration. Since the Schwarzenberg-Bach system was overthrown at Magenta and Solferino, and later, so far as Hungary was concerned, at Königgrätz, constitutional Austria has been centralized and Germanized by the bureaucracy in union with the Liberalistic moneyed aristocracy; while constitutional Hungary has been centralized and Magyarized by the nobility and gentry in union with the capitalists, principally of the Hebrew race. The majority of non-German and non-Magyar nationalities, according to the recipe of Count Beust, were to be "pushed to the wall." The Conservatives and the Clericals were to be kept down by the Liberals; and the small farmers and wage-earners were to be debarred from all participation in the affairs of the administration: they were regarded as suitable objects of plunder and oppression. The means employed to this end were: (1) The establishment of a high property qualification for voters; (2) the arbitrary exercise of official power; the influence of the landed proprietors and of the moneyed aristocracy being everywhere utilized in the administration of the *Grafschaften* (counties); and (3) the false nimbus of a fictitious freedom, with which the press ever sought to surround the principal figures of the ruling parties. Not dualism therefore, but the Austrian *Quote* (quota) involved in it; not constitutionalism, but its prostitution for the purpose of Germanization and Magyarization; not the liberties sacredly guaranteed in the Austrian constitution to all citizens, regardless of creed, class, or nationality, but the failure to carry out the provisions of the law,—these are the causes which have engendered those racial and religious dissensions with which our country has been afflicted for over forty years.

The present is the most serious crisis since that of 1860. The exaggerated patriotism and delirious national ravings of our Slavs, Magyars, and Germans have never manifested themselves with such intensity as at present. These conditions may be productive of serious consequences, and may, perhaps, endanger our credit abroad; but there is absolutely no reason to fear that these complications foreshadow the end of Austria. Only an extremely superficial observer would compare the present situation with that of 1848. The Austria-Hungary of to-day, as developed under the reign of Francis Joseph, is a new empire.

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In its foreign relations it need no longer contend against the enmity of Italy and Prussia; while, within the Empire itself, the value of constitutional government, as opposed to absolutism, is now everywhere recognized. The Austrian Empire is by no means *in extremis*. Prince Gortschakoff, who once declared Austria to be a cadaver, already in a state of putrefaction, was eventually convinced—at the famous Berlin Conference of 1878—by Count Andrassy of the fallacy of his diagnosis. Equally erroneous was the opinion of that Bavarian statesman who declared Austria to be "an annex to the Turkish Empire,"—in other words, "Turkey number two." Notwithstanding these assertions, the house of Habsburg has not become moribund under the Emperor Francis Joseph; and the proverbial "sick man" at Constantinople furnishes the strongest example of what would ensue, were Austria removed as a factor in European politics.

Imagine the political upheaval which would be caused by a partition of the Austrian Empire! Far more pertinent than the above-quoted opinions is the assertion of the great historian Palacky: "Even if it were not already in existence, an Austrian Empire would have to be established, not only to insure the welfare of the numerous nationalities involved, but also to secure the peace of Europe." The means of escape from the maze in which we are at present entangled are apparent to every calm observer. Constitutionalism must gradually turn from the path which it has hitherto pursued; and our entire population, irrespective of creed, class, or nationality, must be admitted to an equal participation in the privileges accorded by law. This is the only way in which internal peace may be secured, and the true Germanization and Magyarization of the dual Empire finally consummated. A brief survey covering the development of the electoral franchise since 1860 will, I think, inspire us with the hope that the problem, now so perplexing, will, sooner or later, be unravelled by some skilful statesman.

I have presented my fundamental view of the question, and shall now enter upon a closer analysis of it, by briefly tracing the course of political events during the reign of Francis Joseph. Such a survey will afford us a clearer conception of current issues, such as the "Quota" and the Czech-German controversy; while, at the same time, it will give us a glimpse into the future. What, then, in the light of history, has been the mission of the Emperor Francis Joseph? This question admits of a very definite answer.

During a period extending into the eighteenth century, Austria, like Prussia, was a conglomerate of loosely connected states. These so-

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called territorial states had been formed by the sovereign princes, by uniting the feudal possessions with the mediæval municipalities. Under the Habsburg dynasty five groups of these lands, or states, were united under one sceptre: (1) The crown lands of St. Stephen, *i.e.*, Hungary, with the neighboring states of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, and the military border-lands; (2) the crown lands of Wenceslaus, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; (3) the two grand-duchies of Upper and Lower Austria (including Vienna), the Alpine lands of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and the maritime district bordering on the Adriatic (Triest)—all which are sometimes called the crown lands of Central Austria (Inneroesterreich), and, like the provinces of Tyrol and Vorarlberg, are inhabited principally by Germans; (4) the Austrian possessions in Italy; and (5) the Austrian possessions in the southwestern part of the old German Empire (Vorderoesterreich). At the time of which I speak, the Netherlands had already been lost to the Empire. In consequence also of the numerous wars with France, and the Seven Years' War with Prussia, certain other possessions (Silesia, for instance) had been wrested from the Empire. In compensation for these losses, however, Austria gradually gained possession of other territories: viz., Galicia, on the partition of Poland; Dalmatia, on the dissolution of the Venetian Republic; and Salzburg, by Act of the Vienna Congress.

The first-mentioned territories had really been independent lands or kingdoms. The connection between them lay in the so-called *Personalunion* (personal union), *i.e.*, in the fact that the crowned head of Habsburg was not only Emperor-elect of Germany, but also King of Hungary and of Bohemia, Margrave of Moravia, Archduke, Prince, and Count of the remaining lands. At this time unity of government, administration, and representation did not exist: the Empire of the Habsburgs was merely a medley of the most heterogeneous territories. Whenever matters of national importance were to be transacted—as, for instance, the furnishing of money and men to repel the invasions of the Turks—the individual states sent their accredited representatives (members of the nobility, the clergy, and the municipal magistracy) to negotiate with the sovereign head of the nation.

This territorial form of government of the Habsburg monarchy had already become antiquated toward the close of the seventeenth century. As the sovereign princes had once formed these crown lands by uniting the feudal possessions with the mediæval municipalities, so, from about the beginning of the eighteenth century, these territorial states them-

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selves were to be welded into a still more comprehensive union, viz., the modern state. A firmly established government, a homogeneous system of administration, and popular representation now became imperative, in order that the modern demands of military defence and commercial intercourse might be fulfilled: in other words, the conditions in Austria pointed to the advent of the modern European state. The *ancien régime* had not become obsolete in France alone. By the time that the great French Revolution had completely obliterated the remnants of the old territorial system of France, the foundations of the modern state had already been laid in Austria-Hungary (during the reign of Maria Theresa), and the struggle between the principle of national union and ancient territorial independence had already been inaugurated.

The work of reconstruction, however, was necessarily slow; for it was conducted by an absolute government and a bureaucracy that wore the unmistakable red-and-yellow livery of the house of Habsburg. The autonomy of the territories, as well as the administration of local affairs, remained in the hands of the nobility, the municipal magistracy, the prince-bishops, the abbots, and the landed proprietors generally. A great body of citizens composed of the commonalty, with right of suffrage and representation, did not yet exist. It was not until the outbreak of the revolution of 1848 that Austria was confronted by the stern mandate of history to break entirely with the *ancien régime*, and to complete the modern state.

The foregoing historical survey not only enables us to form a conception of the task allotted to the present Emperor, but also serves to show that the recent political tangles, the conflict over the German and Czech languages, as well as the fourth compromise with Hungary regarding the "Quota," are merely dark phases of that great and laborious process, the development of the modern constitutional state. It was therefore a twofold problem which was to be solved under the Emperor Francis Joseph: (1) A uniform and equably distributed system of government, legislation, and administration was to be devised, not only for the Empire as a whole (the Federal Government), but also for the separate crown lands, the districts, and the boroughs; and (2) an equable system of constitutional representation was to be established throughout all the subdivisions of the Empire. In short, the principles and institutions of modern constitutionalism were to be thoroughly applied. Such was the colossal twofold task that history had assigned to the present Emperor.

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The solution of this problem, however, owing to the diversity of creed, nationality, and language, was attended with far greater difficulties in Austria-Hungary than elsewhere. These difficulties were increased by the circumstance that the leadership, both in the German Confederation and in Italy, had been intrusted by the Vienna Congress to the house of Habsburg; thus shifting the political centre of gravity, which should have remained within the Empire itself. Instead of diminishing since 1860, the trials amid which Austria has had to pursue her mission have greatly increased, owing to the inroads of democracy. The democratic movement, in its triumphal march through Central and Northern Europe, also gained a firm foothold in Austria. This was recently demonstrated by the fact that the representatives of universal suffrage captured seventy-two seats in the Vienna Diet. Indeed, democracy has already made its appearance before the barred gates of the Hungarian Reichstag, and is impatiently rapping for admission to those hitherto exclusive precincts of the nobility and gentry of Hungary. Notwithstanding these serious obstacles, however, Francis Joseph has pursued his task with indefatigable industry, inexhaustible patience, and unremitting tenacity.

The development of the modern state in Austria dates from 1848—a period of fifty years. It is true that within this period, Austria, everywhere hampered by serious obstacles, has been outstripped by several neighboring states. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that great portions of the colossal work have been completed. A brief *résumé* of the political events from 1850 to 1860, *i.e.*, during the absolutism of the Schwarzenberg *régime*, and from 1860 to 1898, the constitutional epoch, will, I think, confirm the correctness of the above assertion.

Austria was in a position of extreme danger when, on December 2, 1848, the youthful prince, now our venerable Emperor, grasped the reins of government. These had been placed in his hands by that energetic and talented prince, Felix Schwarzenberg, who had induced the Emperor Ferdinand to resign, and persuaded the next of kin (the father of the present Emperor) to renounce his title to the throne. Lombardy had been lost; and Austria's position in Germany had been endangered by the parliaments at Frankfort and Erfurt. Hungary was in a state of revolution; and the worst was to be feared from her parliament at Debreczin. The Austrian Diet, opened at Vienna in July, 1848, was a picture of confusion. The first attempt to organize Austria as a constitutional state—an attempt brought about by the March revolution—had plainly been a failure. The revolution had been attended with

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considerable bloodshed at Prague and Vienna; while the Hungarian insurgents, who had advanced to the very gates of Vienna, had to be driven back across the Leitha. The Emperor Ferdinand was forced to flee to the Moravian fortress, Olmütz. The seat of the Radical parliament had been transferred from Vienna to the little Moravian town, Kremsier. The Empire was bathed in blood; and the finances were shattered. For a time it appeared that the house of Habsburg had lost everywhere—in Italy, Germany, Hungary, and Austria. The situation was well expressed in the eulogistic words of the poet Grillparzer on Gen. Radetzky: "Austria was nowhere safe in your camp"; and even Radetzky had been driven out of Lombardy, to seek refuge behind the walls of Verona.

In less than three years, however, all this was changed, as if by magic, owing to the victories of Radetzky, the stand of the Czar against the Magyars, and the superior statesmanship of Prince Schwarzenberg. Prince Schwarzenberg was a profound diplomat, possessing an extraordinary knowledge of men and affairs. He successfully overcame all opposition, triumphed over Sardinia, Prussia, England, and Turkey, and over the parliaments at Frankfort, Erfurt, Kremsier, and Debreczin. In 1851 the majority of the Italian and German states were allies of Austria. Her military camps extended from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. On the day of Olmütz, Prussia returned to the German Confederation; while the entrance of Austria into the German Customs Union was assured.

Far greater than these, however, were the achievements of Schwarzenberg in connection with the perfection of the modern system of internal administration. Although the bluest blood of the Bohemian aristocracy flowed in his veins, he stubbornly opposed all the attempts of the nobility to reinstate the *ancien réyime*. It is necessary to mention, however, that in his work of levelling, Schwarzenberg was ably supported by several statesmen of great intelligence and superior knowledge, foremost among whom were Stadion, Bach, and Bruck. These were the men who, upon the early death of Schwarzenberg in 1852, carried on the work which their leader had so admirably inaugurated,—the work of sweeping away all the vestiges of an obsolete system of government, and of removing the *débris* left by the revolution. The ground upon which the fabric of the modern state was to be reared had now been levelled. At the close of the decade just mentioned, there was but one ministry, one homogeneous system of government in all the crown lands, one civil law, one penal code, one mode of judicial procedure, one postal-telegraph

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and railway system, one system of taxation, one tobacco monopoly, one customs frontier, and one official language for every part of the Empire —the German. Even the large crown lands were broken up into governmental departments, and formed into provinces under the rule of a governor,—provinces of the size and importance of French prefectures. Every province of the Empire was deprived of its historico-political individuality, of its ancient territorial character. The privileges of the established classes were abolished, as were the tributes which these classes had been accustomed to levy upon the peasantry.

All these changes were devised in order to obliterate all lines of demarcation, so that in time a Hungary, a Bohemia, and a Galicia would cease to exist. This was purest absolutism, the extreme of centralized government. It was, however, the modern state without a popular representative body, but entirely free from every vestige of the *ancien régime*. The labor involved was colossal. This is proved by the eminent statistician of the time, Von Czornig, whose well-known work, "Die Neugestaltung Oesterreichs" (The Reconstruction of Austria), may be read to advantage even at the present day.

Since the time above referred to the innovations effected by Schwarzenberg and Bach as regards the equalization of government have remained materially unchanged. Absolutism, however, could not endure. Austria had incurred the enmity of Italy and Prussia, and, by reason of her attitude of armed neutrality during the Crimean War, that of Russia as well. The movement in favor of a united Italy and a united Germany proceeded, despite the efforts of Austria to thwart it. Within the Austrian monarchy itself the angry mutterings of the entire nation began to be heard. Schwarzenberg was mistaken, if he believed that the national pride of two powerful neighboring states might be offended with impunity, and that the citizens of his own land might be governed with a corporal's *bâton*, a fiddle, and an inkstand. This system was peculiar to the school of centralized government at Vienna—a school which had existed since the days of Maria Theresa. The officials sent out from this school, and denominated "Bach Hussars," were scarcely less offensive to the Austrians than to the Magyars.

Nothing, however, so thoroughly reveals defects in the internal government of a country as a foreign war. This truth Austria was soon destined to realize; for within a few years she became involved in two wars—one with France in 1859, and one with Prussia in 1866. As a result of these wars Austria lost her political *prestige* in Germany and Italy. Simultaneously with these events, however, the Schwarzenberg

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system was overthrown in Austria and Hungary in 1860 and 1867, respectively. By a decree issued October 20, 1860, and by an Act promulgated four months later (February 26, 1861), the Emperor granted a constitution to all the non-Hungarian crown lands of the Empire. The Hungarians received one in 1867. Since these events constitutional government has existed in every part of the monarchy.

During the second period of the reign of Francis Joseph, the principle of centralized power did not entirely disappear; nor was the independence of the several states in internal affairs entirely secured. In the *Ausgleich* (compromise) effected between Austria and Hungary in 1867, both subdivisions of the Empire decided to act in common in all matters relating to diplomacy, the standing army, and the navy. For this purpose three departments were organized, devoted respectively to war, finance, and foreign affairs. Two joint commissions, acting under the name of "delegations," are appointed to regulate mutual expenses and to control the government and administration of imperial affairs. These delegations, each consisting of sixty members, are recruited from the Imperial Council at Vienna (created in 1861) and the reconstructed Hungarian Parliament, respectively. All communication between these parties is carried on in writing (the so-called "Nuntium"); and no measure can be passed without a joint agreement. These delegations hold two conventions annually, one at Vienna and one at Budapest; and their proceedings have hitherto been conducted in a dignified, patriotic, and statesmanlike manner. Although the Imperial Minister of Finance exercises no control over the independent revenues of Austria and Hungary, he, nevertheless, receives all the tariff duties collected throughout the Empire; while the means for all disbursements in excess of the amount thus collected are supplied from the central national funds of Austria and Hungary, respectively. At present the two divisions of the Empire contribute in the proportion of 70 to 30 per cent. Thus we see what is meant by the term "Quota," so frequently employed in connection with this subject. This "Quota" is determined for a period of ten years only; and a term has recently expired. Should the governments and parliaments at Vienna and Budapest fail to arrive at an agreement for the ensuing decade, the Emperor will assume the provisional control of the finances for one year.

Besides the loose federalism which has been maintained between Austria and Hungary, each of these countries has a strong, central, federal government of its own, founded upon the idea of unity established during the Schwarzenberg decade of absolutism. All matters of importance to

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each half of the Empire are conducted independently by the respective ministries and parliaments at Vienna and Budapest. In this way Austria-Hungary has become a dual empire, held together by a few links necessary to imperial unity.

Despite this dualism, however, it has been possible to secure a certain uniformity of system in each subdivision of the Empire in matters other than those already mentioned. I refer to those dealt with by the so-called "Zoll- und Handelsbündniss" ("Commercial and Tariff Union"), which stipulates that the following departments are to be conducted upon the same principles in both parts of the Empire: (1) The Department of Customs—there is to be but one tariff frontier for the entire Empire; (2) the Departments of Commerce and Shipping; (3) the Departments of Coinage, Paper-Money, Weights, and Measures; (4) the Railway, Postal, and Telegraph systems. While unity in these matters was destroyed by the "Compromise," homogeneity has been preserved. This homogeneity is, however, of a very precarious nature; for the Commercial and Tariff Union is formed for a period of ten years only. Unless renewed at the end of that time its conditions are no longer binding, and can be upheld only by the tacit consent of both governments and parliaments of the dual Empire. In these matters, the Emperor is not, as in the case of the "Quota," empowered to exercise a provisional control. The Union has twice been renewed,—on January 1, 1878, and on January 1, 1888, respectively. No agreement, however, was reached on January 1, 1898; consequently, the homogeneity in commercial and tariff regulations, although still existing in fact, is at present entirely unsupported by law.

Both Austria and Hungary—more particularly the latter—are so deeply interested in the maintenance of the Commercial Union, however, that it is scarcely necessary to take a pessimistic view of the present situation. It is true that the Hungarian Autonomists, under the leadership of the younger Kossuth, have recently threatened to establish an independent tariff-frontier for Hungary; in which case the old boundary posts, which fifty years ago extended from Czernowitz to Triest, would once more have to be erected. Such a contingency, however, is extremely doubtful.

It is unnecessary to attach too great an importance to such questions as the "Quota" and the renewal of the Commercial and Tariff Union. As regards the renewal of the "Quota," I consider a modification in the ratio of 36–38 to 64–62 as perfectly equitable to both sections of the Empire.

ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE.

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THE PEOPLE OF HAWAII.

EVERY man has the right to choose his companions; and the fact that his neighbor is not thus chosen does not in itself give that neighbor just cause for complaint. But when, in declining his companionship, a man declares another unfit company for a gentleman, the latter may feel that failure to resent it with proper spirit would be almost equivalent to an admission that the imputation was just. Somewhat similar to this is the position in which the people of Hawaii are placed by certain creators of public sentiment in America.

Hawaii, through her Government, has solicited the privilege of becoming a part of the United States. This proposition has provoked much discussion, both among Americans and among the people of other countries. A great part of this has been temperate and thoughtful. Reasons for and against the annexation of Hawaii have been properly presented. In the course of the controversy many important questions of policy and principle have been raised. The people of Hawaii have neither the right nor the inclination to object to full and free discussion of the matter in all its bearings; and what the final decision will be it is the province of the American people to determine. If the people of the United States, through their chosen representatives, decide against annexing Hawaii, that fact alone will give no one a right to complain. But those public speakers and writers who would spurn us as unfit for, or unworthy of, the citizenship and companionship of the free, enlightened, and highly civilized American people compel us to resent their aspersions; and it is to answer them that I take up my pen. I am not writing in favor of, nor against, annexation, and am under no obligation to make my arguments such as will serve any ends but those of truth.

Perhaps no one class of the people of Hawaii has been more persistently misrepresented and misunderstood than the aboriginal race. Even the degradation in which they were found by their European discoverers, real though it was, has been persistently and greatly exaggerated. They were not cannibals; they did not kill Capt. Cook in an unprovoked attack, nor without justification from their point of view; and they did not dispose of his body according to cannibal custom. They

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despised cannibalism as sincerely as do the American people to-day. They were passive, without very definite moral standards, bound only by superstitions, childlike, kindly disposed, and, therefore, too easily influenced and led. Their early contact with Europeans and Americans resulted in financial advantage to the foreigners and in moral degradation to all concerned. It threatened to prove fatal to the whole Hawaiian people. But in the course of time there came to these shores from New England and other Eastern States a band of men and women as noble and well-nigh as heroic as those who, two centuries earlier, crossing the wintry seas and landing upon the snow-clad and inhospitable shores of Massachusetts,

> ". . . shook the depths of the desert gloom
> With their hymns of lofty cheer."

They found only a remnant of the population reported by the early discoverers; and, with the proverbial zeal of missionaries, they set about saving that remnant. The same race-characteristics which had made them an easy prey to evil influences now made them especially susceptible to the good.

The story of the sudden conversion of the whole people to Christianity is familiar. But it is not so well known, perhaps, that, within a decade of the landing of the first missionaries, the language was reduced to written form, and a large percentage of the people was able to read and write. It is not so well known as it ought to be that educational interest at that time ran higher here than in the proud State of Massachusetts. It is not fairly recognized in America that the grandparents of the present generation of Hawaiians were literate Christians. It is, perhaps, hardly known that a large percentage of the present generation of Hawaiians read and write the English language in addition to their own, nor that English is now the language of all the schools. I may perhaps be pardoned the introduction of personal testimony.

When first I came among the Hawaiian people, I was surprised to find the school-children able to put to shame, with their knowledge of Garfield, Grant, Lincoln, Washington, Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Bismarck, "Unser Fritz," Nelson, and Napoleon, the American school-children with whom I had come in contact. Although the Hawaiian press has deteriorated somewhat since that time, Hawaiian newspapers still give a greater amount of news from foreign lands than would be appreciated by the readers of American country newspapers. Our statistics of literacy are liable to give a false impression, since they include all persons over six years of age. But it is as rare an occurrence to find an illiterate adult

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Hawaiian in Hawaii as it is to find an illiterate adult American in the most favored State in the Union; and such has been the case for a generation. Yet these are the people who must bear the brunt of the malice or ignorance of cartoonists and writers, who think it funny to caricature them as ridiculous savages.

The remarkable industrial development of this country under the stimulus of the Reciprocity treaty with the United States, coupled with the decline of the native population, made it evident some eighteen years ago that large additions must be made to the permanent population of the country. The immediate demand was for plantation-laborers; but, unwilling to leave so important a matter as the repeopling of the land in the hands of any one class of the community, the Government took up the question. After much thought, careful investigation, and negotiation with other governments, it was decided to encourage and assist the immigration of Portuguese from the Azores and other neighboring islands. In the course of a few years eleven thousand of these people were thus assisted into the country. As plantation-laborers they were entirely satisfactory. They were industrious, thrifty, and law-abiding. Naturally they have now almost ceased to do the work of plantation-laborers. They are teamsters, mechanics, overseers of labor, merchants, and landed proprietors. As teamsters and overseers they are still found in considerable numbers on the plantations. They have teams of their own in many cases, do teaming for hire, and take contracts for public and other works. As carpenters and blacksmiths they ply their trade in the usual manner of agricultural communities; and their stonecutters' skill has done much to popularize and develop the trade in the beautiful building-stone now used in Honolulu's finest buildings. As merchants they do not often carry on large business enterprises; and they seldom have business in the bankruptcy courts. A few of them own stock-ranches of considerable size; but the majority of the landowners take to the "little farm well tilled." They are famous as fruit-growers, and noted for their skill in making small pieces of land produce large returns. Nearly all the original labor-contracts expired ten years ago; and few laborers are now working under new contracts. They are perfectly free to go to whatever land seems to them best. Many have gone to California; and many others have returned to Portugal. The total immigration of Portuguese, up to the present time, has been 11,760. The Census of 1896 showed the number of Portuguese in the Islands to be 15,191.

About the time this immigration began, the mine-owners of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and some other States found themselves, like

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the planters of Hawaii, in need of laborers. Far from assisting and directing the importation of laborers, the Government of the United States forbade such immigration. In spite of the law, however, laborers were recruited from Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and other parts of Europe. Can an account such as that just given of our Portuguese be truthfully given of similar additions to the population of the United States? The reports in the American newspapers give one the impression that it cannot. Our Portuguese are not noted for scholarship; neither are the Portuguese immigrants into the United States. Our Portuguese *are* noted for the small percentage who get into misunderstanding with the law, and appear in the police courts. Is such the case with the Italians, Huns, Poles, and Bohemians above referred to? If so, it is unfortunate that the American newspapers associate these names so much with lawlessness and violence.

Our Chinese population is held, and with some degree of justice, to be an objectionable element. But it must be borne in mind that Chinamen are not all of one type. Among them we have coolies and college men. As a whole they are law-abiding and peaceable. It is true a good many of them are convicted of offences against our opium laws, which forbid alike the opium trade, the use of opium, and the possession of opium. They also offend against our laws in the matter of gambling. But of the more heinous offences they commit no unusual percentage. We certainly had a kind of "highbinder" society here a few years ago (imported from California, if I remember aright); and, while it flourished, murders were numerous. But when, in the course of the even administration of the law, the head of the society and a few of his subordinates were hanged, the society was broken up; and the criminal element in our Chinese population, which it represented, was brought into due subjection to the law. Judging by what I see in the California newspapers, so much cannot be said of the success of the law in dealing with this class of Chinamen in that State. And it is the general testimony of those Californians who are in a position to judge intelligently of the matter, that our Chinese population is far superior in quality to that of their own State. It is certain that Chinamen from California bear among us the reputation of being the worst of their race. So, it is perhaps safe to say, that the worst California has to fear from this class of our population is that she may receive back her own. If Senator White[1] finds any consolation in this thought he is welcome to it.

[1] See "The Proposed Annexation of Hawaii," by Senator STEPHEN M. WHITE in THE FORUM for August, 1897.

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Our Chinese are industrious and thrifty,—too industrious and too thrifty. They have too little ambition. They work harder and live worse than any human being ought. It is impossible for Americans to compete with them without working like slaves and living like beggars. The same is true of the Chinese of California.

Our Japanese population has caused some public men of America great anxiety. They are objectionable. Let the truth be stated frankly. The objection to them, however, is not that they are Japanese, but that so large a percentage of them is of the lower classes. They are not good representatives of the intelligence and the culture of the Empire of the Rising Sun. Have not similar complaints against the immigrants coming into the United States from Europe resounded for the past twenty years? And are not such complaints well founded? The Japanese are reasonably industrious and well-disposed. As a class they are law-abiding; though individuals of this nationality commit a fair percentage of our crimes. Yet the officers of the law have never encountered any serious resistance to their authority at the hands of the Japanese. Sudden outbursts of temper have caused a number of them to commit the most serious crimes during the past year. These crimes have been directed against their own countrymen, and in most instances have been attributable to the disparity of the sexes; there being four times as many men as women. In all such cases the law takes its even course; being scarcely resisted by the criminal himself, and never meeting with any organized resistance on the part of the Japanese. There is no *mafia* among them.

But wherein is the occasion for so much anxiety on the part of Americans concerning our Japanese people? It seems to be assumed on the part of some that, in the event of annexation, our Japanese will all flock to California. Why, then, are they not doing so now? And why have they not been doing so for the past ten years? Large numbers of them have been perfectly free to do so, so far as the laws of the two countries are concerned. In the event of annexation they will not be freer to go. Yet they have not gone in any great numbers. The fact is, that they have the intelligence to appreciate a good thing while they have it. And it is safe to say that in case of annexation they will not all lose their heads, though the example may be set them by those who claim to be their betters.

Americans, British, Germans, and Norwegians constitute essentially the remainder of the population. They are classed together in Hawaii, and may as well be so classed for the purposes of this article.

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Altogether they constitute a little community of some 7,000 men, women, and children, in a region essentially agricultural. Of these some 2,200 are of Island birth. I speak of this class of our population with reserve. Yet a number of representatives of this little community have received flattering recognition abroad; and I may perhaps be excused if I recall a few instances.

In those dark days of civil strife in the early sixties, there was in one of the American colleges a student, a son of fair Hawaii, who, obeying the dictates of his conscience, gave up his college course to join in the vigorous prosecution of the war, that the Union might be preserved. Becoming a commander of negro troops at a time when such commands were not sought after by either regular or volunteer officers, he soon rose to the rank of brigadier-general. When victory and peace came, he joined as earnestly and fearlessly in the "vigorous prosecution of the peace," that the Union might be preserved. He founded Hampton Institute, and spent the remainder of his life educating the head, the heart, and the hands of those who, through no fault of their own, were totally unfit for their new domestic, civic, and industrial conditions and duties. Of his success and of the thousands of American homes that are more enlightened, more comfortable, more civilized, more Christian, happier, and better for his unselfish and noble life-work, it is not for me to speak. Are not all these things written in the hearts of the American people? As far as one nation can give its citizens to another, Gen. Samuel C. Armstrong was the gift of Hawaii to America.

Sons of Hawaii have taken enviable positions in the medical and legal professions in the city of Chicago, and in literature in the city of New York. Gulick's contributions to the doctrine of Evolution were enough to give him high rank among the world's great thinkers. Less than a year ago one of the largest firms of manufacturing pharmacists in the United States sent to Hawaii for one of her sons to take charge of its laboratories. Yet this country has sent few representatives abroad; the majority of those who have experienced its charms preferring to end their days here, even though by remaining they have, to a great extent, cut themselves off from the outside world. From this isolated retreat, however, they have been heard with appreciation. When the red sunsets, or after-glows, of 1883 attracted so much attention, and aroused so much wonder throughout the world, it was a native of Hawaii, of American descent, who offered to the scientific world the first satisfactory explanation of the phenomena. When one of the noted American astronomical foundations offered two prizes for the best essays on the subject, one of those

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prizes came to Hawaii; and the writer of that prize essay received even more flattering recognition in Europe than in America, as the term, "Bishop's rings," occurring in French scientific literature, attests. Fornander's "Polynesian Race" holds much the same position in the literature of Polynesian ethnology that Webster's "Dictionary" does in English lexicography. Judge Fornander did pioneer work; and his books were long recognized as of the very highest authority. Of late years the critics have taken to the practice of finding fault with this work; but they have not yet taken to the practice of writing better. Green's "Vestiges of the Molten Globe" attracted much attention, and called forth many favorable comments from European geologists. Both these writers spent their mature years in Hawaii. Notable minor contributions to the literature of science have been made in recent times by some of our younger men. Law literature also has been enriched by recent contributions from Hawaii. The degree of LL.D. has been conferred upon the Chief Justice of our Supreme Court by Yale University; and the same degree has been conferred upon our President by an almost equally high authority. All this is a showing made by a little community of seven thousand in an agricultural region.

It has been regarded by some as a suspicious circumstance that this part of our population has taken a very prominent part in the industrial and political development of the country. Considering the success of those of its members who have chosen other walks of life, what should be expected of those who devote themselves to the development of material resources in an undeveloped land, and to affairs of state in a state just emerging from primitive rudeness? There is nothing here to be explained. Yet, because that has come to pass which every reasonable man in full possession of the facts would have expected to come to pass, reputable papers have lent their columns to the misrepresentation of the men at the head of our great industrial organizations and of our Government as adventurers, filibusters, and brigands.

Mr. Reed says that our people are different from the American people. To this impeachment we must in some measure plead guilty. As a whole, our people are law-abiding. This is not saying that our laws are not broken. Of course they are broken; and they will continue to be broken so long as we continue to need laws. But all elements of our population acquiesce in the even administration of justice by our regularly constituted courts of law and equity. Lynchings are defended by the inhabitants of certain regions in the United States on the ground of their necessity. Of this I have nothing to say. I am not a judge of

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the necessities of the different localities in America; but I can say that we have no need to resort to such undesirable expedients in the name of justice. Men sleep in safety of property and person in houses unlocked; and women travel unattended and without fear in every district of the Islands. Perhaps these also are points of difference.

We have socialists and reformers, who find fault with our industrial and social organization. They point out the fact that we have trusts and syndicates that are able practically to traffic in the rights and interests of their fellow-men. Yet this will hardly be claimed as a point of difference. The same is doubly true of America. But we have neither almshouses nor mendicants; and there is nothing in our population to correspond with the tramp or the "beat." Here seems to be a genuine difference.

Our educational system is somewhat more comprehensive, the annual term is somewhat longer, the attendance at school is somewhat better, and the ability to read and write is somewhat more general among our native-born population than is the case in the average agricultural community in America. And the contributions of our people to the scientific and polite literature of the day are more liberal than those of the average of similarly circumstanced American communities.[1]

In calling attention to these points of difference it is not the purpose to intimate that there may not be something of value to the American people in Mr. Reed's argument; but it *is* the purpose to call attention to the fact that *different* does not always mean *worse*, and to claim that there are points of difference which are in our favor. And I contend that in this brief paper attention has been called to enough of them to justify us in asking for a more respectful hearing than we have thus far been accorded in many quarters.

Again, our Census figures have been taken as indicating that we have become "Asiaticized"; and they certainly do indicate a serious state of affairs. On the other hand, our latest educational statistics show that 54 per cent of all the pupils attending school are Hawaiians, that 34 per cent are of the white races, and that only 11 per cent are Asiatics; while of the teaching-force, 50 per cent are Americans, 24 per cent are Hawaiians, 13 per cent are British, 10 per cent are of other European nationalities, and only 3 per cent are Asiatics. Note well that Christian civilization still holds the key of the future in Hawaii!

HENRY SCHULER TOWNSEND.

[1] An article by Mr. TOWNSEND on "Education in Hawaii" appeared in THE FORUM for January, 1898.—ED.

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THE DEPRESSION IN THE COTTON INDUSTRY: A REMEDY.

"WHAT will be the future of our cotton industry in the United States?" is a question that, more than any other, is agitating the minds of the business men of this country, especially those of New England. That the cotton industry has been depressed for some time cannot be denied; and that the last year has been the most disastrous to the cotton-manufacturers of New England, is well known. There has been a universal cut in wages of operatives; and, as a result, strikes have occurred in many of our large cotton centres, which have brought not only disaster to the manufacturers, but poverty and suffering to thousands of men, women, and children, and a consequent depression in all classes of business in every part of New England. There is a cause for this; and if we will intelligently apply the remedy, we may again see our cotton industry prosperous, and the many who are idle to-day earning a competency in the only channel of labor open to them.

What is the cause of this depression in the cotton districts? I believe the question can be answered in a single sentence: Over-production for the market now open to us. For the last thirty years, the policy of our people has been to retain our home market; and the whole energy of the Government has been directed to that end, under a constant pressure from the manufacturing interests. Possibly this may have been wise, to a certain extent; and while the country was comparatively new, and manufacturing undeveloped, the policy of protecting our home market was no doubt profitable to the business interests of the country.

At the close of the Rebellion, the principal manufactories of textile fabrics were confined to the East, and largely to New England. The great West was undeveloped; the "Great American Desert" was still on our maps; and the Rocky Mountains had been crossed by emigrants only.

The abolition of slavery, and the wonderful resources of our country, as developed by four years of war, attracted the attention of the world; European capital sought investments among us; railroads were constructed across the continent; cities sprang up in every part of the great West; and millions of emigrants from the Old World sought our

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shores and were welcomed, because we needed them to assist us in the onward march of improvement and in the development of our resources.

This development of the West called for a like development of manufacturing in the East; mills sprang up, and the sound of the loom was heard in every city and village; high wages were paid for labor; large dividends were paid on invested capital; and the country had a period of prosperity unprecedented in the history of nations. But such prosperity could not last. In the rush for wealth our people did not think of this. Our manufacturers did not look beyond to the time when the country should be covered with railroads, when cities and villages should be found in every part of the States, when our agricultural output should be excessive, and when outside competition should reduce prices almost to the point of prohibiting production; nor to the time when the peoples of the Old World would cease to seek our shores for lack of opportunity to better their condition.

During the period of prosperity cotton-mills were being erected, and the output increased every year, so that now, were the cotton-mills of the country run to their full capacity, six or seven months' work would suffice to supply all the goods we can consume in a year. As a result of all our activity the market is overstocked. During the time of our prosperity we were not cultivating a foreign market, but were catering for the home market; and now, when our production has reached twice the amount of our consumption, we have no market for our surplus. Depression is inevitable.

It is patent to every intelligent observer that, unless we can develop a wider market for our cotton goods, it will be impossible for the manufacturers of this country to keep their looms constantly employed. The result will be many idle operatives, and, consequently, a decreased consuming power; which latter condition will necessarily affect every part of the business world.

It is claimed by some that the cause of depression in the cotton industry of New England is the cheaper labor and the greater number of working-hours in the cotton-mills of the South. This may add to the cause of the present unfavorable conditions; but the suggestion of some Members of Congress, that there should be national legislation regulating the hours of labor in all the States, is not the true remedy. An investigation will show that there is a large difference in wages paid in the several States of the Union; and, if the hours of labor should be regulated by Congress, it would be equally important to regulate the wages of the employed.

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It will be a sad day for this country when the Protection idea is carried to the extent of "protecting" the interests of one section from the competition of other sections.

The whole question of the future prosperity of our cotton-mills hinges on the problem of a wider market for our goods. How shall this be obtained? By taking, it seems to me, what naturally belongs to us,—our fair share of the trade of South America. Can this be accomplished? Certainly; if in seeking it our people will manifest the same business tact that they do in their business relations with the people of our own country. Take, for instance, the Republic of Colombia,—one of the richest undeveloped territories on the western continent. There is at the present time in this republic a population of 5,000,000. Except in the high mountain districts, the people wear cotton goods almost entirely. From New York to the principal port of the mainland of Colombia the distance is 2,000 miles. By the present line of steamers sailing between these ports, *via* Jamaica, the passage takes nine days; fifteen days are required by the English line of steamers between Liverpool and Colombia; and eighteen days may be reckoned upon for the German line. The shorter distance and quicker time of the American line should give us the advantage in trade. Yet in 1893 the exports by the principal countries trading with Colombia were as follows: France, $7,394,000; Germany, $1,315,000; Great Britain, $4,908,000; United States, $3,156,000.

Of the exports of Great Britain to Colombia, more than one-half consisted of cotton goods, amounting to $2,700,000; while the cotton goods exported to that republic by us amounted to $301,690 only.

During a residence of four years in Colombia, I endeavored to discover the cause of our small cotton trade with that country. In Bogota, the capital, you enter a mercantile house to buy a piece of cotton goods; and the merchant will place on the counter three pieces, of 18 yards, 24 yards and 30 yards, respectively. If you ask him for a piece of 45 or 50 yards, he will tell you that the trade does not call for cloth in longer pieces than 30 yards. Our manufacturers cut their cloth in longer pieces for the home market; yet they cannot supply the South-American trade with the desired lengths.

Ask the merchant why he does not buy his cotton goods in the United States, and he will tell you that he would be delighted to sell American cottons because they are so much superior to the cottons he has for sale, but that they are too good for the people, who want cheaper goods. These cheaper goods can be bought in the English markets.

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Besides, the Americans do not cut their goods in the desired lengths; they do not pack them properly for transport across the mountains on a mule's back; they make the bundles too large; they do not protect them properly from the rains; and the goods arrive damaged.

A merchant who did a large wholesale business in Colombia asked me why he could not buy goods in America as profitably as in England. I asked him to be more explicit. He said: "I find I can buy prints (calicoes) in the United States as cheaply as I can in England; and they are much superior in style and quality. I ordered from a wholesale house in New York 1,500 pieces, of thirty yards each. It required two months to get a reply; and then the merchant informed me that he could not fill my order, because prints were not made in 30-yard pieces, in the United States; adding that if I would accept 45 yards in a piece, he would be happy to fill my order at once. The market here calls for 30 yards. I was obliged, on account of delay, to cable my order to England." In reply I could tell him only that our people had but little trade with his country, and that they did not understand the demands of his market. Thus the merchant was forced to trade with England, although he would have preferred to trade with us.

I have seen in a single store fifty packages of American cottons that had been ruined in transportation over the mountains. These goods were sold at auction for what they would bring; and the insurance company paid the balance. Thus, while the merchant was reimbursed for his losses on his goods, he lost the profit on the sale of them in his store. He said to me: "I cannot buy American goods until Americans learn to wrap them properly." Our merchants and manufacturers must learn such things, and cater to the demands and conditions of the trade, if they wish to sell to these people.

What is true of Colombia is true of Chile also. In 1894, the latest obtainable figures, England furnished seven-eighths of the cotton imported by the latter country. In 1896 the exports of cotton goods to Chile from the United States amounted to $684,000 only. America should at least divide this trade equally with England.

From Brazil, in eleven years,—1885 to 1895 inclusive,—we imported raw material to the value of $749,835,134; while our exports to Brazil amounted to $119,645,230 only. Thus the balance of trade against us was $630,189,904 gold.

On comparing Brazil's trade with different countries we find that nearly all the balance against us was expended in Europe for merchandise, a great portion of which might have been furnished by the United

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States. During the eleven years in question we sold to Brazil cotton goods to the value of $9,000,000 only; while England sold that country $150,000,000, France $22,000,000, and Germany $35,000,000. We furnished only a little over 4 per cent of the cotton goods imported by Brazil; although, judging by a collection of 40,000 samples in the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, showing the style and quality of goods exported from Europe, our manufacturers might have competed successfully with 60 per cent of the total imported. These facts have been determined by a careful investigation of the samples by leading cotton-manufacturers of the United States. Had our cotton interests taken one-half of this trade the present depression would not have existed.

If we turn to Argentina, we find that the imports of cotton goods by that republic in 1895 amounted to 20,979,240 kilograms, of which the United States furnished only 253,383, or about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

These examples are sufficient to show that what our cotton interests need to-day is a wider market; and there is sufficient evidence to prove that this can be obtained on the western continent, at our very doors, simply by complying with the conditions of trade. We certainly can do this as well as England, Germany, or France.

There is some talk of concerted action to reduce the output of cotton goods. That of course means idleness, and further depression in the business world. A far more patriotic move on the part of our cotton-manufacturers would be, an endeavor to supply the markets that are open to them; thus giving bread to those who have helped to earn their dividends in the past. In order to secure this trade, there must be concerted action. The agents sent to those countries must be competent to study intelligently the wants of the people, the kind of goods desired, and the methods of packing suited to the different markets. Then goods must be manufactured in styles, length of pieces, and of quality to suit the trade. Agencies, with a large variety of samples always at hand, must be established in the business centres; and time must be given on goods sold, until they are delivered to the purchaser, instead of demanding cash on shipment of material that will not reach the purchaser till three or four months later. All these conditions are complied with by the foreigner; and our people have the capital as well as the enterprise to do the same thing. Moreover they will find their losses no greater than at home,—indeed, not so great.

The manufacturer must be satisfied with smaller dividends than in the past; remembering that all capital is earning smaller dividends than formerly.

LUTHER F. MCKINNEY.

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THE NATION'S RECORDS.

THE customary Bill for the erection of a Hall of Records has been introduced in the present session of Congress. In the last eighteen years no less than twenty-three similar Bills have been introduced—ten in the House, and thirteen in the Senate. All of them had the laudable purpose of providing a suitable building for the reception of the official archives of our Government; but all failed of this purpose, owing to Congressional indecision concerning the proposed site. As long ago as March, 1810, Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, reported to the House of Representatives the necessity for making some provision for the preservation of the nation's archives; commenting on their then confused and disordered state, and recommending fire-proof rooms for their protection.

In the meantime the Government of the United States pays larger printing-bills than does the Government of any other country. In 1800 the entire amount expended for Congressional printing did not exceed $4,000: recently there has been paid for one publication alone—the Eleventh Census—$15,000,000.

The liberality of our Government as a producer of books cannot be questioned. The results of the activity in the various scientific bureaus are promptly and fully given to the public in bulletins, reports, and circulars. The editions of these publications are enormous, when compared with private publications of a like nature. Their circulation is practically unrestricted. All Members of Congress are supplied gratuitously with regulated quotas which go to constituents. Libraries also are supplied gratuitously with copies; and here again a large public is served with them. England, on the contrary, announces on all her sale catalogues of official literature: "The official publications are *not* available for presentation to Free Libraries."

It is not as a producer of official volumes, but as a caretaker of them, as an archivist, that fault must be found with the United States Government; for, with all its liberality of publication and distribution, the greatest confusion prevails as regards compilation and preservation. The result of the various methods and combinations of methods of com-

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pilation has been described as nothing short of chaotic; and for anyone to attain to an understanding of the Government publications, as they exist to-day, it will be necessary for him first to divest his mind of any idea of sequence or symmetry. For one hundred and nine years every chief of a bureau and head of a department has been able to compile and edit and publish as he has seen fit, to call eight quarto books a volume, or an octavo of two hundred pages a circular, to expand and reduce *ad libitum* volumes from quartos to octavos and *vice versa*, to begin series, to discontinue series, and to change the names of series; and there has been no one to say him nay. There have been "annual" reports which have been issued at intervals of three years; and then, with a sudden acceleration of energy, three annual reports of two volumes each have appeared in one year! The confused results of such methods may be readily imagined, even by the unimaginative.

Not only have we been remiss in the methods of compilation, but we have also been deplorably careless in the preservation of our national records. Comparing ourselves in this regard with some European nations, we should have good cause to regret having appropriated the title, "a nation of bibliographers."

Although so young a nation,—only one hundred and nine years old,—yet have we no complete file of our publications, nor even a record of what constitutes such a file. The usual reason given for this is the fact that in 1814 the British burned what records we had. But what accounts for the fact that our records succeeding that date are scattered and incomplete?

France, in the very year of the institution of our Government, authorized the creation "d'un depôt pour toutes les pièces originales relatives à ses operations," and in the following August appointed its first archivist. At the present time the national archives of France are presided over by a *Garde générale*, appointed by the President, and twenty-eight assistants, two of whom are members of the Institute. The archives comprise not less than 90,000,000 "d'actes ou des titres, repartis dans environs 300,000 cartons, liasses, registres, et portefeuilles." These documents relate to the political, social, and ecclesiastical history of France; the oldest dating as far back as A.D. 625.

In addition to this bureau of national archives, there are three *Inspecteurs Généraux des Bibliothèques et des Archives*, and three commissions, viz.: *Commission des Archives départementales, communales, et hospitalières, Commission supérieure des Archives de la Marine;* and *Commission des Archives diplomatiques.*

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The *Commission des Archives départementales, communales, et hospitalières* consists of thirteen members; and one of its duties is to conduct the examinations of candidates for *Archivistes des Départements*, of whom there were in 1896 no less than eighty-seven. These departmental archivists collect and transcribe such documents in the district over which they preside as are of historical, ecclesiastical, or local interest, affix to the copies the Government seal, and deposit a calendar of the documents with the mayor of the district.

The *Commission supérieure des Archives de la Marine* was instituted by order of the President in April, 1883; and, as its title implies, it concerns itself with the archives of France bearing on the naval interests of that country. It consists of seventeen members, several of whom are members of the Institute. The Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale is a member of all these archivistic commissions.

The *Commissiond es Archives diplomatiques*, instituted by Decree of February, 1874, is subordinate to the *Ministre des Affaires étrangères*. It is made up of thirty-one members, comprising the Minister of Foreign Affairs, several senators, deputies, a member of the Academy, members of the Institute, the Director of the National Library, etc.

Holland, in 1856, issued a Decree defining the manner in which the royal archives were to be guarded. A main bureau was established at The Hague, which in 1897 employed eight persons. Each of twelve provinces maintains a bureau of provincial archives; the earliest having been established in 1877, and the most recent in 1895. Three persons form the maximum staff allotted to any one of these bureaus; the archivist, as in France, being a man of learning, and frequently a member of one of the highest orders of the kingdom.

The work of the Public Record Office of England, with its long series of invaluable publications, is well known to historians. It has not only furnished much of the material for our own historical literature, but has also served as a model for many of the historical enterprises of the various States of the Union. The influence of England has extended to her colonies; for in Canada, India, and Cape Colony we find archivistic research vigorously prosecuted.

While these and other countries have learned the wisdom of jealously caring for their official literature, the United States has not only failed to profit by their example, but has indifferently allowed year after year to pass by without taking any steps to protect her national archives from the ravages of time and vandals. In what other "nation of bibliographers" could such a document as the original manuscript of Webster's

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famous reply to Hayne, for instance, have found its way into the market, to be purchased, not by the Government, but by a public library?

It has always been supposed that the Congressional Library had a fine collection of our national literature. It is true that it has acquired from time to time much that is of great importance in this respect; but it is also true that no attempt has ever been made in the Library to collect systematically and arrange accessibly the various publications of our Government. This, however, was no function of the Congressional Library, which was established as a library for Congress, not as a repository of its archives. The first intimation of the latter intention on the part of Congress was the introduction in the Senate during the present session of a joint resolution providing for the removal of historical manuscripts from the departments to the Library of Congress.

For many years absolutely unrestricted access could be had to the original manuscript files of Presidents' Messages and other Executive documents. They were only nominally under the charge of an officer. It is small wonder therefore that, when the collection was recently placed under lock and key, some copies were found to be missing, and many others mutilated. The documents are still exposed to damp in their present quarters—an open room in the sub-cellar of the House-wing, opposite a boiler-room, with a wire grating for their only protection! The Senate has always retained supervision over such documents as emanated from or were related to itself, and has shown greater wisdom than the House in having suffered an exceptionally competent servant to remain uninterruptedly in office for many years. The Government has never passed a law fixing upon any person or office the duty of collecting and preserving the publications and records of Congress in any one place; consequently such scattered collections as exist to-day are the result largely of personal interest on the part of certain officials.

The first attempt toward such a collection was made in 1895, when the office of Superintendent of Public Documents was created under the Government Printing-Office. According to the last report of the Superintendent, the collection now numbers 16,841 printed documents and 2,597 maps. In its completeness, in preserving public papers of every kind, and every edition of the same, it is perhaps not rivalled by any other collection; although there are several which have more very old documents.

The interest in local history, which has been awakened in the last few years, has been fostered principally by the State and city historical societies. The work of these societies corresponds almost wholly to

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that done by the French departmental archivist; and, while the material which has been collected by our societies will be invaluable to the future historian, it cannot be denied that his researches will be impeded to the same extent that the fundamental factor in them, viz., the Government archives, have been allowed to become impoverished. It is generosity to say that there are few States to-day which command an unbroken file of their legislative proceedings in intelligently arranged form; yet such a possession would represent in each individual State a monument to posterity beside which structures of stone or metal would be as tinsel.

Undoubtedly the absolute failure of the Federal Government to build for itself such a monument has had its influence on the States. Yet the component parts were the first to recover from the lethargy which fell upon all scholarly pursuits with the Civil War, and during the restless years immediately preceding it; for a large percentage of the historical societies existing to-day have been organized since that period. Will the Federal Government wait until the concentrated effort of the States becomes sufficiently impelling before it will proceed to preserve the remnants of its official records, or can Congress be impressed with the fact that the collection and arrangement of such records as exist is more vitally important than the erection of a Hall of Records to house such records as may remain when a desirable site shall have been decided upon?

In making this plea for the preservation of the nation's records it is but just to pay a tribute to the men who through individual effort have done for the nation what it should have done for itself. Earliest among these is Peter Force, who, in compiling his "American Archives," collected a vast amount of material, which was subsequently purchased by the Government for the sum of $100,000, and deposited in the Library Congress. Next follow Gales and Seaton, who, in addition to occupying for several years the position of official reporters and printers to Congress, secured from the Government sufficient guarantee to insure them against any loss in the publication of the "American State Papers." More within our own times is the monumental work of B. F. Stevens, compiler of the "Facsimiles of American Manuscripts in European Archives," and the work of the late James C. Pilling, which is too closely allied to the subject to permit of its being overlooked in any mention of our national official literature.

ADELAIDE R. HASSE.

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DOES MACHINERY DISPLACE LABOR?

THAT mechanical aids to labor, and processes not mechanical, have neither displaced labor nor lessened employment, has been stated by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, as a fact beyond question, in an article[1] in which he says, in substance (the italics being my own):

"It is not true that men, in the aggregate, have been deprived of labor through what are called 'labor-saving machines.' As a matter of truth, so-called labor-saving machines, while they do in the initiative save labor to their owners, *really make labor in the aggregate*. . . . This position is clearly supported by the facts in the case, and for these facts it is not necessary to go back of the experience of the last generation of the nineteenth century.

In 1870 *per capita* consumption of iron in the United States was 105.6 pounds; in 1890 it was 283.4 pounds. This vast increase is a complete offset in its results [?] to the effects of any individual displacement which may have occurred.

The fact that unit consumption of cotton in the United States increased from less than 10 pounds in 1830 to almost 19 pounds in 1890 *clearly and positively indicates* that the labor necessary for such consumption must have kept up to, if not gone far beyond, the standard existing in the olden time—and I mean by 'standard' in this respect *the actual number of people employed*.

The consumption of steel shows similar results. In 1880 it was 46 pounds per unit; and in 1890 it had risen to 144 pounds. *This rise is a sure indication that labor must have been actively employed*, or the extension in unit production could not have taken place.

Machinery has created entirely new vocations, many thousands being employed in telegraphy where not an individual has been displaced. . . . The invention of waterproof clothing [?], sewing-machines, printing-devices—inventions in innumerable directions more than offset by expansion any displacement that can be shown in other directions."

In his first report (for 1886), as Commissioner of Labor, Mr. Wright put the public in possession of much interesting matter bearing upon the subject. In this report it was stated, *in substance*, that 600 men employed in making agricultural implements were then doing work formerly requiring 2,145; that in the earlier petroleum industry every barrel was carted to the railway, but that, on the completion of a well in 1886, connection was made with the pipe-line, and the oil was carried to market in a manner dispensing with the labor of 5,700 horse-teams and 11,400 men, in handling a daily output estimated at 57,000 barrels; that in the manufacture of paper 90 per cent of the labor had

[1] "The Chautauquan" for August, 1897.

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been displaced, as had 99 per cent of that formerly employed in the production of paperhangings. That of the labor involved in stocking fire-arms machinery had multiplied the labor unit's productive power from 125 to 150 per cent; while in making shoes one man was doing work formerly requiring sixty. That new processes had displaced 95 per cent of the labor involved in making given quantities of carpets; while die-work had displaced 84 per cent of the labor employed in cutting garments, as had new appliances destroyed 88 per cent of that engaged in the manufacture of certain grades of hats. That in cotton-mills machinery had reduced the labor quite one-half in producing given quantities; while in England machinery enabled one person to turn out 4,000 times as much cotton yarn as did the hand-worker which the machine had displaced. That in the United States the ratio of spindles per operative had risen from 25.2, in 1831, to 72, and that the output of the weaver had been increased from 48 to 1,500 yards per week; while, in the manufacture of flour, machinery had displaced 75 per cent of the labor involved in producing given quantities. That machinery had reduced the labor of dressing staves 80 per cent, and displaced 90 per cent of that employed in producing given quantities of steel in the preceding fifteen years; that it had effected a like displacement in the manufacture of certain grades of tin ware; that in preparing material for musical instruments machinery enabled a boy to accomplish the work formerly employing twenty-five men; and that in ship-building, machinery had displaced from 80 to 90 per cent of the labor involved in the construction of vessels of given capacity.

A tabular summary of Mr. Wright's official statements of twelve years ago shows that there had been displaced by the use of "labor-lessening devices" fully 75 per cent of the labor formerly employed in the production of given quantities of wares, from the practice of the leading manufacturing and mechanical industries with which he then dealt; while it is altogether probable that not one person in a million will have the hardihood to question the statement that since 1886 "labor-lessening devices" have been brought into use in greater numbers than in any preceding twelve years. It is altogether probable that the labor now required to produce given quantities of fabricated wares is, upon the average, less than 5 per cent of that involved when Adam Smith wrote.

That displacements have been continuously progressive, is evidenced by the tables of the Eleventh Census, compiled under the supervision of Mr. Wright, which show that in forty leading manufacturing industries, taken together, the productive power of the labor unit was 50 per cent

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greater in the ninth than in the eighth decade, obviously by reason of the continuously accelerating rate at which new appliances and processes "lessening labor and destroying employment" were being brought into use; the determinations resulting from such analysis of Census data clearly negativing the assumption that, "As a matter of truth, so-called labor-saving machines, while they do in the initiative save labor to their owners, really make labor in the aggregate."

An illustrative instance of the manner in which "so-called labor-saving machines . . . really make labor in the aggregate" is found in the "Two-Row Cultivator" just beginning to displace the "One-Row" machine in the tillage of rowed crops. This machine displaces half the men heretofore employed in cultivating given areas, and weighs a fourth less than the two implements displaced. But three-fourths as much material and labor are involved in its construction; the railway employs but three-fourths as much rolling stock, fuel, and labor in its carriage; the dealer handles but one machine, where before he had the work and profits resulting from the distribution of two; while the cook upon the farm has her work reduced one-half. Here is at least one case in which labor has *not* been made in the aggregate. Obviously the new implement has but two important economic functions. One is to materially lessen the labor and cost of growing the one hundred and ten million acres of rowed crops in the United States; and the other is to destroy employment, as has nearly every implement brought upon the farm within the last fifty years.

Mr. Wright states that:

> "In 1870 unit consumption of iron in the United States was 105.6 pounds; in 1890 it was 283.4 pounds. This vast increase is a complete offset to the effects of any individual displacement which may have occurred."

While the statement is unqualified that an increase of 177.8 pounds in unit consumption of iron resulted in a complete compensation for such displacements of labor—impliedly in all vocations—as may have occurred, yet no information is given as to the manner in which these wonderful and complete compensations were effected; the logical inference being that employment was so increased in producing the additional quantity consumed per unit as to offset displacements of labor in all vocations. It should therefore follow that the labor involved in the production of the unit's quota of 1890, as represented by the price of iron, should not only equal but greatly exceed that involved in the production of the smaller quota of 1870. Possibly it would have equalled such 1870 quota labor, had unit consumption in that year been

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but 105.6 pounds. Data furnished by the Treasury Department show, however, that in 1870 iron was produced, imported, and retained for home consumption in quantities as follows:

TABLE No. 1.

Domestic pig iron retained for home consumption	4,121,000,000 lbs.
Net imports of rails	1,023,000,000 "
Net imports of iron in other forms	370,000,000 "
Supply available for home use	5,514,000,000 lbs.

Dividing the supply between the 38,558,000 units constituting the population of the United States in 1870, the unit's quota would have been 143 pounds instead of 105.6. This indicates a predicate erroneous by about one-third, and vitiates postulates based thereon.

Referring to Mr. Wright's official report for 1890, the price of anthracite pig is found to have averaged $40.21 per ton at Philadelphia during the five years ending with 1872, and but $18.40 in 1890. Hence the labor involved in the production of 143 pounds in 1870, as represented by the price of iron, was of the value of $2.57 as against $2.33 for a unit supply of 283.4 pounds in 1890; the labor displaced in producing the greater quantity being indicated by a decline of 9 per cent in the cost of the unit's quota.

Apparently a fairer showing was possible by comparing the labor cost of the 1870 unit supply of 143 pounds with a unit supply of 278 pounds in 1896, as it would have shown the labor displaced in furnishing a given population with about twice as much iron in the later period.

The publications of the Treasury Department show that the unit supply of iron in 1896 was some 278 pounds, and that the price of gray forge pig at Pittsburg averaged a small fraction less than $11 per ton for the year. Therefore, the 1896 unit quota, as represented by the price of iron, involved the expenditure of labor costing but $1.37, as against a unit supply of 143 pounds in 1870 involving the expenditure of labor costing $2.57. The 1896 quota was 94 per cent greater than that of 1870; yet it involved the expenditure of 47 per cent less labor. In this measure machinery and improved technics did, in twenty-six years, lessen the labor and destroy the employment involved in supplying the people of the United States with iron; while in the production of given quantities the displacement of labor equalled 73 per cent of that employed so recently as 1870!

The unit consuming iron consumes labor in the concrete; and if the

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labor involved in the production of 143 pounds was greater than that involved twenty-six years later in the production of the 278 pounds used per unit in 1896, it is evident that the consumption of the 143 pounds afforded the most employment, as it is also apparent that such excess of employment was just as readily determinable when the "Chautauquan" article was written as in 1898. In that article the statement appears that:

> "The fact that unit consumption of cotton in the United States increased from less than 10 pounds in 1830 to almost 19 pounds in 1890, clearly and positively indicates that the labor necessary for such consumption must have kept up to, if not gone far beyond, the standard existing in the olden time—and I mean by 'standard' in this respect the actual number of people employed."

Probably no one will question that the "labor necessary for" any consumption whatever must be kept up, as the labor of production is a condition always precedent to consumption; yet one is at a loss to know how this can affect the proposition that the use of machinery has not, relatively to the population, reduced the sum of employment afforded in manufacturing and mechanical operations. Not only must the "actual number of people employed" in 1830 have been maintained—and that is all the quoted statement means—but, to "clearly and positively indicate" anything beyond the production of the cotton goods consumed, in support of the writer's thesis, the ratio of employment to increased consumption should have equalled, and only equalled, the labor involved in producing the quantity consumed per unit in 1830; as any increase beyond this of the unit's productive power, by the use of "labor-lessening devices" would "clearly and positively indicate" a related and consequent destruction of employment. In order to see just what bearing the alleged increase of unit consumption of cotton has upon the question at issue, it is necessary to determine first the relative productive power of the cotton-mill operative of 1830 and 1890, as but one factor in the equation has been stated in the "Chautauquan" article. Should it be found that the consumption of the cloth made from 10 pounds of cotton in 1830 afforded more employment than did the cloth made from 19 pounds in 1890, then this citation is irrelevant, and in no manner supports the contention that while "so-called labor-saving machines . . . do in the initiative save labor to their owners [?]," they "really make labor in the aggregate"; otherwise it may.

Tabulating the best available data for 1832, and mostly that from the Census of 1890 for subsequent decennial years, the showing is as follows:

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TABLE NO. 2.

Year.	Number of Operatives.	Number of Spindles.	Pounds of Cotton Consumed.	Spindles per Operative.	Pounds Cotton Worked per Operative.
1832	57,500	1,250,000	78,300,000	21.7	1,362
1840	72,100	2,285,000	135,000,000	31.7	1,874
1850	92,300	.....	288,000,000	.....	3,120
1860	122,000	5,236,000	422,705,000	42.9	3,465
1870	135,400	7,132,000	398,308,000	52.7	2,942
1880	174,700	10,633,000	750,345,000	60.9	4,295
1890	221,600	14,188,000	1,117,946,000	64.0	5,046

Only in the solitary fact that "the actual number of people employed" —not the relative number—does Table No. 2 afford any clear and positive indication whatever in support of the statement quoted; while, on the other hand, it does "clearly and positively" indicate, in connection with Census tables relating to population, that, though population increased about 375 per cent between 1832 and 1890, the labor units employed in manufacturing cotton increased but 285 per cent, despite the fact that we had ceased to import as large a proportion of the cotton goods consumed, and become a considerable exporter. That is, population increased 30 per cent faster than those employed in cotton manufactures, notwithstanding an increase of some 90 per cent in unit consumption of cotton goods. Moreover, Table No. 2 "clearly and positively indicates" that an increase of 90 per cent in unit consumption was accompanied by an increase of more than 270 per cent in the labor unit's power to produce cotton goods, as the cotton worked per operative rose from 1,362 pounds in 1832 to 5,046 pounds in 1890, while the ratio of spindles to operatives increased from 21.7 in 1832 to 64 per operative in 1890; the product per spindle increasing 26 per cent.

Thus the unit's power to produce cotton goods increased more than three times as fast as unit consumption; such relative increase accurately measuring the displacement of labor and consequent power of a given number of consumers to furnish employment in the manufacture of given quantities of goods.

Correctly stated, the question is, whether machinery has reduced the employment involved in providing a given population with wares and services implied by such improvement as shall have taken place in the standard of living of the mass of such population.

Bearing in mind the correct relation of employment to the required supply and service of a given population, it is interesting to know that it required the work of 7,340 labor units in 1832 to supply each of

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1,000,000 people with cloth made from 10 pounds of cotton, while in 1890 the labor of 3,760 sufficed to work up the 19,000,000 pounds required by a like number of consumers; thus "clearly and positively" indicating that, notwithstanding an increase of 90 per cent in unit requirements, improved methods had so increased the labor unit's productive power as to result in displacing no less than 3,580 out of the 7,340 operatives required to clothe with 10,000,000 pounds of cotton a million people in 1832,—a reduction of some 49 per cent of the labor employed, despite a 90 per cent increase of unit requirements! It would have required but 1,980 operatives in 1890 to have furnished a million people with goods made from 10,000,000 pounds of cotton, as against 7,340 employed in 1832; the actual lessening of labor and destruction of employment involved in the application of new devices equalling 73 per cent.

In support of the contention that the sum of available employment has not been reduced by the adoption of new devices, it is stated that:

"The consumption of steel shows similar results. In 1880 it was 46 pounds *per capita;* and in 1890 it had risen to 144 pounds. This rise is a sure indication that labor must have been actively employed, or the extension in *per capita* production not have taken place."

Steel being but another name for iron, and the quantities named having been exploited under the generic term, as an argument in favor of the writer's contention, it is difficult to understand the object of duplication, the more especially as the ninth decade was the time when carbonized iron of the Bessemer type was so generally substituted for the decarbonized form. Moreover, data furnished by the Treasury Department show the 1880 unit supply of steel to have been some 59 pounds instead of 46; an error of about 28 per cent appearing in this predicate.

Instead of the substitution of mild steel for iron negativing the proposition that machinery destroys employment, it affords most satisfactory proof in the affirmative.

"Poor's Manual" shows that in 1880 but 33,700 miles were laid with steel rails; while iron was in use on some 82,000 miles of railway. In 1890 steel was in use on 175,000 miles, and iron on less than 41,000. This substitution in renewals accounts for very much of the increase in unit consumption of steel, which was also largely substituted for wood, iron, stone, brick, and other materials in structures of every kind. Thus, instead of affording increased employment, such substitutions have greatly lessened both the labor of construction and renewal.

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An astounding result flows from the substitution of steel in rail-making, as the substituted material has at least three times the endurance of that displaced; consequently renewals are but one-third as frequent. As there are some 260,000 miles of main, auxiliary, and side tracks in the United States, their complete renewal involves the use of some 30,000,000 tons of metal. If iron rails were in use upon the entire mileage, it would involve in renewals the use of more than 3,000,000 tons annually, whereas, with steel universally in use, renewals now absorb but about 1,000,000 tons per annum. Thus in rail renewal alone, the substitution of steel for iron has destroyed employment of one-fifth as much labor as is now used in the manufacture of both iron and steel. In the face of this obvious and portentous fact, we are asked to believe that modern methods increase, rather than destroy, employment!

Elsewhere the substitution of steel for iron and other materials has lessened labor and destroyed employment in like manner, if in lower ratio. A very apparent displacement of farm labor results from the substitution of steel wire for other materials in fencing. With suitable metal posts, a galvanized wire fence will endure, with little repair, for more than fifty years; while other fences require constant care and much labor as well as frequent renewal.

Barring accidents, the steel ship has vastly greater longevity than the wooden one; and the labor involved in providing given carrying-capacity has been reduced fully 90 per cent. The use of metal in marine structures has destroyed the acquired skill of the builder of wooden ships, and placed him in the ranks of unskilled labor, while destroying employment formerly afforded by the preparation and carriage of forest products.

On the corner of Broadway and Pine Street in New York city stands the Equitable Building, which is said to be valued at more than $10,000,000, and represents a vast amount of labor. Just south of the "Equitable" is an office-building, having about as great earning capacity, yet occupying much less of the earth's surface, and representing less than one-third as great an outlay. Relatively to cost, the more modern structure has much the greater earning-capacity; and this capacity has been made possible only by the evolution of a process whereby a frame of steel is covered by a thin coating of stone or brick. This process owes the most of its value to the prior invention of the vertical railway, which enables the capitalist to rent heights formerly inaccessible and the means of reaching them.

Standing side by side, the "Equitable" and "Surety" Buildings afford

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an interesting object-lesson, whereby is shown an enormous destruction of employment resulting from an invention primarily designed for the purpose of lessening the physical effort required in reaching upper apartments.

Increased consumption of steel in building-operations means vastly less labor employed in making and laying brick, in quarrying and stone-cutting, in lumbering, and in many other processes accompanying construction, just as it implies vast reductions in the labor involved in maintenance and renewals.

In the last annual report of the Illinois Steel Company it is shown that in 1897 it produced more than a million tons of finished iron and steel, or about one-tenth the product of the nation. Ten such concerns, or six like that of the Carnegie Company, would turn out as much iron and steel as all the establishments now employed.

The reduction in the labor and cost of producing iron and steel between 1880 and 1890 is shown by the Census to have been as follows:

TABLE No. 8.

Year.	Average Number Labor Units Employed.	Total Tons Produced.	Cost Per Ton.	Tons Per Labor Unit.
1880.....	140,800	4,269,000	$26.57	303
1890.....	175,500	9,784,000	18.32	558

While the quantity produced increased 128 per cent, the labor-force employed in converting ore into iron and steel increased but 25 per cent.

Including materials employed, the cost per ton was reduced $8.25, or 31 per cent, in ten years; the output per labor unit increased 255 tons, or 84 per cent; and the labor involved in a ton of metal diminished to a proportionate extent. A ton of finished metal represented ten hours' labor in 1880, and less than six hours in 1890; the displacement equalling 46 per cent. Evidence is abundant showing even a greater reduction of labor in producing given quantities of metal since 1890 than occurred in the ninth decade.

While Americans are the greatest of "machine users," it is well to show that similar conditions obtain wherever machinery has come into general use.

In 1841 the cotton-mills of the United Kingdom furnished work for 240 operatives for each 100 looms in use; while in 1893 the ratio was 75 to 100 looms. In the meantime the capacity of the loom itself

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had doubled; the result being that each labor unit's productive power increased 700 per cent, despite a material reduction in the hours of labor.

In 1851 the textile industries of the United Kingdom furnished employment for 1,600,000 units, and for only 1,080,000 in 1890, or an absolute decrease of 33 per cent, while trebling the wares produced.

Between 1851 and 1881 the numbers employed in agriculture declined from 3,600,000 to 2,500,000; the displaced rural and textile labor units aggregating nearly 1,600,000, and some 2,500,000 being added to those engaged in trade, transportation, and in personal and professional service.

"Booth's Digest of British Censuses" shows 7,400,000 people employed in 1851 in the two great productive industries, agriculture and all manufactures, and but 7,090,000 in 1881,—an absolute decrease of 5 per cent; while such non-productive employments as trade, transportation, and domestic and professional service, together, show an increase of 1,890,000, or 62 per cent. Productive labor units, reduced one-twentieth in number, were found dividing their products among three-fifths more non-productive consumers. Like conditions obtain in the United States, where the population increased 62 per cent between 1870 and 1890; the labor units engaged in the productive industries increasing only 59 per cent, and the non-producers, engaged in distribution, and personal and professional service, increasing 121 per cent, or more than twice as fast as those engaged in production. Those engaged in professional service increased no less than 239 per cent; those rendering personal service 87 per cent; and those employed in trade and transportation 174 per cent; while cultivators of the soil increased but 41 per cent.

Between 1872 and 1881 the manufacturing force of France was reduced 3 per cent, notwithstanding an enormous increase of production. Between 1851 and 1861 (the era of greatest development of aids to rural labor) the agricultural population of France fell from 21,920,000 to 19,870,000,—a decrease of 2,050,000. Taking no note of the period when Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly detached, the rural population suffered a further reduction of 260,000 between 1872 and 1881. Thus 2,310,000 units were displaced by "employment-destroying devices," and forced to seek work in urban districts and in the army and navy.

In Belgium an agricultural population of 1,062,000 in 1856 had shrunk in 1880 to 982,000, although in the interim the entire population increased 23 per cent. In the same period the manufacturing population decreased 10 per cent.

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In Europe, as in the United States, productive units have steadily decreased,—relatively where not absolutely,—and are everywhere found dividing their products with non-productive elements increasing prodigiously by rapidly progressing aggregates. Such conditions prompt us to ask what would be the effect upon employment, wages, and markets, were productive instead of destructive machines placed in the hands of the millions constantly under arms in Europe; and what the probable result of changing these most active consumers and destroyers of the products of others into productive fabricants, aided by the best machinery now in use.

In the sixties the present writer saw as many as twenty great river steamers arrive at Kansas City in a single day, where now not one is seen in a year. It is by no means improbable that at that time more men were employed in transportation on the Missouri River and on the plains west thereof than are now engaged in operating all the railways traversing the regions west of the ninety-fifth meridian. While there can be no question as to which is the preferable method, yet the fact remains that, in its occupation of those regions, the railway has displaced an enormous force formerly engaged in transportation, as well as the related fact that the writer of the "Chautauquan" article makes no mention whatever of this and similar displacements, while implying that the railway has created a new industry instead of merely substituting new devices for old in conducting an industry antedating the Pyramids, and without the aid of which they could never have risen above the sands of Egypt.

The street-railway but substitutes new devices for old in rendering services long required; while the telegraph and telephone, so far as relative employment is concerned, have done but little more than substitute another for that labor unit to which a well-known man referred when saying to his wicked partner: "Don't write, but send word."

Those contending that machinery and modern processes not mechanical have not lessened the sum of employment that would have been available, having made no attempt to show displacements relatively to the new employments they allege to have resulted from the evolution of what they are pleased to call "labor-saving devices,"—labor cannot obviously be saved unless used,—it is more than possible that the showing made in Table No. 4 may prove interesting, if not astounding, if it be borne in mind that the basic industry of civilized life still employs one-half those of European lineage and more than three-fourths of all other populations.

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Should the showing made in Table No. 4 demonstrate that in twenty years (1870 to 1890) machinery had on the farms of the United States alone destroyed employment equivalent to constant work for seven-eighths as many labor units as were employed in 1890 in all the manufacturing industries of the United States, how paltry, from an economic standpoint, must appear alleged new industries that then employed less than 6 per cent of the labor force so displaced.

The farms of the United States increased from 2,660,000 in 1870 to 4,565,000 in 1890, or 71 per cent; the labor units directly employed in agriculture[1] increasing from 5,870,000 to 8,300,000, or 41 per cent, while the ratio of labor units to each 100 farms fell from 220 to 185.

In 1870, areas under such harvested staples as grains, hay, cotton, tobacco, and potatoes aggregated some 99,700,000 acres, rural labor units then being in the ratio of 1 to 17 acres. In 1890 such staples employed about 216,600,000 acres, and labor units upon the farm were then in the ratio of 1 to 26 harvested acres, the unit's productive power having increased 53 per cent in twenty years. Had labor units been in the same ratio to harvested acres in 1890 as in 1870, some 12,730,000 would have been employed on the farms instead of 8,300,000 only. *Thus it appears from official data that in a brief twenty years farm machinery alone effected the destruction of employment equivalent to constant work for 4,430,000 labor units!* In comparison with this enormous displacement in a single industry, how insignificant appears employment afforded to less than 250,000 persons engaged as makers and users of typewriters, those working in connection with street railways, telegraphs, telephones, and other electric appliances, as well as those finding employment in connection with other new vocations!

Setting on the debit side of the account twenty years' displacements only of farm labor, and on the other side all those who were, in 1890, working in connection with any of the so-called new vocations, the account assumes the form shown in Table 4, on the following page.

The production of artificial butter has probably thrown out of employment more than 247,000 people; while the utilization of cotton-seed and derived products has displaced much labor in the cornfield. There are few of the so-called new vocations which have not been accompanied by displacements of labor in greater or less degree.

[1] In Census tables such incongruous occupations as wood-chopping, mining, fishing, etc., are grouped with agriculture: in the present article agriculture includes only those actually engaged in that employment.

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After crediting the so-called new employments with the last possible labor unit, the adverse balance against farm machinery alone appears to be permanent employment for 4,183,000 labor units.

Possibly the most remarkable phase of the Labor Question is the ignoring of the preponderant labor force of the basic industry. Even the Federal Commissioner of Labor seems to attribute vastly more importance to an industry which employed in 1890 less than 10,000 people than to one which employed a labor force exceeding by more than 3,000,000 units that engaged in all American manufactures. In the discussion of this subject, both in THE FORUM and in "The Chautau-

TABLE NO. 4.

VOCATIONS.	Credit. Units Employed in Alleged New Vocations.	Debit. Units Driven from the Farm by Machinery.
Farm labor displaced by machinery in twenty years.	.....	4,430,000
Stenographers, makers and users of typewriters ...	35,135	
Street-railway workers.....	70,764	
Telegraphs, telephones, etc	72,785	
Makers and repairers of bicycles.....	2,203	
Celluloid	1,023	
High explosives.....	820	
Artificial ice	3,265	
Cash and car registers	845	
Shoddy.....	2,300	
Cotton-seed oil and cake.....	6,301	
Petroleum, refiners, etc	12,471	
Photography and photolithography.....	13,230	
Making and repairing sewing machines.....	11,296	
Wood-pulp industries	4,432	
Spurious butter	328	
Rubber clothing and elastic goods.....	9,802	247,000
Adverse balance against farm machinery alone..	.....	4,183,000

quan," he has omitted to notice the fact that in the 20 years during which we were furnishing 1,905,000 new farms with an entire equipment of agricultural machinery, and renewing the equipment of 2,660,000 older ones, *the Census shows the units employed in making all agricultural machinery actually decreasing from 3,811 in 1870 to 3,755 in 1890; while the implements which the reduced force was making destroyed employment equivalent to constant work for seven-eighths as many people as were engaged in 1890 in all manufacturing industries.* In view of such facts, is it permissible to ask when, where, and how any or all of this machinery really *made* labor in the aggregate?

In THE FORUM for February, 1898, on page 672, which is substantially

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a transcript of page 255 of his official report for 1886, Mr. Wright shows how increasingly difficult it will be to find external markets for manufactures, because of an increasing number of "machine-using" nations, and that Americans and the French, in taking possession of their own markets with machine-made goods, drove out the machine-made wares of Britain; thus displacing British labor with American and French machinery.

The great facility with which Britain was able, when the one great "machine user," to appropriate employment needed by other populations, is shown by the fact that between 1854 and 1896, with a population increase of but 42 per cent, exports of cotton cloth increased 210 per cent, and those of woollens 75 per cent, and that, while meeting increasing home requirements for metals, the exports of iron and steel rose from 1,200,000 tons in 1854 to 4,354,000 in 1882, or 263 per cent. Exports of iron and steel, however, declined 23 per cent between 1882 and 1896; the shrinkage registering the efficiency of American and other machinery in displacing labor employed in Britain's metal trade. This displacement differs only in degree from Britain's earlier displacement with machine-made cloths of millions of the hand-loom weavers of India.

A significant displacement is indicated by exports of British stockings, which rose from 613,000 dozen pairs in 1865 to 1,822,000 in 1884, or 197 per cent. Since 1884, however, exports have declined 56 per cent; only 794,000 dozen pairs going abroad in 1896. The consequent loss of employment in Britain is directly chargeable to new machines brought into use in America and elsewhere, and shows that the employment of "machine-using" Americans in making goods previously imported does displace labor—even if it happens to be European labor.

But what of the future? During twenty years farms were added at the rate of 95,000 per annum, on which were placed an average of 540,000 units annually. New farms absorbed and employed the equivalent of the 8,050,000 immigrants reaching our shores in the twenty years, and some 2,750,000 others born in America or immigrating earlier.

Instead of the farm absorbing, as heretofore, one-fourth more people than we import, it will hereafter pour a constant stream of employment seekers into the urban districts—unless the surplus labor units born upon the farm shall be placed in a standing army.

That the anticipated progressive displacement of labor by machinery is not imaginary, is apparent from innumerable facts, among which may be named that the setting of tobacco and other plants is effected by ma-

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chines; that the seed potato is cut by one machine and planted by another, while the product is dug by a third; that the "self-feeder" of the threshing-machine displaces two men; while "blast-stackers" and gasoline engines will, when in general use, reduce the labor of threshing 75,000,000 acres of grain annually in the equivalent of constant work for 150,000 men; that the "Two-Row" cultivator will displace labor in cultivating 110,000,000 acres of rowed crops in the equivalent of constant employment for 130,000 men; that in the pastoral regions the "hand-shearer" has been displaced by machines making 3,000 clips per minute; that Mr. Edison is, with a handful of men, demolishing mountains and converting them into iron ore and building-sand, while on the Mesaba range the steam-shovel now mines and loads ore which displaces that formerly mined at an average labor cost of one dollar per ton; that the pneumatic atomizer enables one unskilled laborer to paint more freight cars than can fifteen skilled hand-workers, while with the eight-pound pneumatic hammer the workman drives more nails, rivets more boilers, caulks more seams, and cuts more stone than can twenty men with older appliances. The list of such recently invented labor-lessening and employment-destroying devices is endless.

Till recent years no enduring dearth of employment has resulted in the United States—only, however, because of an existing safety-valve in the arable public domain, and because we were one of a very limited number of machine-using peoples. But Germany having in the latter respect become our peer; Russia, with a vast population, being ready to follow her example; Japan, already a machine user on a large and rapidly increasing scale; China, about to be forced to become such; India, a large and increasing user of cotton machinery, and almost ready once more to ship her textiles to Europe; nearly all Central and Eastern Europe preparing to compete with the Western nations,—under these conditions it is probably not too early to ask, what the situation is likely to be when a thousand millions or more, who inhabit countries now using little, if any, machinery, shall become machine users and compete with the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium for external markets—and where such markets are likely to be found.

C. Wood Davis.

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INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS AND LEGENDS.

UNTIL twelve years old I could speak only *nin-gaw odaw-naw-naw* (my mother-tongue). Before then I had bitter thoughts of the white men; regarding them as robbers of the worst sort, and destitute of all love or sympathy for our race. When I saw them I fled and hid myself, like the young partridge from the hawk.

About that time I became acquainted with Edward Coles, a travelling Indian missionary, who frequently called at our wigwam in Pokagon, my father's village, in Southwestern Michigan. He had had a fair English education, and was a fine Christian teacher. He saw how bitterly I felt toward the dominant race, and often told me that the better class were as good as our own people, and that I was very prejudiced. No doubt this was the case, and was due to the fact, that the white men who generally came in contact with the Indians were the worst of their kind. He also said that numbers of white men believed in Kigi Manito,—the God we worshipped,—and that many, many years before, He had sent from Waw-kwi (Heaven) to their forefathers His son Jesus, whom they murdered, and that He arose from the dead, and ascended to Heaven; that He now there stood, with open arms, ready to receive all who put their trust in Him; and that when life was ended here, they would dwell with Him in Waw-kwi forever. I could not understand how white men could be so good as red men, and yet be guilty of taking the life of a noble chief who had come to save them. I inquired of him if those white men who had brought ruin upon our people, by selling them fire-water, would be permitted to enter the garden of Waw-kwi. He claimed that if they would quit their accursed business, and humbly repent, and try to repair the great wrong they had done, it was barely possible they might enter the land of promise. This noble Christian missionary greatly impressed me with the wonderful things white men could do, through the mighty inventions and discoveries they had made; and these so excited my love of the marvellous, that my youthful heart thirsted night and day to drink from the fountain of knowledge at the white man's school.

About this time my dear father died; and, soon after, my mother,

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on the advice of one of the Catholic Fathers, sent me to Notre Dame School, near South Bend, Indiana, where I remained four or five years. But, desiring a more liberal education than I was likely to get there, I sought out my old missionary friend Coles, and laid before him my great anxiety to go to school at Oberlin, Ohio, where race and color were disregarded. The good man finally persuaded my mother to send me to that school. I was about to leave home, when, to my surprise, some of the older members of the Pokagon band objected to my going to the white man's school; believing it would displease the Great Spirit for a son of the Great Chief, who had passed into the hunting-ground beyond, to attend the Pale-face school.

I listened to their admonitions and advice; well knowing their objection was too weak for consideration. Yet, I must confess that their words lingered about my heart, and worried me, in spite of all my reasoning; and I said to myself, "Pokagon, such superstition you must inherit from your race." I was troubled; for I thought I should not be able to compete in my studies with white class-mates, who would have better sense than to worry over that which they did not believe.

A short time after this I mentioned to one of the most intelligent of my class-mates, that on the following day I was going into an advanced class. He replied, "You had better wait until Monday." "Why so?" I asked. "Because," said he, "to-morrow is Friday—an unlucky day—and very likely, if you start then, you will always be at the tail-end of your class." This foolish suggestion, coming from such a source, fairly staggered me; and yet it encouraged me to know that my rival had weak points like those which had lessened my faith in myself.

Notwithstanding the superstitions of our Algonquin fathers, they were no idol-worshippers. Their "religion" taught them that each mountain, stream, and lake had its spirit that governed and ruled over it. They also believed that some deity controlled the winds and waves, and rode upon the clouds; commanding the storm, and guiding the whirlwind in its course.

They believed in four sister-deities, who controlled the four seasons of the year. Bi-bon (Winter) brought down from the north *agon* (the snow), and, with her chilly fingers, touched the lakes and streams; leaving them ice-bound, until her sister Sig-wan (Spring) came. She, with her warm breath, melted the snow and ice; letting the imprisoned lakes and streams go free, clothing the naked trees in robes of green, covering the earth with grass and fragrant flowers, filling the air with

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song-birds and insect life, and the waters with fish, and working with might and main until the arrival of her sister Ne-bin (Summer) on hasty wings, to help on the work Sig-wan had so well begun. Man, beasts, and fowls sought the shade, to avoid the scorching sunshine of her face. Last of all, the oldest sister, Baw-waw-gi (Autumn), came to ripen all the fruit, grain, and nuts; painting in gold and red the forest leaves, which for a few short days flaunted their glories in the breeze, then shed themselves, leaving their parent branches to combat with the winter's storms.

Our forefathers did not grasp the grand idea of an infinite, all-wise being whose presence is everywhere. Hence they believed that these deities, scattered throughout the world, were the agents of a mighty chief, one Mi-chi Ogaw-maw, who ruled all the rest. They saw the beauty of his face in the rainbow; the majesty of his eyes flashed in the clouds; the terror of his voice thundered in the storm, rumbled in the earthquake, and roared in the sea. They taught their children, that Ke-sus (the sun) represented the eyes of this mighty Kigi Manito by day; that Te-bik Kesus and Anong (the moon and stars) were his eyes by night; and that they could not hide their words[1] or acts from him.

Our traditions show most clearly that the children were obedient to their parents, kind to the old and unfortunate, and respectful to all. They had no cigarettes to smoke, no fire-water to drink, no saloons to lounge in. As a race they were held in great Nature's lap, close to her heart: they listened to her words, and obeyed, as they understood them. All believed in the immortality of the soul.

I never saw nor heard of an Indian atheist. Their Heaven was not paved with gold and precious stones; but it was a grand, romantic paradise of forests and wide, extended plains,—filled with beasts and birds, with lakes and streams swarming with fish close to shore,—where want never came, and where all were contented and happy.

Among the most ancient traditions of our race is one that our first parents found themselves here surrounded by beasts of prey without number, whose physical strength far exceeded theirs, and whose young had greater strength and more knowledge than the Indian children. Stones and clubs were used for weapons, until the bow and arrow were invented; and but for the fact, that a *manito* was impressed upon the human countenance, before which the fiercest brute stood in awe, our

[1] Indians never swear in their own language; and, as they generally believe all white men to be Christians, they do not understand why so many should indulge in profanity.

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first parents and their children would have been destroyed from off the face of the earth.

The Great Flood.

One very remarkable character reported in our legends, dimly seen through the mist of untold centuries, is Kwi-wi-sens Nenaw-bo-zhoo, meaning, in Algonquin dialect, "The greatest clown-boy in the world." When he became a man, he was not only a great prophet among his people, but a giant of such marvellous strength, that he could wield his war-club with force enough to shatter in pieces the largest pine-tree. His hunting-dog was a monstrous black wolf, as large as a full-grown buffalo, with long, soft hair, and eyes that shone in the night like the moon. The deity of the sea saw the charming beauty of this wolf-dog, and was so extremely jealous of him, that he was determined to take his life. So he appeared before him in the form of a deer; and as the dog rushed to seize him, he was grasped by the deity and drowned in the depths of the sea. He then made a great barbecue and invited as his guests whales, serpents, and all the monsters of the deep, that they might exult and rejoice with him that he had slain the dog of the prophet.

When the seer-clown learned of the fate of his noble dog, through cunning Waw-goosh (the fox), whose keen eyes saw the deception that cost the wolf-dog his life, he sought to take revenge upon the sea-god. So he went at once to the place where the latter was accustomed to come on land with his monster servants to bathe in the sunshine, and there concealed himself among the tall rushes until the "caravan of the deep" came ashore. When they had fallen fast asleep, he drew his giant bow, twice as long as he was tall, and shot a poisoned arrow that pierced Neben Manito, the water-god, through the heart. Neben Manito rolled into the sea, and cried, "Revenge! Revenge!" Then all the assembled monsters of the deep rushed headlong after the slayer of their king. The prophet fled in consternation before the outraged creatures that hurled after him mountains of water, which swept down the forests like grass before the whirlwind. He continued to flee before the raging flood, but could find no dry land. In sore despair he then called upon the God of Heaven to save him, when there appeared before him a great canoe, in which were pairs of all kinds of land-beasts and birds, being rowed by a most beautiful maiden, who let down a rope and drew him up into the boat.

The flood raged on; but, though mountains of water were continu-

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ally being hurled after the prophet, he was safe. When he had floated on the water many days, he ordered Aw-mik (the beaver) to dive down and, if he could reach the bottom, to bring up some earth. Down the latter plunged, but in a few minutes came floating to the surface lifeless. The prophet pulled him into the boat, blew into his mouth, and he became alive again. He then said to Waw-jashk (the musk-rat), "You are the best diver among all the animal creation. Go down to the bottom and bring me up some earth, out of which I will create a new world; for we cannot much longer live on the face of the deep."

Down plunged the musk-rat; but, like the beaver, he, too, soon came to the surface lifeless, and was drawn into the boat, whereupon the prophet blew into *his* mouth, and he became alive again. In his paw, however, was found a small quantity of earth, which the prophet rolled into a small ball, and tied to the neck of Ka-ke-gi (the raven), saying, "Go thou, and fly to and fro over the surface of the deep, that dry land may appear." The raven did so; the waters rolled away; the world resumed its former shape; and, in course of time, the maiden and prophet were united and repeopled the world.

Pictures of God Before and After He Made the World.

About forty years ago two Indians, who were cutting cord-wood near Little Traverse village, one day returned in great haste, pale and excited, to Kaw-kee, their employer, saying, "Oh Kaw-kee, we cut down this morning a large maple-tree; and when we had sawn off the butt cut, behold, we found painted on the end of the log a figure of God before He made the world! It seemed so strange and wonderful that we dared not stay longer on the work; feeling sure that something awful would happen if we did." I will complete the story as it was told me by Kaw-kee about the time it occurred:

"Well," said he, "I laughed at them for such foolish superstition. They then tried to get me to return with them and examine the strange picture. I was sick at the time, and persuaded them to go back and saw off a thin piece of the log, and bring it to me, that I might see the picture for myself.

They started off very reluctantly. Returning in about two hours more excited than before, they exclaimed, 'Oh Kaw-kee, we have cut off the end of the log as you requested; and, as it fell picture-side to the ground—*Na! Mash-kee!* On the other side was a plain figure of God after He had made the world. And we do not dare to meddle further with it, for we feel that something dreadful will happen if we do.' On

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the following day I went with them to see what had so alarmed them, and to soothe their fears, if possible.

I must confess that as we approached the fallen tree I felt a curious sort of awe about my heart. I picked up the slice of wood which they had sawn off, and looked it carefully over on both sides. I was indeed astonished; for on each side Nature had traced a wonderful picture!"

At this point I became so intensely interested in his wonderful story, that I said, "Kaw-kee, what has become of that piece of wood?"

"Here it is," he replied; handing it to me as he stepped to one corner of his wigwam.

It was indeed a natural curiosity, well calculated to deceive anyone. On one side appeared the figure of a man with folded arms, and with a blanket wrapped about him, standing in what appeared to be the outlines of the segment of a rainbow. This had been regarded as a picture of God *before* He made the world. On the other side, appeared the same figure, with the right arm extended at full length, holding in his right hand a large ball, apparently in the act of throwing it. This had been considered to be a picture of God *after* He had made the world.

On close inspection, I saw that these pictures were caused in some way by the growth of the timber. The heart, or red part, of the wood forming the figures was surrounded by the white of the wood, which made the outlines clear. As I looked first at one side, and then at the other, I said to myself, "Those pictures might deceive the very elect."

Indian Spiritualism.

There is a tradition among the Ottawa branch of the great Algonquin family, believed to this day, that, centuries ago, their first parents migrated westward from the sea-coast, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and settled in the valley of the Ottawa River in Canada, where they lived for untold centuries, and that their main village was at a place they named Ke-tchi-nebis-sing, which name it still bears. There a daughter of the chief of the village went down to the lake to bathe one morning; leaving her infant boy tied to a flat piece of wood, as was the custom. On returning to the spot where she had left her child, he could nowhere be found. Distracted, she ran back to the village; frantically screaming that her child had been stolen. The villagers turned out and searched long and well; but not a trace of the child could be found.

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A few days after this two young lovers sat on a mound near the spot where the child had been lost; and while they were kissing and making love, they were startled by hearing, deep in the ground beneath them, an infant crying and sobbing as if its heart would break. They ran in great haste to the village, and reported what they had heard. All the inhabitants believed that it was the lost child which had been heard crying underground. The old chief called together all the magicians,—as is the custom to this day, where the Indians are not under the influence of Christianity,—to hold a *séance*, for communion with the unseen spirits, to divine what had become of the child. I will here briefly describe the manner in which Indians proceed to receive communications from the spiritual world, as I have myself witnessed.

Poles, ten to twelve feet high, are set in the ground, in the form of a circle from six to eight feet in diameter. The top of the lodge is left open. The sides are tightly covered with birch-bark, or the skins of animals. A fire is built close to the lodge for the purpose of enabling the spectators to light their pipes, as they generally smoke during the strange performance. All being ready, a low, tinkling sound is heard, like several small bells at a distance. With a rush, on comes the leading performer, carrying a magician's little, flat rattle-box, somewhat like a tambourine. He sits down by the fire, and begins by telling his audience how he can call up spirits of the dead, as well as of those yet living in the world, and that any present can ask them questions and receive true answers thereto. He next sings a peculiar song, which can scarcely be understood. He then either goes into the lodge by crawling under, or sits outside with the audience; throwing his blanket or some other clothing over the top of it. Immediately the lodge begins to shake, like a creature of life with an ague chill. Then is heard in the lodge a sound like that of a distant, strong wind sweeping through leafless trees, and intermingled with strange voices. When questions are asked by anyone present they are always answered in an unknown tongue; but, luckily, among the spirits there is always a special interpreter to explain what the spirits say.

According to the tradition above referred to, when the performance closed a party was sent to the lake to dig near where the lost child was left by its mother. They did so; and, as deep down in the ground as they were tall, they found the remains of the child in a cavern, from which fled, through an underground channel into the lake, a spirit monster. The magicians then declared that the country was ruled by Mau-tchi Manito, the evil one, who was an enemy seeking to do them all the

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harm possible; that all the misfortunes which had befallen them came from that source alone; and that their only means of safety was to seek a new land toward the setting sun. Thus it was, that those tribes of the great valley of the Ottawa moved westward along the northern limits of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan and all about Ot-chip-we-ki-tchi-gami (Lake Superior), where many of them remain to this day.

Origin of our Tribal Flower—the Trailing Arbutus.

Many, many moons ago, there lived an old man alone in his lodge beside a stream in the thick woods. He was heavily clad in furs; for it was winter, and all the world was covered with snow and ice. The winds swept through the woods; searching every bush and tree for birds to chill, and chasing evil spirits over high hills, through tangled swamps, and valleys deep. The old man went about, and peered vainly in the deep snow for pieces of wood to sustain the fire in his lodge. Sitting down by the last dying embers, he cried to Kigi Manito Wawkwi (the God of Heaven) that he might not perish. The winds howled, and blew aside the door of his lodge, when in came a most beautiful maiden. Her cheeks were like red roses; her eyes were large, and glowed like the fawn's in the moonlight; her hair was long and black as the raven's plumes, and touched the ground as she walked; her hands were covered with willow-buds; on her head were wreaths of wild flowers; her clothing was sweet grass and ferns; her moccasons were fair white lilies; and, when she breathed, the air of the lodge became warm and fragrant. The old man said, "My daughter, I am indeed glad to see you. My lodge is cold and cheerless; yet it will shield you from the tempest. But tell me who you are, that you should come to my lodge in such strange clothing. Come, sit down here, and tell me of thy country and thy victories, and I will tell thee of my exploits. For I am Manito." He then filled two pipes with tobacco, that they might smoke together as they talked. When the smoke had warmed the old man's tongue, again he said, "I am Manito. I blow my breath, and the lakes and streams become flint." The maiden answered, "I breathe, and flowers spring up on all the plains." The old man replied, "I breathe, and the snow covers all the earth." "I shake my tresses," returned the maiden, "and warm rains fall from the clouds." "When I walk about," answered the old man, "leaves wither and fall from the trees. At my command the animals hide themselves in the ground, and the fowls forsake the waters and fly

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away. Again I say, 'I am Manito.'" The maiden made answer: "When I walk about, the plants lift up their heads, and the naked trees robe themselves in living green; the birds come back; and all who see me sing for joy. Music is everywhere." As they talked the air became warmer and more fragrant in the lodge; and the old man's head drooped upon his breast, and he slept. Then the sun came back, and the bluebirds came to the top of the lodge and sang, "We are thirsty. We are thirsty." And Sebin (the river) replied, "I am free. Come, come and drink." And while the old man was sleeping, the maiden passed her hand over his head; and he began to grow small. Streams of water poured out of his mouth; very soon he became a small mass upon the ground; and his clothing turned to withered leaves.

Then the maiden kneeled upon the ground, took from her bosom the most precious pink and white flowers, and, hiding them under the faded leaves, and breathing upon them, said: "I give you all my virtues, and all the sweetness of my breath; and all who would pick thee shall do so on bended knees."

Then the maiden moved away through the woods and over the plains; all the birds sang to her; and wherever she stepped, and nowhere else, grows our tribal flower—the trailing arbutus.

God's Kettle.

About two hundred and fifty years ago Weme-gen-debay, a noted chief and a great hunter, discovered, while hunting in the wilderness east of Traverse Bay, Michigan, a great kettle made of pure copper. It was nearly covered with earth; and the roots of large trees had grown over and around it. When taken out of the ground it had the appearance of never having been used. The kettle was so large that a full-grown bear could be cooked whole in it. It was regarded as *Manito aukick* (God's kettle). Hence it was considered a sacred relic, was treated with a sort of reverential awe, and was kept securely hidden in a wild retreat unfrequented by man; never being used except when Tchibekan-kewin (the feast for the dead) was celebrated.

When the Indians in the Grand Traverse region became civilized this magic kettle lost its sacred influence, and was used to boil maple sap to sugar, instead of for cooking bear at feasts. Blackbird, a noted Indian now living at Harbor Springs, Michigan, as late as 1840, made a bail for this kettle while he was at work in the Government blacksmith-shop at the old Mission on Grand Traverse Bay. When I asked him,

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a short time since, what had become of that magic kettle, he replied, "I do not know, but must believe Manito has taken it home; for it disappeared as mysteriously as it came."

Thanksgiving Feasts, and Feasts for the Dead.

In the spring-time of each year our forefathers held Ma-gosh-e-win —a religious feast of prayer and thanksgiving,—rejoicing that winter had passed, and that all nature was alive again. At such times they erected in the centre of their camping-ground a high pole, on which they hung all their old, cast-off garments. Around this pole men, women, and children would sing and dance. The prayer of their song was, that Kigi Manito, who had brought back Ke-sus, the sun,—melting the snow and unlocking the ice-bound lakes and streams,—would look down upon his dependent children with love and compassion, and give them peace and plenty through another year. After the close of this feast they celebrated the feast for the dead.

All would march among the camp-fires; shaking hands whenever they met, singing in plaintive tones, "Ne-baw-baw-tchi-baw-yew ash-an-dis-win at-chak ne-bod" ("We are wandering about as spirits feeding the souls of the dead"), and at the same time eating, and throwing part of their food into the fire. This practice of feasting the dead, and of burying their weapons and utensils with them, was done in the same spirit as that in which the dominant race provides clothing, flowers, and marble for its dead. I believe there is no race on earth that has more reverence for its dead than ours. Our greatest sorrow, in being driven from our homes, has been our separation from the graves of our fathers, which we loved so much.

No greater insult can be given to Indians than to speak evil of their dead; for, say they, "The dead cannot speak for themselves; and the living that will not defend them are worse than Mau-tchi Manito (the Devil)."

Love and Marriage.

My feelings have often been mortified in reading in American histories that it was a custom among our people to marry for so many moons. There never was a greater misstatement. All our traditions most clearly show that, in our primitive state, we were a very virtuous people. Love and marriage were regarded as of divine origin. The false reports quoted in histories were made by white fur-traders, who, in early days, came among us, and, in order to get in closer touch with

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our people, intermarried. They afterward deserted their Indian wives and children; returning to their own people, and branding us with the lie in order to hide their own shame.

When our boys and girls become warmly attached to each other, they confidentially talk the matter over with their parents, who always sympathize with them in their love affairs; for, believe me, our children are never laughed at and tormented, as is the case with white people, as though it were a crime to fall in love.

When lovers are married they repeat, generally in presence of both families, the following: "We now marry each other for life, before all our friends, now here assembled, by the command of the Great Spirit, who has united our hearts in one."

Then the lovers simply join hands; their lips in mutual concert meet, and the marriage-knot is tied for life.

The Sacred White Deer.

There is a very old superstition, still extant among our people, that white, or albino deer—which are very rare—are sacred. They have for time out of mind been called *Manito sucsee wabe* ("the sacred white deer").

It is believed that if anyone should shoot at and miss a white deer, he would be sick in consequence; and, that should he kill one, death would soon be the result. I once encamped while hunting with a white man for partner. Returning to our lodge one night, I told him how, during the day, I had had a chance to kill a most beautiful white buck, having the most perfect antlers I had ever seen, but that I had not had the heart to take his life, for I had always heard our old hunters say that the white deer was sacred, and that they never knew a hunter who killed one to live long. He called me many hard names, and among other things, said: "Pokagon, you are as superstitious as an uneducated redskin. Don't you know anything? Why, we could have sold that deer for more than fifty dollars!"

Yet this same man, a few days later, when we had started on our morning hunt, went back to the lodge, a distance of at least half a mile, to get an old horse-chestnut which he claimed had brought him good luck for years.

He would not hunt on Friday; fearing he might get shot. I suggested to him one Friday morning that, if he should fill his pockets with chestnuts, he would be perfectly safe. He talked very eloquently to me for some time; but he did not thank me for my advice.

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In conclusion, permit Pokagon to say that he once thought that man's proneness to trust in superstitions was such a reflection on his natural ability, as to declare him unworthy of being considered spiritual and immortal. But, after having associated with the dominant race, as well as his own, for more than fifty years, and after having learned that trust in superstitions creeps into the hearts of all races, whether savage, or civilized and enlightened, he has been forced to a contrary opinion; and he now believes with all his heart, that such trust in superstitions most emphatically declares that man is spiritual and immortal, and has a higher life beyond the grave. In fact, it appears to him just as natural for man to trust in some intelligence higher than himself, who he believes brought him into being, as it is for children to trust in their parents.

As reasonable beings, without prejudice, we cannot for a moment believe that heathen who bow down to idols, or savages who trust in totums, or the civilized who have faith in mascots, believe there is any power in the object itself, but simply that there is somehow or other, a spiritual intelligence connected with it, which they cannot understand or explain, independent of the thing itself. They only know that it satisfies their nature to confide in it. As beings of common sense, we cannot believe otherwise than that their feelings are akin to those of the little girl who pets and caresses her doll, sleeps with it; and embraces it with all the tenderness of a devoted mother, and yet not for a moment believes it real. She is actuated to love and caress it in order to satisfy that parent love born in her own soul, which the God of nature has so wisely implanted in the breast of all human-kind.

Those mother-like caresses of the little girl, as she plays with her doll, declare no more emphatically to our reason that she inherits maternal love, than do those acts of rational beings who idolize totums and mascots declare that they are spiritual beings connected in some way with a higher Intelligence, who created them and governs all, and to whom all are accountable in this life and in the life to come. Pokagon does not wish to be understood, because he has reasoned by way of analogy in proof of spirituality, that he wishes to encourage idol-worship, after the relation between God and man has been revealed to men. Nor can he understand how it is possible for true Christians to trust or confide in anything this side of eternity beyond the revealed God of Heaven, to satisfy their spiritual wants. SIMON POKAGON.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE GERMAN DRAMA.—II.

BISMARCK'S unbounded popularity in Germany will be readily understood when considered in relation to that historical development which I briefly indicated in my first article.[1] In Bismarck the Germans recognize not only the great statesman, but the redeemer of the nation,—the man who understood and consummated the realization of all its secret desires and hopes.

At the same time he has given expression to the highest aspirations of the German soul in pregnant words and sayings which have ever struck home, and which have been instantly understood and greeted with enthusiasm by all classes. Indeed, if we consider them our poets whose heart-stirring words live on forever, and if their greatness be measured by the extent of their influence, then Prince Bismarck may be aptly styled the greatest German poet of the nineteenth century.

Like all great men of German birth, Bismarck unites within himself the two conflicting elements which characterize the spirit of the German nation—a strong love for its nationality, and the faculty to penetrate beyond the national barrier. Throughout the length and breadth of the land there is no one more thoroughly German than Bismarck. His private life and domestic intercourse are those of the German *pater familias*. In every detail of his daily life, in all his habits and inclinations, he reveals the true son of the Fatherland. Like the German of Tacitus, he loves his horses and hounds; like the German student of the present day, he smokes his pipe and drinks his beer; and a simple German folk-song moves this powerful nature to tears.

Side by side with these characteristics, yet totally different from them in material points, we discern an extraordinary power, which far transcends the limits of nationality. For the ideas of this man are not only free from abstractions, but are ever characterized by a sense of reality which carries with it a power of conviction. Dreams and sentiments are foreign to his nature, which is distinguished by concentrative action.

[1] Dr. WILDENBRUCH'S first article on "The Evolution of the German Drama" appeared in THE FORUM for May, 1898.—ED.

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Endowed with an iron will, Bismarck pursues his purpose with unyielding tenacity. Free from that shrinking timidity which so frequently characterizes the intercourse of Germans with strangers, he faces all men with a candor founded upon a firm reliance on truth, and with a pride and faith in his nationality which neither disappointments nor reverses can shake.

Bismarck must have appeared to the German people as a celestial messenger; and truly it was a gift from heaven that he bestowed on them when, in 1870, he restored the German Empire. For, to the Germans, whose political ideas are so largely associated with sentiment, the Empire is something more than a mere form of government. In it they behold the incarnation of their deepest longings, the abrogation of all the evils from which they so long suffered, and the reunion with those traditions which had ever been to them a fruitful source of inspiration.

Nothing could be more expressive of this rebirth of the German nation than the legend of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa sleeping in his enchanted watch-tower on the Kyfferhäusen until the ravens shall cease their flight around the mountain. Amid degradation and despair this legend, so deeply rooted in the heart of the German people, and the eternal theme of innumerable poets, had at last become an article of the political code, which framed itself into three leading questions: (1) When will Germany once more have an Emperor? (2) Upon whose head will the Imperial crown be placed? (3) Will Strasburg be regained? In 1870 all these questions were answered. We have now to consider how these events influenced dramatic art.

A long time elapsed before a revival of the drama took place; for the German mind is slow and deliberate in action. But there is another fact which must be borne in mind in this connection; namely, that the literary leaders of that period were unable to grapple with the new conditions. These men were the last representatives of the school known as "Young Germany"; and they had grown old, unfruitful, and embittered. Only the younger generation greeted the year 1866 with enthusiasm: the older generation held aloof, and assumed a doubtful, if not repellant, attitude. The ideal of 1848, the "Revolution from below," had been the ideal after which it had striven. The "Revolution from above," which had now transpired, was not understood, and only aroused mistrust; and when, finally, the year 1870 removed all grounds for suspicion, this generation was no longer vigorous enough to participate in the general rejoicing, but became silent and morose.

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From men of this type a new departure was not to be expected. Still less, however, was to be accomplished by those who, although vigorously active, nevertheless continued to follow the path of "Young Germany," without possessing the talent of many of their predecessors in that school.

I pass over this interval, in which little or nothing of consequence was accomplished. It was characterized by neither deep emotions nor great ideas. The sole aim of the *literati* of that time was to discover for Germany a species of dramatic art modelled upon that of the French theatre,—the drama of modern society and of the *salon*. Such a tendency was bound to lead to purely artificial productions, because the conception of society and of the *salon*, peculiar to France, is entirely foreign to Germany. It is a humiliating fact, that immediately after the tragic events of 1866 and 1870 the German theatres were thrown wide open to these productions; for they offered nothing that the heart of the German people desired,—nothing indeed but a species of unreal drama embellished with appropriations from the works of former masters.

How deeply corruption had permeated the literature of that period no one realized more keenly than the author himself, when, in the latter part of the seventies, he wrote his plays on German and English history and found all the German theatres closed against them like a solid wall.

As the leader of a movement whose artistic aim is the union of tragic human destinies with great historical events, I may perhaps be permitted, without the charge of egotism, to say a few words concerning the ideas which influenced me in the conception of these dramas. I was convinced of two things: First, that a revival of true sentiment could be brought about only by demonstrating to the public that there were questions of greater importance to humanity than matrimonial difficulties and divorce cases patterned on French models; and, second, that the time had come when a return to true dramatic art was possible, and that the opportunity which then presented itself, if not utilized, might never return.

Germany had now reached its maturity in a political sense; and only for a strong nation can historico-political dramas be written. I have aimed in this direction, and must leave the rest to fate. When I entered upon this career, it required considerable courage to write as I did—courage to break the spell that superficiality of sentiment and frivolity had cast over the land and people. To-day this spell is broken;

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and the theatres have begun to realize that success may be obtained without recourse to trivialities.

The improvement of the German stage dates from the day when the great passions of history once more stirred a responsive chord in the hearts of the German people, by reminding them of their own great deeds in the past.

We have come now to the latest phase in the development of the German drama, a discussion of which, however, is, for me, attended with some difficulty, inasmuch as I am myself involved in the controversy, as the representative of a tendency which it is deemed necessary to abrogate; and it is no easy task for a soldier to prepare in the midst of the battle a dispassionate statement of facts. Nevertheless, I shall endeavor to do this as far as possible from an objective point of view.

After the great successes which led to the establishment of the German Empire, there appeared a new generation,—a generation which grew up with a sentiment totally different from that which for centuries had characterized the spirit of the German youth. The youthful generations of the past, as soon as they had attained a sufficient degree of maturity, had ever recognized the political condition of Germany as an evil; and, consequently, they looked to the future for the realization of their hopes and aspirations. The new generation which sprang up after the war everywhere beheld well-regulated and new conditions. All that its ancestors had with might and main contended for had passed to it as a snug and comfortable possession. In a word, the German youth of the past had grown up hungry; while now, for the first time, a sated generation appeared. Satiety, however, is a dangerous condition, particularly for the German: for the nature of the German is not light-hearted, but gloomy; and he is greater in adversity than in prosperity. Even Tacitus, in his narrative, tells us that the German, on returning from war or the chase, feasted, drank, and gambled away house and home, wife and freedom. Like the progeny of one who, by dint of hard toil, accumulated a fortune, the new generation forgot the hardships of their progenitors. They knew nothing of the rage and antagonism which the unification of Germany had encountered abroad; for the former enemies of Germany were such no longer.

Furthermore, Germany was now wealthier than formerly; and affluence and luxury enervate the soul. The antagonism between the educated and the uneducated classes, to which I referred in my first paper, now again manifested itself in a very disagreeable manner. The younger *literati*, who had never smelled powder, looked disdainfully upon the

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masses that were everywhere assembling to celebrate the anniversaries of their national victories. They even went so far as to invent infamous epithets, such as "Hurrah, Canaille!" for example, in order fitly to express their estimate of the people.

Yet, notwithstanding all that has been said, the youths of this period were thoroughly German at heart. They, too, were filled with that element of longing, peculiar to the German people. In their satiety, however, they did not know what to desire. Finally, help came from without. The Norwegian poets appeared on the horizon. First came Björnson, who was warmly received in Germany. And this was well; for Björnson is a great poet who writes from the heart. He introduced no foreign element; for the Scandinavian spirit is kindred to that of Germany. Both are subdivisions of one original race, the various members of which, though sometimes at enmity, nevertheless understand one another. Björnson is an enthusiast; and his influence upon Germany—a nation which requires the stimulus of enthusiasm—was naturally most favorable. But, unfortunately for Germany, this poet was soon displaced by a second Norwegian, Ibsen,—I say unfortunately, although I am conscious of the fact that this opinion is at variance with that of the cultivated circles of Germany. For, although Ibsen ranks as a far greater poet than Björnson, he is in reality much the inferior of the latter. All the elements that Björnson possesses and that stamp him as a true poet—enthusiasm, ardor, and confidence in the greatness of human nature—are lacking in Ibsen, who merely possesses a keen, incisive, and even an astute power of reasoning.

One of Ibsen's dramas is conceived in a truly great style, and carried out upon broad dramatic lines,—the historical drama, "Die Kronprätendenten" ("The Pretenders to the Crown"). This work, however, has met with but little favor at the hands of the critics, who gaze in astonishment upon Ibsen's other works, without perceiving that these are nothing more than dramatized epilogues to an action which had previously taken place, and that the actors in these dramas bear the consequences, not of their own deeds, but of the deeds or misdeeds of their ancestors.

This very doubtful transformation of what may be considered the universal law of the drama, namely, that man steps upon the stage as the agent of his own fate, reaches its climax in the theory of heredity, which Ibsen was the first to introduce into the drama. This theory is based upon the idea that man is not a free agent, but merely an organic machine, moved by a few unhealthy impulses which he is powerless to

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resist, and that, consequently, his whole life is predestined by those from whom he has inherited the tendencies of a diseased nature.

All medical authorities now admit that this theory, which was received with fanatical applause all over Europe, is founded upon a superficial adaptation of certain results of medical research, and is nothing more nor less than the dramatization of the soul-annihilating, materialistic view of life that removes the drama from the domain of the intellectual life into that of the physical. It was just the thing that our weak-spirited generation desired. All the great implements of the intellect with which mankind had hitherto wrought—will, conviction, faith—were relegated to the lumber-room; the soul of man was dethroned; and, in its place, the nervous system was proclaimed the ruling power.

The devastating influence of this superficial view of life soon began to make itself felt. Mediocrity, which ever hates the truly great and sublime, eagerly clutched at the new doctrine; and in Germany a large number of the most horrible dramas arose,—dramas modelled upon those of Ibsen, but without their strength. For Ibsen's technical ability is remarkable; and as a playwright, in the strict sense of the term, he is skilful to an extraordinary degree. This becomes apparent when we consider that he has succeeded in so constructing his dramatic epilogues that they almost impress one as being actual and complete dramas. His great power of invention and his manipulation of the dialogue also bear testimony to his skill. Upon closer acquaintance with his works, however, we find that, after the first very lively impression, they leave us cold. Why is this? Because these productions do not emanate from the soul, and are entirely without *naïveté*. In all of them a question is propounded with mathematical precision, and this question is to be solved by the *dramatis personæ;* whereas all questions affecting the well-being of mankind are really solved by both the heart and the mind of man. This, however, is not the case with Ibsen's works, which appeal solely to the brain. The voice of the emotions is so entirely repressed here, that one receives the impression that man possesses an algebraic formula instead of a heart. And herein, I believe, lies the key to the extraordinary influence of Ibsen. At all times men have sought some talisman by means of which they might solve the mystery of life. Ibsen, with his new dramatic formula, with his new doctrine of predestination, had at last brought the philosopher's stone, which all Germany eagerly accepted. That all these plays were founded upon conditions foreign to German life, did not affect the present generation,

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which had again become international. Ibsen was the world of which they dreamed, the ocean in which they bathed; and whatever was not Ibsen was declared unworthy of existence and was felled to the ground.

In the meantime the national life of Germany was not extinct. On the contrary, its habitually calm pulse was agitated to fever-heat. The new topic, the Social Problem, which now occupies the mind of Europe, again found in Germany, as once before in the days of the Reformation, a more fruitful soil than elsewhere. The fire which had smouldered so long beneath the surface, now, in the shape of the social democracy, burst into a bright flame, whose sudden radiance attracted general attention.

In order to have some idea of the influence which this movement exerted upon literature, we must consider that the points involved in it specially affected all the fundamental impulses of the German soul,—tender pity for the poor and the infirm; honest hatred of plutocracy; ardent desire for higher and purer social conditions, side by side with envy, an inadaptability to circumstances, and an almost Vandalic hatred of all that beautifies and amplifies life. We can thus form some conception of the extent to which these questions affected the minds of the people and influenced their literature. All the literary youth of the period, but more particularly the dramatists, at once entered into this movement, not as impartial critics, but as radical partisans. This was perfectly natural: for youth without passion is inconceivable; and passionate injustice is the prerogative of youth. Equally comprehensible was the rather doubtful influence thus exerted upon the literature of the period. Ibsen, who in his latest works had shown a decline of that stage-craft which he once possessed, now lost his influence, partly because the æsthetic sense of the public began to perceive the absence of flesh and blood from his characters, but, more particularly, because his creations were no longer powerful enough for the rabid generation which now began to rage. A perfect uproar now ensued in the domain of literature. All the passions of the masses, liberated by the socialist agitators, began to roar in these dramas. According to these writers, the era of dramatic literature in Germany was only just beginning. The tragedy of life was only to be found among those of the fourth estate, the proletarians; nor were there anywhere, besides these, human beings capable of dramatic representation. A war of extermination was to be declared against everything which had hitherto treated of other persons and conditions,—war against existing conditions; war against capitalists; and above all, war against historical

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tradition and everything associated with the Fatherland. Everything that was even remotely related to former conditions was persecuted with intense hatred. It was at this time that the disgraceful expression, "Hurrah, Canaille!" to which I have already referred, arose. Every attempt to portray higher human conditions than those of hunger and poverty was a lie. Every higher mode of expression, such as the dramatic verse, was childish. The humdrum work-a-day life, with its abject misery, was the only permissible subject of representation: the ordinary language of the lower classes was the only suitable form of expression for the drama.

Thus arose the short, but terrible, epoch of the Naturalistic drama in Germany. Impressed by the consciousness that there was not a single great talent among them, these dramatists combined to exercise their influence *en masse*. They also gained a footing in the daily press, which was utilized to circulate the propaganda for their party and to annihilate their opponents. In this way a ring was formed; and a species of terrorism arose such as had never before been known in Germany. As nearly every leading theatre was closed against these impossible productions, "Experimental Theatres," "Free Theatres," and "People's Theatres," were organized, in which the productions of the Naturalistic school might be performed.

I need not here dwell upon the fate of those who were recognized as opponents of the Naturalistic movement: the bitter hostility with which they were persecuted can well be conjectured. Noteworthy, however, as a characteristic of the period, was the fanatical and—when regarded from a national point of view—positively suicidal hatred which was directed against the name of Schiller. It is a fact that men did not scruple to make this great and glorious poet the target of the vilest ridicule,—a ridicule engendered by the furious spirit of partisanship. The validity of all past literature was called into question; and some considered the feasibility of abrogating it entirely. A literary reign of terror had broken out. Whoever among the older poets and writers desired to maintain his literary existence was compelled to become tributary to the new school. And there were actually some among the older writers who gave their literary life precedence over their moral convictions, and sacrificed the latter.

And now, what influence did these younger writers exert upon the people,—the people from whom this entire movement had apparently emanated? A simple, but well-authenticated, fact may serve to answer this question. A number of persons belonging to the working-classes,

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who had attended several performances at one of the so-called "People's Theatres," were asked what they thought of these plays, in which their own daily life was portrayed. They replied, "We do not attend the theatre in order to see what we can find at home every day of our lives." "What plays, then, do you prefer?" was asked. "Schiller's," they replied, without hesitation. These questions and answers are vouched for; and I believe they furnish overwhelming proof of the important fact, that the whole Naturalistic movement was merely on paper, and that none of these Naturalistic dramatists had the faintest conception of the desires and demands of the people. It is far down among the masses that the fountains of German national life spring; and it was here that the errors of the educated classes were again corrected.

The stormy tide of Naturalism found a barrier in the passive resistance of the people,—a barrier so powerful indeed that the whole movement may now be said to have been entirely overcome. The storm has exhausted its fury; its waves have been lost in the sands; and, now that the tempest is over, let us quietly ascertain whether there exist to-day any actual dramatic forces in Germany, whether the outlook for the future is promising. The answer is not unfavorable.

There are, to-day, in the northern part of Germany, a number of creative artists whose youth and incomplete development will not, as yet, permit of a thorough survey of their work. It is indisputable, however, that they possess talent and a qualification for higher dramatic art. Vienna, also, which so long has stood in the background, now shows signs of a dramatic revival; and a hearty and popular dramatic literature, founded upon the style of Auzengruber, is beginning to appear. A new danger, however, now threatens; and the fate of the drama depends upon the manner in which it is met. The danger to which I allude lies in a possible reaction from brutal materialism, which may be again carried to an extreme. The people no longer care about rudeness and brutality: they want peace and quiet. It is to be feared, however, that they will turn not only from what is horrible, but from all that suggests the tragic element; and when this takes place, dramatic art will cease to exist, and we may possibly experience a return to that false dramatic genre to which I referred in my first paper, and which is worse than the crudest Naturalism. This desire for rest, this melting of the soul, which has lately led to a partial revival of flat and stale comedies, has also prepared the public for the reception of that species of drama known as "Mysticism" or "Symbolism," recently imported into Germany.

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The term Mysticism is usually understood to imply a tendency to create another, a mystical, world over and above the realm of the senses that surrounds us. One might suppose Mysticism to be indigenous to Germany, the home of the fairy-tale,—a species of literature which may be said to bear some resemblance to Mysticism. But such is not the case. Mysticism is foreign to the German soul; and its resemblance to the fairy-tale is only an apparent one. For the fairy-tale does not dissolve the laws of nature: it merely toys with them. It is conscious of trifling with them, and smiles at its own efforts. Mysticism never smiles; its countenance is ever serious and as sour as vinegar; it believes in itself; and it denies the existence of the actual world because it despises it. Mysticism is, therefore, exactly the reverse of Naturalism, and is the reaction from this,—a reaction, however, which, in its finality, is just as baneful as Naturalism to the true spirit of poetry. Mysticism knows nothing of the fundamental principle of the art, nothing of healthy human nature, nothing of the sources from which true poetry springs, nothing of sentiment and passion.

The art which emanates from Mysticism is painted poetry. It is like a garden which contains, instead of real flowers, artificial ones tied to sticks,—flowers of paper, colored with aniline and sprayed with perfume. For this reason, Mysticism—at all times a characteristic of weak souls—may be considered the mortal enemy of high dramatic art.

Now, while there is no danger that so feeble an intellectual tendency will ever exert an influence over the German people, it may confuse the minds of a few poets and enervate their souls. Indeed, the works of several of our younger writers already bear testimony to the truth of this assertion. The creations of dramatic art are no longer judged by their spiritual fervor and power, but by their ability to awaken a certain mood. A perfectly graduated scale of artificial terms has been formed in order to characterize the impressions which this unreal species of dramatic art creates. The devotees of this school are forever lisping and whispering about intimate and esoteric influences, and seem utterly unable to realize that their hysterical conduct will only tend to render our truly virile dramatic art effeminate; for the views as well as the expressions of this school are hysterical.

It now only remains for us to inquire into the possibility of counteracting this tendency, and to ascertain by what means this may be accomplished.

I believe that the solution of the question must be left to those who recognize the true mission of dramatic art, and who are also ca-

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pable of meeting its requirements. Their task, though by no means an easy one, is yet quite plain. It consists in the representation of great human destinies, in order that the minds of the people may once more be elevated above the cares and burdens of their daily life, and that the connection between the deepest instincts of the German people and the drama may be preserved. In this way the attention of the nation may be directed to the eternal sources of its strength. In short, it will be the task of this drama to gather the facts of history, to arrange them with true poetic insight, and to blend them wisely into that structure whose presence liberates the soul,—the structure which we call dramatic art.

ERNST VON WILDENBRUCH.

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The Forum

AUGUST, 1898.

THE SPANISH WAR AND THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE WORLD.

COULD we regard the Spanish War as calmly as if it were a thing of the past, we should doubtless perceive that it formed a link in a long chain of events which, when complete, would represent one of those memorable revolutions wherein civilizations pass from an old to a new condition of equilibrium. The last such revolution ended with Waterloo: the one now at hand promises to be equally momentous.

In 1760 Holland, probably, still contained the economic centre of the civilized world; but by 1815 that centre had indisputably moved northwest to the mouth of the Thames, England had become the focus of capital and industry, and second to England—and to England alone—stood France. It then appeared as though the seat of empire had definitely established itself in the region of Europe contained between the Atlantic Ocean, the North Sea, and the Rhine: but, on looking back, the inference is unavoidable that decay must have set in almost at once; for in 1870 France, with hardly a struggle, collapsed. Since 1870 the forces which caused this catastrophe have continued to operate with increased energy.

The conclusion to be drawn from these premises is that, from either a military or an economic standpoint, the equilibrium of 1815 has been destroyed. Disintegration seems to have set in; and that disintegration is sweeping capital and industry in opposite directions from their former centres,—to the east from Paris, and to the west from London. On the Continent the focus of industry has long since crossed the Rhine, and

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is receding toward the Vistula; while an equally marked tide has run from the British Isles toward America.

Perhaps the simplest illustration of this phenomenon is the iron trade, the basis of modern manufactures. In the middle of the last century France led in the production of pig-iron; England and Germany were nearly equal; while America produced but little. The pig-iron produced in 1740 was as follows: France, 26,000 tons; Great Britain, 20,000; Germany, 18,000; America, 1,000 tons.

During the next hundred years England distanced France; France gained relatively on Germany; and America increased her product from one-twentieth to more than one-fifth of that of the United Kingdom. The following was the product of pig-iron in 1840: Great Britain, 1,390,000 tons; France, 350,000; United States, 290,000; Germany, 170,000 tons.

After 1870 the movement became accelerated. Between 1880 and 1896 the German output grew from 2,729,038 to 6,372,816 tons; while that of France, which had been 1,725,293 tons in 1880, was only 2,333,-702 in 1896. The following extract from the "Industrial World" of February 3, 1898, puts in a nutshell the altered relations of the two nations:

"The rapidity with which the manufacture of hardware has grown in Germany may be judged from the fact that it compared with that of France in 1875 as four to three, and in 1895 as five to two."

But if Germany has outstripped France, the activity of America has been even greater. In 1840 the United States had not entered the field of international competition; in 1897 she undersold the English in London; and her product for 1898 promises nearly to equal that of Great Britain and France combined.

In Great Britain the production of pig-iron in 1880 was 7,749,233 tons; in 1896, 8,563,209; and in 1897, about 8,700,000 tons. Her exports of the same were: In 1880, 1,632,343 tons; in 1896, 1,059,796; and in 1897, 1,200,746 tons. Thus it would appear that the English iron industry is relatively stationary.

The United States, on the other hand, in 1870 produced 1,665,179 tons of pig-iron; in 1880, 3,835,191; and in 1897, 9,652,680 tons; while for the present year the estimates reach a million tons a month.

The exports of pig-iron amounted last year to 600,000 tons; and manufactured steel is exported in increasing quantities not only to India, Australia, Japan, and Russia, but to the United Kingdom itself. As the "Economist" of April 16, 1898, observed:

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"The fact, that the United States is now able to produce pig-iron and some forms of steel cheaper than this country, is a serious menace to our foreign trade in the future."

Furthermore, there are indications that accumulated wealth is following in the track of industry. With France this proposition seems demonstrable. The outflow began with the war-indemnity of 1871, which, alone, may have tipped the balance toward Germany; and since 1870 the victors have continually squeezed the vanquished. Isolated and weak, France, with the instinct of self-preservation, has amalgamated with Russia, and, to strengthen her ally, has remitted thither the bullion which might have expanded her manufactures at home. The amount lent has been estimated at $2,000,000,000,—perhaps it is more. Certainly it has sufficed to vitalize northern Asia. Under this impulsion the Russian Empire has solidified, and mills and workshops have sprung up on the Southern Steppes; while Poland is becoming a manufacturing province. The Russian railway system is stretching eastward; it is under construction to Peking; and it is said to be projected to Hankow, the commercial capital of the great central provinces of China. Nor has Russia alone benefited. No small portion of this great sum has percolated to Germany, where the Russians have bought because of advantageous prices. Thus, yielding to a resistless impulsion, France is being drawn into the vortex of a Continental system whose centre travels eastward.

The United Kingdom, though untouched by war, has presented nearly parallel phenomena. The weak spot of English civilization is the failure of the Kingdom to feed the people. This failure not only necessitates a regularly increasing outlay, but throws the nation on an external base in case of war. A comparison of quinquennial averages, taken at equal periods since 1870, shows that, while the value of exports has regularly fallen, the value of imports has risen, until the discrepancy has become enormous; the growth of the adverse balance in twenty-five years having been 20 per cent. The following table will explain the situation:

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

TOTAL EXPORTS.			TOTAL IMPORTS.		
Periods.	Amounts.	Decrease.	Periods.	Amounts.	Increase.
1871–1875...	£1,197,512,196		1871–1875..	£1,510,099,864	
1881–1885...	1,161,429,669	3%	1881–1885..	1,682,727,419	10%
1891–1895..	1,184,770,481	2½%	1891–1895..	1,775,694,339	5%

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Last year the apparent deficit reached £157,055,000 (nearly $800,000,000); and the first four months of 1898 show a loss of £10,000,000, as compared with the same months of 1897. Nor does the mere statement of the figures reveal the gravity of the situation. The effect is cumulative; for, as charges grow, surplus income declines. However large a revenue the British may have drawn from foreign investments when those investments were in their prime, no one supposed it to be £160,000,000; and there can be no doubt that their income from this source has shrunk considerably. First, the interest rate is less than formerly; second, bankruptcy has wiped out many debts since 1890; third, there has been a heavy sale of foreign—especially of American—securities in London. Yet, in spite of such sales, many millions of gold have been shipped lately to New York; and bankers believe that many millions more are loaned in London at higher interest than can be obtained here. Most significant of all, perhaps, is the fact that Sir James Westland, the Indian Minister of Finance, inclines to ascribe the crisis in Hindostan rather to the withdrawal of English funds than to the closing of the mints. These facts tend to show not only that Great Britain is spending her capital, but that the flow of her money is toward America, as the flow from France is across the Rhine. Englishmen, it is true, having regard to the growth of their revenue, consider themselves most prosperous. They certainly enjoy a large surplus; and yet, perhaps, this elasticity is hardly reassuring. On analysis, the items of taxation which show the chief increase are the succession duties and the excise. The one is notoriously a socialistic measure; while the other indicates increased extravagance in drink.

Turning from the economic to the military standpoint, the altered attitude of Europe is at least equally impressive. Lord Salisbury once described the disease which devoured the Balkan country as "gangrene." The same gangrene is devouring all the Latin races. The aggressive energy of France is, perhaps, dead. Few now believe her able, single-handed, to withstand Germany; and this feebleness draws her toward that social system which promises at no very distant day to consolidate Northern Europe and Asia in a mass hostile to the interests of all external races. Such a consolidation, should it mature, must threaten not the prosperity only, but the very existence, of England. Should it prevail, her geographical position would become hopelessly excentric, and she would also be thrown upon the United States for food. At present there are but two localities where the wants of the British people can be certainly supplied: one is the coast of the Black Sea, the other that

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of North America. Under such conditions, however, the Black Sea would lie in the enemy's power; while the United States could probably close the St. Lawrence as well as her own ports. The support of the United States may thus be said to be vital to England, since, without it, if attacked by a Continental coalition, she would have to capitulate. Great Britain may, therefore, be not inaptly described as a fortified outpost of the Anglo-Saxon race, overlooking the eastern continent and resting upon America. Each year her isolation grows more pronounced; and as it grows, the combination against her assumes more and more the character of Napoleon's method of assault, which aimed to subdue an insular and maritime antagonist by controlling the coasts whence that antagonist drew its livelihood.

Unconsciously, perhaps, to herself, insecurity as to her base has warped every movement of England, and has given to her foreign policy the vacillation which has lately characterized it. This weakness has caused her to abandon Port Arthur, to permit Germany to occupy Kiao Chou, and to look with pleasure to an alliance with this country.

But, if the United States is essential to England, England is essential to the United States, in the face of the enemies who fear and hate us, and who, but for her, would already have fleets upon our shores. More than this, the prosperity of England is our prosperity. England is our best, almost our only, certain market. She is the chief vent for our surplus production; and anything which cripples her purchasing power must react on us. For years past she has been losing her commanding industrial position. Her most lucrative trade to-day lies with the Far East; and if she is shut out there, her resources will be seriously impaired, and the money she no longer earns cannot be spent for food. Moreover, in those regions the interests of the two peoples are identical. The Russians hardly veil their purpose of reversing, by means of railways, the current of the Chinese trade as it has flowed for ages, and of using force to discriminate against maritime nations; but those who are excluded from the Eastern trade have always lagged behind in the race for life.

Approached thus, the problems presented by the Spanish War become defined. Competition has entered a period of greater stress; and competition, in its acutest form, is war. The present outbreak is, probably, only premonitory; but the prize at stake is now what it has always been in such epochs, the seat of commercial exchanges,—in other words, the seat of empire. For upward of a thousand years the social centre of civilization has advanced steadly westward. Should it continue to ad-

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vance, it will presently cross the Atlantic and aggrandize America. If, on the contrary, it should recede, America may have reached her prime. In the future the conflict will apparently lie—as it has done in the past—between the maritime and the unmaritime races, or between the rival merits of land- and sea-transport. A glance at history will prove the antiquity and fierceness of this strife.

From the earliest times, China and India seem to have served as the bases of human commerce; the seat of empire having always been the point where their products have been exchanged against the products of the West. In the dawn of civilization, this point vibrated between Chaldea and Assyria; Babylon or Nineveh being the metropolis, as one or the other gained possession of the wholesale trade. The Phœnicians, on the coast, acted as carriers; and through them the shores of the Mediterranean were developed. As this development went on, the focus of affairs advanced to Carthage; and when Rome destroyed Carthage, exchanges passed from Africa to Italy, and the ancient civilization rapidly culminated. The law may, perhaps, be stated somewhat thus: In proportion as the Western races acquire the capacity for consuming Eastern products, the sphere of civilization expands, and the energy of centralization increases. Conversely, in proportion as the West has either lain dormant, or has lost the power of consumption, civilization has receded into Asia, and has there, in the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, created capitals, of which Nineveh, Babylon, and Bagdad may be taken as types.

Following this law, from the fourth century onward, as Italy, Gaul, and Spain sank into barbarism, and Byzantium herself came to resemble a fortified frontier-post, peddling at retail to hunters and shepherds, the wholesale trade receded to Ctesiphon, on the Tigris, where, in the early part of the seventh century, reigned Chosroes, the greatest of potentates. At this time the Eastern Empire reached its lowest ebb. Poverty paralyzed the Greek armies. Constantinople built no churches, erected no statues, illuminated no books, neglected her coinage, and forgot her arts. In 618 the Emperor Heraclius, a great soldier, so despaired, that he freighted a fleet with his treasures, and prepared for flight to Africa. At this moment of utter exhaustion on the Bosphorus, Gibbon has thus described the magnificence of Dastagerd, in the valley of the Tigris, the abode of the Persian king:

"Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace-gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves; the various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics were deposited in a hundred sub-

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terraneous vaults. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls; the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble and plated wood, that supported the roof; and the thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac."[1]

The peculiarity of the path of exchanges is that it lies east and west, not north and south. When Byzantium lost her Western market, the possession of Egypt or North Africa availed little. She became poor; and, as usual, poverty reacted on itself. The Greeks failing to protect their communications with Central Asia, Chosroes first succeeded in blocking the caravan routes, and then in invading Syria and Egypt and occupying their ports. When he had thus isolated his enemy, he had no difficulty in keeping an army at Chalcedon for ten years, in sight of St. Sophia. Had the Persians then commanded the sea, they would surely have succeeded where Artaxerxes had failed centuries before at Salamis. Certainly in the time of Heraclius the Greeks were harder pressed than in the time of Themistocles; and would in any event almost certainly have succumbed to the blockade had it not been for the advent of the Saracens. The Hegira occurred in 622; and the diversion was decisive. In 637 the Moslems sacked Ctesiphon, the Persian Empire crumbled, the ancient avenues of traffic were reopened, and exchanges began that long journey westward which has lasted till to-day. Constantinople was the first point in Europe to feel the impulsion. Her energy returned with her commerce; and by the ninth century she was again the seat of wealth and empire. Nevertheless her prosperity was ephemeral; fluctuating with that sensitive equilibrium which is the sport of war.

In the tenth century, as in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, the usual route from the Orient to the West lay up the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and across Syria by caravan; with the difference, that it reached the sea by Aleppo and Antioch instead of by Tyre or Sidon.

Accordingly, Aleppo and Antioch flourished, and served Byzantium as a base of supplies: yet they were Saracenic; and, in an evil hour, the Government of Romanus II determined to destroy them. In 961 the future emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, began a series of frightful campaigns. He utterly devastated the lovely valley of the Orontes; closing Syria to commerce, and forcing trade to pass through the Red Sea and the mouths of the Nile. Thenceforward cargoes changed hands at Cairo,

[1] GIBBON'S "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xlvi.

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not at Bassora; and the burden of the chronic war against the Greeks was shifted from the Caliphs of Bagdad to the Sultans of Egypt.

This stride westward made Cairo and Venice. Cairo became the seat of the wholesale trade; while the position of Constantinople grew geographically excentric. Moreover, Venice prevailed as a market. Egypt, though rich in luxuries, lacked material of war, which was abundant in Europe. Constantinople rejected such trade with her enemy: but the Venetians sold greedily; and, therefore, Oriental traffic ascended the Adriatic, while Byzantium shared the fate of Bassora and Bagdad. The Venetian marine grew with her commerce. By the middle of the eleventh century it commanded the Mediterranean; and, with the Crusades, Northern Italy received an impulsion which raised it to undisputed economic supremacy. In 1204 the Doge Henry Dandolo stormed the works on the Golden Horn, and carried home the accumulated treasure of five centuries.

Movement is the law of nature. Venice fell through the energy of the very maritime genius she had fostered. In 1497 Vasco da Gama discovered a cheaper route to India than by the Levant. The arrival of his fleet at Calicut was the signal for exchanges to pass at a leap from the Adriatic to the North Sea; prostrating Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, raising Antwerp and Amsterdam, and heaving up the great convulsions of the sixteenth century.

The last journey of exchanges westward began when Clive disturbed the existing social status by pouring into England the plunder of Bengal. Plassey was fought in 1757. In the process of readjustment, Napoleon attempted to strangle England, as Chosroes had tried to strangle Byzantium. He failed; but the equilibrium then attained after forty years of war now seems tottering to its fall.

Year by year since 1870, when France discovered symptoms of advanced decay, the gangrene has eaten deeper. Last year Greece passed into the throes of dissolution; this year Italy and Austria are in hardly suppressed revolution; while Spain is being dismembered, and in her disintegration has involved the United States in war. The United States thus stands face to face with the gravest conjuncture that can confront a people. She must protect the outlets of her trade, or run the risk of suffocation. Those outlets are maritime, and are threatened by the same coalition which threatens England. The policy of Continental Europe is not new. It is the policy of Napoleon and of Chosroes; for Russia seeks to substitute land- for water-communication. In a few years Peking, and probably the Yang-tse, will be connected with Moscow and Berlin by

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rail; and then entirely new conditions will prevail. At present Continental interests in China are trifling. The following table, from a French source,[1] may be trusted not to belittle them:

EXTERNAL COMMERCE OF CHINA FOR 1894.

Total, Fr. 1,216,000,000, distributed thus:

Country.	Millions of Francs.	Country.	Millions of Francs.
England	857	Japan	77
United States	108	Russia	51
West Europe	104	Others	19

This estimate placed the interest of the United States in 1894 at one-eighth of that of England, and at about one-eleventh of the whole; Russia's part amounted to only one-twenty-fourth; and France, Germany, and Belgium, combined, represented one-twelfth. In a valuable report just issued by Mr. O'Beirne, of the British Diplomatic Service, the trade of the United States with China is reckoned at "one-seventh of the entire trade of the Empire in 1896," as "more than 50 per cent larger than the German exports," and as having increased "126 per cent in ten years." England and the United States have, therefore, to-day a stake in the Far East more than six times greater than that of Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium combined.

Nor is the present the matter of chief concern. The expansion of any country must depend on the market for its surplus product; and China is the only region which now promises almost boundless possibilities of absorption, especially in the way of iron for its railroads.

Like other Asiatics, the Russians are not maritime. No Oriental empire ever rested on a naval supremacy. Phœnicians and Arabs alike failed to hold their own upon the sea; and, therefore, the path of commerce has been deflected north toward Rome and London, instead of continuing due west by Carthage and Cadiz. A century ago Gibbon pointed out that Chosroes failed, as Artaxerxes had failed before him, because of the weakness of his marine,—a weakness which contrasts with the vigor of the Greek, the Italian, the Dutch, and the English. The same flaw crippled Napoleon. Doubtless the difficulty of land-transport contributed to his fall; but how far that difficulty has been removed by steam is undetermined. Possibly the change has been radical enough

[1] "L'Illustration," of January 23, 1897.

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to permit an Asiatic race now to succeed, if backed by French capital, where the French themselves failed.

From the retail store to the empire, success in modern life lies in concentration. The active and economical organisms survive: the slow and costly perish. Just as the working of this law has produced during the last century unprecedented accumulations of capital controlled by single minds, so it has produced political agglomerations such as Germany, the British Empire, and the United States. The probability is that hereafter the same causes will generate still larger coalitions directed toward certain military and economic ends. One strong stimulant thereto is the cost of armaments. For example, England and the United States combined could easily maintain a fleet which would make them supreme at sea; while as rivals they might be ruined. The acceleration of movement, which is thus concentrating the strong, is so rapidly crushing the weak, that the moment seems at hand when two great competing systems will be left pitted against each other, and the struggle for survival will begin. Already America has been drawn into war over the dismemberment of one dying civilization; and it cannot escape the conflict which must be waged over the carcass of another. Even now the hostile forces are converging on the shores of the Yellow Sea;—the English and the Germans to the south; Russia at Port Arthur, covering Peking; while Japan hungers for Corea, the key to the great inlet. The Philippine Islands, rich, coal-bearing, and with fine harbors, seem a predestined base for the United States in a conflict which probably is as inevitable as that with Spain. It is in vain that men talk of keeping free from entanglements. Nature is omnipotent; and nations must float with the tide. Whither the exchanges flow, they must follow; and they will follow as long as their vitality endures. How and when the decisive moment may come is beyond conjecture. It may be to-morrow, or it may not be for years. If Russia and Germany can shape events, it will not be until their navies and railroads are complete. But these great catastrophes escape human control. The collapse of France might convulse society in an instant. Whether agreeable to them or not, economic exigencies seem likely to constrain Englishmen and Americans to combine for their own safety; and possibly hesitation as to their policy may be as dangerous as indecision in war.

Friends and enemies now agree that an Anglo-Saxon alliance, directed to attain certain common ends, might substantially make its own terms; but how it would stand, if opposed by a Power capable of massing troops at pleasure in the heart of China, is less clear. What is tolerably cer-

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tain, however, is, that, with the interior distributing-points well garrisoned, discrimination might go very far toward turning the commercial current against the maritime races. Supposing such discrimination to succeed, and China to be closed, the centre of exchanges might move east from the Thames; and then London and New York could hardly fail to fall into geographical excentricity. Before the discoveries of Vasco da Gama, Venice and Florence were relatively more energetic and richer than they. On the other hand, if an inference may be drawn from the past, Anglo-Saxons have little to fear in a trial of strength; for they have been the most successful of adventurers. They have risen to fortune by days like Plassey, the Heights of Abraham, and Manila; and although no one can be certain, before it has again been tested, that the race has preserved its ancient martial quality, at least aggression seems a less dangerous alternative than quiescence. The civilization which does not advance declines: the continent which, when Washington lived, gave a boundless field for the expansion of Americans, has been filled; and the risk of isolation promises to be more serious than the risk of an alliance. Such great movements, however, are not determined by argument, but are determined by forces which override the volition of man.

Should an Anglo-Saxon coalition be made, and succeed, it would alter profoundly the equilibrium of the world. Exchanges would then move strongly westward; and existing ideas would soon be as antiquated as those of a remote antiquity. Probably human society would then be absolutely dominated by a vast combination of peoples whose right wing would rest upon the British Isles, whose left would overhang the middle provinces of China, whose centre would approach the Pacific, and who would encompass the Indian Ocean as though it were a lake, much as the Romans encompassed the Mediterranean. BROOKS ADAMS.

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THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMISSION.

In a letter to Talon, the Intendant at Quebec, Colbert, always in advance of his time, expressed a desire to see friendly relations prevail between the colonists of New France and the "English of Boston." It was advisable, he said, that the two peoples should trade with each other, that the English should have the same privileges in the French fishery as they granted in their fishery to the subjects of France, and that they should be allowed to traffic with the Indians of Pentagouet (the Penobscot River region) to the same extent as they permitted the French to trade with the Indians round about Boston. Talon, in short, should do his best to arrange "un traitement réciproque" all round. On another occasion he observed that this was probably the only way to preserve peace on the frontier: and peace was most desirable; for it would be a grave business if France, with so many weighty cares in the Old World, were exposed to the risk of war on account of disputes between her colonists and their English neighbors in the New World.

England's position in North America to-day is quite as embarrassing in that respect as Colbert's. In the two hundred years that have passed, the English of Boston have become a mighty nation, the larger half of the English-speaking race, the community, above all others in the world, with which England,

> "Bearing on shoulders immense,
> Atlanteän, the load,
> Well-nigh not to be borne,
> Of the too vast orb of her fate,"

desires in her own interest to be at peace. But, owing to the friction continually arising between these powerful kinsmen and her present North American colonies, it is not always easy to maintain peace. With the exception of the Venezuela controversy, which soon subsided, all the disputes that have taken place between England and the United States since the Geneva Award, that is to say, in the last five and twenty years, have been disputes of Canadian or Newfoundland origin. One of Sir Julian Pauncefote's predecessors declared that, but for Ottawa, he would have had a sinecure. The points at issue, too, are, from the nature of

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the case, of little or no interest to Englishmen. More than once since 1818 war between England and the United States has been imminent because of a disagreement between Americans and Canadians over such distant and wholly unimpressive matters—so at least Englishmen must have considered them—as the right of a Massachusetts skipper to sail through the Gut of Canso in pursuit of mackerel, or to buy bait and molasses at a Cape Breton store. The Seal Question has been on the boards for ten years, and has led to the exchange between London and Washington of reams of vehement despatches; including the famous "shirt-sleeves" missive, which a generation or two ago would assuredly have precipitated war. Yet the aggregate tonnage of the British Columbia sealing-fleet, which is causing all the trouble, does not exceed 3,500 tons; while it is tolerably safe to say that, outside official circles, the merits of the controversy are not understood by a half-dozen persons in the United Kingdom.

The recent agreement between the United States and England for the appointment of an international commission to settle the various questions now at issue between the United States and Canada is characterized by a European diplomat as the "first-fruits of the close friendship that has sprung up between England and the United States since the war with Spain." Perhaps I may be allowed to add that Sir Wilfrid Laurier began paving the way for a commission when he took office two years ago, and that his efforts, and those of the Liberal party of Canada, to promote a more cordial understanding between the United States and England date even further back.

Canadian Liberals have always insisted that an increase of commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States would tend to do away with the controversies—petty but irritating, like a cinder in the eye—which grow out of the enforcement of a high tariff on each side of the boundary, or, to speak more correctly, out of the unneighborly spirit which Protection is apt to generate. If, they said, England's trade with Canada should suffer, as it most likely would, she would profit immensely by the removal of causes of difference with the United States.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's desire to see an adjusting commission appointed would have come to nothing, but for the support it received at Washington. Mr. McKinley may have been influenced by Britain's friendly attitude toward the United States in the present war: it is natural and proper, I suppose, that he should. But he hails from a border State, and, as a man of affairs, must perceive the worldly wisdom of cultivating better relations with a neighbor who, though only five millions

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strong, is now the third-best customer the United States has. One can fancy him saying: "The Republican party has taken a lot of trouble to extend trade with Central and South America. Why should we ignore Canada, a country which we can talk with by telephone, and reach by rail or water in a few hours, which last year bought more American goods, the product of American labor, than Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Chili, Colombia, Argentina, and the Central American States all put together?"

In his account of the causes which brought about the formation of the Prussian *Zollverein*, Ranke wrote in 1835:—

> "We should not have complained that all our markets were overflowing with English manufactures, had not England, while she was inundating us with her productions, insisted on closing her markets to ours. England told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals: we vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity. But we were disappointed; and we were compelled to take care of ourselves."

Canada has been undergoing a similar experience. Not to go further back, in the ten years, 1888–97, she bought from the United States for home consumption merchandise of the value of $545,000,000. The duties amounted to $76,000,000, or about 14 per cent; a good proportion of the goods being free raw materials and food-stuffs. During the same period Canada's purchases from England were $385,000,000, on which $84,000,000, or over 20 per cent, was paid in duty. On the other hand, while Canadian exports to Britain have been steadily growing, amounting in those ten years to $580,000,000, Canadian exports to the United States, harassed by onerous duties at the frontier, have amounted to only $420,000,000.

Last year the Canadian people concluded that the time had come for a change. It was scarcely fair, they reasoned, to do most of their buying from a neighbor who, witness the Dingley Bill, was not over-willing that they should sell, to the neglect of the mother-country, whose markets are wide open to everything they choose to send. Beginning, therefore, on August 1 of this year, there will be a reduction in the Canadian tariff of 25 per cent in favor of British goods and articles from certain British colonies,—*i.e.*, such goods will pay rates of duty less by 25 per cent than the rates imposed on goods coming from the United States and other foreign countries. Economically speaking, this may not be a sound move. But there it is—the germ, perhaps, of a British *Zollverein*.

It is hard to make people believe that those who tax their wares up to the hilt are not animated by ill-feeling toward them. Americans, of

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course, bear no ill-will to Canada. When they think about her at all, they regard her as a country destined in the fulness of time to fall into the Union from sheer force of the law of attraction, and to be a source of health and strength to it; offsetting less desirable acquisitions which events seem to be thrusting upon the Republic. Yet, while none are more ready than Americans to strike back when they are struck at by the Tariff legislation of other countries, they do not make sufficient allowance for the feelings of those who writhe under their own heavy boots. There is no denying that Canadians have for years felt hurt at the treatment meted out to them by the Tariff Acts of Congress; and when the Dingley Bill became law, there was a well-nigh universal demand for giving British goods a preference. But if they wish to get the same tariff rate as Britain, to retain their export trade with Canada and to enlarge it, Americans can easily do so by being a little more liberal in their treatment of the Canadian farmer, lumberman, fisherman, and miner. They can lose nothing by making the experiment; for trade will not grow between the United States and Canada, or elsewhere, unless it is mutually beneficial. At present each Canadian man, woman, and child buys twelve dollars' worth of American goods annually—more *per capita* by a good deal than any other people on this continent. I do not suppose that the Commission will do more than make a beginning of Reciprocity; selecting a few articles, natural and manufactured, for reduced duties or for the Free List. But, as a matter of fact, there is nothing to hinder the American export trade with Canada from being augmented from $60,000,000 to $100,000,000 a year—nothing but the unwillingness or timidity of Americans themselves. Certain persons are raising the cry of "Canadian cheap labor," although surely it is demonstrable that the well-paid American artisan, with his energy and intelligence and elaborate machinery, and with the huge home market which enables the specialization of his labor and machinery to be carried to the extremest limits, is the cheapest producer in the world; reckoning cost of production, as we ought to do, by the cost per yard or per pound.

Mr. Blaine used to insist that Canada should be shut out of the United States market till such time as she elected to enter the Union: he was sure "the eagle would do well not to fatten the lion's whelp." It goes without saying that exclusion from the American market is a serious loss to Canada: it hinders, as nothing else could, the development of her resources, and the settlement of her vast areas of virgin land. Between exclusion from the United States market and the competition of French bounty-fed cod, Newfoundland, England's oldest col-

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ony, has been reduced to bankruptcy; and the British West Indies have suffered a like fate through exclusion from the United States market and through the competition of bounty-fed beet sugar.

But the loss is not all on one side. One of the earliest instances of harsh fiscal legislation was the refusal of the Romans to allow their transalpine allies to grow olives or vines. They did this to keep up the price of oil and wine in Italy. The old colonial policy of England, France, and Spain was based on the same sophism. But no modern statesman who looks into the thing can believe that his country derives nothing but benefit from a policy which impoverishes its neighbors. If Canada has suffered, manifestly the United States has suffered too in being deprived through all these years of just so many consumers of American iron, pork, and corn. As for the political effect,—Mr. Blaine's object apparently being to starve Canada into the Union,—it is a fact that the feeling in favor of annexation was more widespread in Canada during the life (1854–66) of the Elgin-Marcy Reciprocity Treaty than it has been at any time since. Of all people Americans have the best right to know how hateful coercion is to men of English blood. It has never been applied successfully to an English-speaking community, nor, for the matter of that, to any community worth having.

The Alien Labor Laws in force in the two countries will be considered by the Commission, with the view of reaching some satisfactory modification. It will be remembered that some years ago Congress passed an Act imposing a head-tax on immigrants, and excluding convicts, lunatics, and persons unable to take care of themselves. This law was favorably regarded in Canada, which often receives immigrants of an undesirable sort. But, when Congress went further and, in consequence of what had occurred in Pennsylvania,—where European laborers had been imported to take the place of strikers,—added a provision excluding foreign laborers and mechanics who, previous to embarkation, had entered into contracts to work in the United States, trouble at once arose at points like Buffalo and Detroit, where quite a number of Canadian mechanics were stopped and sent back. The Canadian labor organizations are affiliated with the labor organizations of the United States; and when non-union men were hired in Canada to supplant strikers in the United States, the inspector on the American side got a hint, and arrests followed. By and by an Alien Labor Law was demanded in Canada; and one was recently passed containing pretty much the same provisions as the American enactment. The man in the United States who hires over there to come to Canada is now treated as contraband.

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Both laws, however, are readily evaded. There is nothing in either to prevent an American or Canadian laborer from crossing the line to work, provided he makes his bargain with the employer on his arrival in the other country, and not before. At the same time much ill-feeling is caused by arrests. In some cases—as, for example, where a servant-girl, leaving Canada with her mistress, was stopped at the frontier on the ground that she had left under contract—the law has been set in motion by malevolence. American laboring-men complain of the French-Canadians who work in the United States in summer and return home in winter—a class known in French Canada as *hirondelles*. They admit that European laborers come and go in the same way. In Canada there are complaints against Italian navvies, who come from the United States to work on new railways, and return with their savings.

The dispute over the boundary between Alaska and the Canadian Yukon, which the Commission will endeavor to settle, has become an important one, owing to the Klondike gold discoveries. The United States having obtained title to Alaska by purchase from Russia, the boundary between Canada and Alaska is governed by the convention entered into between Great Britain and Russia in 1825. The Boundary articles of this convention are as follows:

"3. The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent and the islands of America to the northwest shall be drawn in the manner following:

Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54° 40′ north latitude, and between the one hundred and thirty-first and one hundred and thirty-third degrees of west longitude (Meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the one hundred and forty-first degree, in its prolongation as far as the frozen ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest.

4. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood:

(*a*) That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

(*b*) That wherever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

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With respect to the interpretation of this description, it is asserted on behalf of Canada: (1) That the point of commencement is Cape Chacon, at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, in latitude 54° 42′ or thereabouts. The line does not begin from a parallel of latitude, but from a point on an island. (2) As to its course from this point, it is believed that a more consistent reading of the convention will be arrived at by omitting the words "called Portland Channel": for, to reach Portland Channel, it is necessary to go nearly due east from the point of beginning; and this channel does not reach so far north as the fifty-sixth degree of latitude. The line, accordingly, should run from Cape Chacon northward along Clarence Strait and Ernest Sound; reaching the continent at the fifty-sixth parallel on the shore of the narrow strait called Seward Passage.

It is thought the United States will claim that the line is to follow the parallel of latitude 54° 40′ due east to the entrance of the inlet called on the charts Portland Inlet; thence to follow that inlet and Portland Canal to its head; and thence in a straight line to the point which may be decided upon as the initial point of the boundary-line north of the fifty-sixth degree. On behalf of Canada it is claimed that, if the words "Portland Channel" in the convention are applied to Portland Canal on the present charts, the line, to reach Portland Canal, is not to go by Portland Inlet, but to the north of Wales and Pearse Islands. "From this last-mentioned point," that is, the point at which the line drawn according to the preceding portion of the description reaches the fifty-sixth parallel, the line of demarcation should follow the summits of the mountains alongside of and nearest to the coast, as far as the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude. "The coast" here means the ocean coast; that is, the mainland looking toward the ocean, and not the shores of inlets.

It is believed that the contention of the United States in this particular will be that the shores of the inlets, however far they may run into the interior of the continent, are to be taken as the coast; and again, that on account of the extreme irregularity of the mountain ranges in that region, the tracing of a consistent line along the summits of the mountains parallel to the coast is impossible, and that, therefore, recourse must be had to the alternative line of the convention—a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, and ten marine leagues distant from tidewater.

Pending the final location of the boundary, the United States occupies the coast from the Lynn Canal to Portland Canal; leaving Canada

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dependent for access to the Klondike from the seaboard on a circuitous land-and-river route from Observatory Inlet or Alice Arm. The true commercial route to the Klondike is that *via* the Lynn Canal; and no doubt railway communication will soon be established from there to Selkirk and Dawson City, provided the two Governments can agree as to the bonding privilege.

The bonding system in general will be discussed: but the Commission is not likely to disturb the existing arrangement, which rests on legislation by the United States and Canada; the bonding provisions of the Washington Treaty of 1871 having, it is held, lapsed.[1] In the Treaty of 1794 between the United States and England it was provided that "no duties shall be payable on any goods which shall merely be carried over any of the portages or carrying-places on either side" of the boundary between the United States and Canada, "for the purpose of being immediately reëmbarked and carried to some other place." This was the germ of the bonding system. As the development of the two countries proceeded, the system grew more complex. Upper and Lower Canada, now known as Ontario and Quebec, had access in summer to the Atlantic by the St. Lawrence ports of Montreal and Quebec; but in winter they were cut off. This led them to ask for the privilege of using ports on the American seaboard in winter, which was conceded by the United States. Subsequently the Western States were allowed by Canada to send their products in bond by the Lakes and the St. Lawrence to Montreal, as well as to Oswego and Ogdensburg, and to bring goods from Europe and from the Eastern States the same way. In 1856, with the completion of American railways running to the boundary, the transit of goods in bond by rail from United States places through Canada to other United States places—States-to-States traffic—was permitted by Canada; while the United States permitted goods to be carried in bond from one Province to another through American territory.

A glance at the map will show that these arrangements were, so to say, forced upon the two countries by the physical configuration of the upper part of the continent. In winter, when the St. Lawrence is frozen, the nearest seaports to Montreal and Toronto are Portland, Boston, and New York. On the other hand, the Province of Ontario projects for four hundred miles into American territory; parts of it are that

[1] President CLEVELAND'S Message on Relations with Canada, August 23, 1888; and President HARRISON'S, on the Transportation of Imported Merchandise, etc., February 2, 1892.

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much south of a straight line drawn from the top of Minnesota to the top of Maine; the inhabited portion lies directly in the path of communication between Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan in the West and New York and New England in the East; so that, as the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee has observed, the traffic over the Canadian railways "has been of inestimable value to the New England States and of vast importance to the Northwestern States, and especially to Chicago."

The Michigan Central runs through Ontario on its way from the Detroit to the Niagara River. The Canadian Pacific runs through Maine and Vermont on its way from the St. Lawrence to its connections with Boston and to St. John and Halifax; in the West, subsidiary lines enable it to reach Duluth and Minneapolis from Sault Ste. Marie, and to penetrate through Dakota; whilst it uses an American line of steamers to convey freight from its British Columbia termini to San Francisco and other points on the Pacific. The Northern Pacific owns lines within Canadian territory, which have received a subsidy from the Manitoba Government; a line controlled by Americans runs from Spokane Falls into the Kootenay district of British Columbia; and the Great Northern enters British Columbia as far as New Westminster by a line from Seattle. The Canadian roads exchange freight and passengers along the international boundary with some thirty American railways. The bridges over the Niagara River, those over the St. Lawrence,—including the Victoria Bridge at Montreal,—and the tunnel under the St. Clair River form part of the network of intercommunication. The transportation interests of the two countries are, in fact, inextricably woven together along the whole length of the boundary from Maine to Michigan, and are rapidly becoming interlaced in the newer regions between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean.

It has been asserted that the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk—the Canadian Pacific more particularly—make a great deal of money out of their States-to-States traffic, and that, as they are not subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and have been subsidized out of the Canadian Treasury, their competition with American railways for that traffic is unfair. From a circular recently issued by the United States Treasury it appears that in 1897 5,350,000 tons of States-to-States traffic were carried by rail through Canada. I do not know what the aggregate interstate tonnage of all the railways in the United States may be; but obviously 5,350,000 tons cannot be more than an unimportant fraction of it. It turns out that all of it was not carried by the

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Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk: the Michigan Central, an American line, carried very nearly one-half. Published returns of the Canadian Pacific show that the States-to-States business done by that road in 1897 did not amount, all told, to more than 350,000 tons, the earnings from which, it has been pointed out, did not equal the sum spent by the Company in the purchase of American plant and material.

I cannot deal here with the construction subsidies paid to the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk, except to say that they have been seriously, though quite unintentionally, exaggerated by Senator Elkins. The answer of these two roads to the charge, that they do not observe the Interstate Act, is that they observe it on their American as well as on their Canadian lines as faithfully as the purely American roads, and are ready at any time to submit their books to inspection at Washington. One thing is tolerably clear: the American shipper is benefited by having access to the Canadian lines, or he would not use them,—from which we may conclude that the demand for their exclusion from States-to-States traffic is not put forward in his interest.

A revision of the agreement of 1817 respecting gunboats on the Great Lakes may be attempted by the Commission; and an effort will be made to establish joint regulations for the protection of fish in the Great Lakes and on the seaboard. Something will be done, too, toward getting rid, once for all, of the North Atlantic Fishery Question, which has for so long been a source of irritation. Canadians contend that, by Article 1 of the Treaty of 1818, Americans renounced forever the right to enter Canadian ports, except to procure wood and water, to obtain shelter, and to make repairs. Eminent American authorities, notably Senator Hoar, maintain that prior to 1818 no American vessels, whether employed in fishing or in commerce, had a right to enter a Canadian port; consequently everything stipulated in the Treaty in behalf of American fishing-vessels was a clear gain, favoring them above all other American vessels. But now, by the Canadian interpretation, these same fishermen are treated as if they had no part in the humane and liberal policies of later times.

For many years the British Government enforced the Canadian interpretation by her ships of war; American vessels being seized for entering Canadian ports for purposes other than those named, or for fishing, or preparing to fish, within the three-mile limit or within certain bays, or for hovering in Canadian waters without being in need of shelter or repairs, wood or water. But early in 1871, the Washington negotiations being at hand, England adopted a different view, and warned the

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Ottawa Government that, while the exclusion of the Americans "might be warranted by the letter of the treaty," it was, nevertheless, an "extreme measure, inconsistent with the general policy of the Empire." Canada, however, insisted on the interpretation, and placed cruisers of her own on the sea, except while the Fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty were in force, and her fish had free entry to the American market. When those clauses lapsed, she again began seizing American vessels; and things went from bad to worse until 1888, when the Bayard-Chamberlain negotiations took place. The treaty drafted at that time failed to pass the United States Senate; but a *modus vivendi* was established whereby on payment of an annual tonnage-tax American fishermen were allowed to enter Canadian ports to purchase bait, ice, seines, and all other supplies, to ship crews, and to transship their catch in bond to Canadian railways or to steamers bound for the United States.

This is how the matter stands at present. Aside from the meaning of Article 1, whatever it may be, Americans hold that, inasmuch as they permit Canadian fishing-vessels to enter American ports free of charge for bonding and all other commercial purposes, it is not fair for Canadians to refuse the same privilege to them,—more especially since Canadians concede it to the fishermen of the Miquelon Islands, whose cod receive a bounty, and whose country, France, levies prohibitory duties on fish, and performs no neighborly service at all for Canada. American fishermen contend, furthermore, that if the bonding system between the two countries is to be preserved, it must, at least, be administered equitably, and that they are as much entitled to bond fish as is the Ontario farmer to bond wheat or potatoes. The bonding privilege has sprung up since the Treaty of 1818, and must be held to supersede any restrictions in that venerable parchment. It is the firm belief of the American fisherman that the "cussedness" of Canadians in this matter is due to a belief that, if they continue to worry him, Congress will give them free access for their fish to the United States market in order to buy them off. He does not want to share in their in-shore fisheries, which they prize so much, but merely to bond in Canadian ports the fish he catches in the deep sea, so that he may save the time now lost in running to and fro between the Banks and Gloucester.

The Bering Sea Question is another topic on which the Commission will strive to reach an agreement. Congress has paid the amount ($470,000) awarded by Judge Putnam and Mr. Justice King as damages for the seizure by United States vessels of British Columbia sealers prior to the reference of the general case to the Paris Tribunal. The United

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States wishes to see pelagic sealing still further restricted, and, if possible, stopped. But the Canadian sealers cannot very well be prevented by the Canadian Government from carrying on an industry sanctioned by international arbitration. The sealers aver that, as it is, their industry is restricted to death. They are excluded from the three-mile limit along the coast of the United States in the North Pacific; they may not approach the Pribilof Islands within a zone of sixty miles; they may not use firearms of any kind in Bering Sea, nor rifles in the water-area lying north of 35° north latitude and eastward to the one hundred and eightieth degree of longitude till it strikes the water-boundary described in the Treaty of 1867, following that line up to Bering Strait, about 5,000,000 square miles. They are precluded from using nets and explosives in that area, and from taking seals in it in any manner between May 1 and July 31. Further, they may not take seals within a zone of thirty miles round the Kommandorski Islands, nor within a zone of thirty miles of Robben Island, Okhotsk Sea, nor within a zone of ten miles on any of the Russian coasts on the mainland in the North Pacific. Last, but not least, their sealskins are now excluded from the United States market. The only way apparently of putting a stop to pelagic sealing is to buy out the Canadian sealers, whose fleet, in consequence of these restrictions, has dwindled to fifty-four vessels, aggregating 3,400 tons.

EDWARD FARRER.

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY UNDER THE REIGN OF FRANCIS JOSEPH.—II.

As already shown, the compromise of 1867 did not reëstablish the *Personal-Union* of the old territorial system. On the contrary, by its provisions, the actual union between the two divisions of the Empire was maintained, and, with this union, that unity and uniformity of system as to essentials which had been introduced by Schwarzenberg. This was true in a still higher degree of each half of the Empire *per se*. Upon the whole, it may be said that the uniformity of government consummated under Bach has been maintained to the present day. In Hungary, indeed, the idea of centralization has been more strongly accentuated; while in Austria, despite the abolition of absolutism, questions of central importance are no longer submitted to the crown lands and their parliaments.

By reason of the compromise with Hungary, Austria proper on December 21, 1867, framed a new constitution in place of that of 1861. According to this new constitution, the Imperial Diet and the various federal departments at Vienna are empowered to exercise jurisdiction in the following matters and departments; viz., international treaties; Department of Army Reserves (these reserves in Austria, as in Germany, are recruited from the regular army); the Department of Finance; the Department of Direct and Indirect Taxes; the control and supervision of accounts; the national debt; money, weights, and measures; postal and railway systems; shipping; banks; sanitary legislation; laws affecting the national and civil qualification of citizens; the police system for the surveillance of foreigners, and the Department of Passports; the Census Department; religious affairs; the privileges of societies, and the right of public assemblage; censorship and copyright; the Department of Education; the Departments of Criminal and Civil Law; legislation affecting the organization of the courts and of the administrative departments; the administration of the laws affecting the general rights of citizens; and, finally, all affairs affecting the relations between the various crown lands of Austria. Although all other matters are controlled by the legislative bodies of the several kingdoms, lands, and municipal corporations, it will readily be seen that the power vested in the

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Central Government is incomparably greater to-day than it was formerly.

Furthermore, the constitution of 1867 guarantees the right of citizenship, irrespective of language or nationality. Austria proper, like Hungary, is to-day a constitutional state in the full sense of the term. It is true that the authority of the Imperial Council and the central departments at Vienna is still occasionally called in question in certain matters, —more particularly in such as pertain to education and religion. Upon the whole, however, the authority of the Austrian state is now generally admitted even by the Federalists. And the old Czech nobility, when, during the Hohenwart *régime* of 1871, they formulated their demands in the well-known "Fundamental-Artikeln," showed that they largely recognized the central authority of Austria. It is true that, with the adoption of a central constitution in Austria, and the reëstablishment of the Hungarian Parliament, certain names and appellations peculiar to the old territorial system were revived. These, however, were merely antique ornaments; the salient features of the new constitution being original in every particular.

The "Lander" (lands) of Austria may be compared to Prussian provinces; while the "Comitate" (counties) of Hungary may be said to resemble the French prefectures of Louis Philippe. Both have lost nearly all traces of the old territorial system from which they proceeded as members of the modern state. The Czechs and the old Conservatives of Bohemia will probably continue to intrench themselves behind their "ancient Bohemian state-rights" until they succeed in obtaining certain changes not incompatible with the interests of the modern state. They may even persuade an emperor to permit himself to be crowned King of Bohemia, as Francis Joseph was crowned King of Hungary. Yet I feel certain that by the time the Emperor Francis Joseph, or any of his successors, shall accept the crown of Wenceslaus (a custom which prevailed to the time of the Emperor Ferdinand), the Czechs, of their own volition, will have solemnly buried all traces of the ancient territorial system. It may be boldly asserted that the three Imperial Ministries and the two legislative bodies at Vienna and Pesth are to-day invested with far greater powers than those exercised by the Congress and the Supreme Court at Washington, by the Federal Council and Assembly at Bern, or even by the Federal Council and Reichstag of the German Empire.

The party strife which has agitated the country since 1860 arises not so much from the differences between the Imperial Council and the par-

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liaments of the individual states, as from the circumstance that these parliaments give a one-sided preference to the great landowners and to the so-called "educated classes"; thus giving free play to those who would manipulate the constitution in favor of Germanization, Magyarization, and plutocratic Liberalism. As already intimated, our continuous dissensions are not owing to dualism, nor to constitutionalism, but to the fact that the provisions of the constitution have been so carried into effect as to increase the power of the Anti-clerical Liberals in matters of education and religion, and to promote the movement in favor of the denationalization of the Slavs. Owing to the manner in which the new constitution has been interpreted, the equal rights guaranteed to all languages and nationalities in every part of the Empire, instead of being carried into effect throughout every section of the federal, state, and municipal departments, have virtually become a dead letter. This is the cause of the present crisis; the source of contention being the claims of the Bohemian language to official recognition.

All the elections to the Imperial Diet and the various Popular Assemblies from 1861 to 1896 were characterized by the desire to bring to the front the landowners, the capitalists, the so-called "educated classes" of Vienna, and the German bureaucracy with its scheme of Teutonization. The means employed to this end was the establishment of the electoral system known as the "Vier Kurien." In other words, all voters were divided into four classes. Only the great landowners holding fiefs from the Crown are eligible to Class A; and these are qualified to cast a disproportionately large number of votes. Class B embraces all the cities of the Empire, the population of which, both in the Teutonic and in the Slavonic districts, is composed largely of the German element. In Class C the Chambers of Commerce and Trade only are represented; and the preference is naturally given to the capitalists of industry. This class also is entitled to elect a large number of representatives. Class D represents the rural population, and elects its representatives indirectly, *i.e.*, by means of electors. In this way it is exposed to the influence of the bureaucracy, the landowners, and the "educated class." The plutocratic-aristocratic character is peculiar to all four classes. To corroborate this, we need merely mention that in Austria the electoral franchise is extended to those taxpayers only who are able to pay the comparatively high tax fixed by the Government. In consequence of this, the voters are composed principally of what we designate in Austria as "Zehngulden-männern" ("Ten-gulden men").

It is upon these lines that the political parties of Austria have been

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developed since 1860. These parties are divided into two camps, Centralists and Federalists. Upon the side of the Centralists we find the old-time bureaucracy of the Habsburgs, all the Liberal elements of the German population, all the great capitalists, who are principally Germans or Hebrews, the petty landed nobility (as a rule closely associated with the *bourgeoisie*), and, finally, the so-called Liberal landed proprietors. In the other camp (the Federalists) we find the entire Czech and Slav population, without distinction of class or party, the Poles of Galicia, the Slovaks, the Clericals of the German provinces,—who are supported by the Catholics of the rural districts,—and, finally, the Conservatives of every shade throughout the entire land.

While the Liberal-plutocratic constitution of 1867 has remained essentially unchanged in Hungary, it has been subjected to various modifications in Austria proper. When the Czechs, after an absence of nearly ten years, reappeared in the Imperial Diet in 1878, the maintenance of an artificially created majority on the part of the German bureaucracy and the German-Hebrew capitalists became an impossibility. Centralism began to totter; and its supporters soon realized that their Teutonizing tendencies and one-sided Liberal legislation would now find a check. In addition to this, the spirit of democracy had spread among both the German and the Slav elements of the population. In Bohemia, the so-called "Alt-Czechen" ("Old Czechs") of the *bourgeoisie*—for a long time under the leadership of Dr. Rieger—were now succeeded by the Radical party known as "Jung-Czechen" ("Young Czechs"), under the leadership of Kamarc and Kaizl. The characteristics of the latter party are decidedly those of the Bohemian Czechs, who may be said to be the modern Hussites of politics. Moreover, they are Democrats. Indeed, the spirit of democracy has spread wherever great masses of the laboring population congregate. Consequently, it is found in all great industrial centres—in Bohemia, in Vienna, and, indeed, among the more humble ranks of citizens everywhere. The laborers became affected by the social-democratic ideas imported from Germany; the rank and file of municipal voters became identified with the Christian-Socialist and the Anti-Semitic parties; while the latter were opposed to all aggregations of capital, Jewish or otherwise. The present leader of the Anti-Semitic party is the Mayor of Vienna, Dr. Lueger; and the leader of the Christian-Socialist party is the blue-blooded and decidedly Ultramontane Prince Alois Lichtenstein. Still another party, also radical in its tendencies, has recently been organized. This party, known as the "German People's Party," is under the lead-

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ership of Ritter von Schönerer; and its adherents are homesick for the new German Empire, toward which they would like to gravitate.

Finally, the tide of democracy could no longer be stemmed; and the President of the Ministry, Count Taafe, after vainly endeavoring for ten years to shape his course amid the flux and uncertainty of party-currents, was compelled to introduce universal suffrage. In this way 240 out of the 353 seats in the Vienna House of Representatives became subject to the vote of the commonalty; and the laboring population, as well as the small burghers of the cities, obtained a voice in the government, which had hitherto been in the exclusive possession of the landowners and the moneyed aristocracy.

The Taafe Ministry was, of course, overthrown; for, as soon as the new law was passed, party-lines disappeared, and the large property-holders throughout the country—Federalists, Centralists, and Liberals—at once united in defence of their common interests. Their victorious opposition resulted in creating the so-called "Ministry of the Coalition," composed of the German Liberals and the Conservatives. Its term of existence was brief, owing to the obstructionary attitude of the Young Czechs; and it was soon followed by the Badeni Ministry.

Count Badeni did not interfere with the "Vier Kurien," already mentioned, but added to these a fifth class (E), established on the principle of universal suffrage, and embracing the laborers and small burghers. Moreover, by the provisions of this new law, the landowners and capitalists were compelled, according to the system known as "plural voting," to cast their votes a second time. The tax-qualification of voters was reduced from 10 fl. to 4; and, as a result, the number of voters has increased from 1,700,000 in 1896 to 3,600,000 in 1898. The Diet was dissolved; and the first election under the new system, owing to the large popular vote cast in Class E, resulted in the complete overthrow of the Centralists and Liberals. On the other hand, the Anti-Semites, the Christian Socialists, and the Social-Democrats, under the leadership of Dashinski, made a triumphal entry into the Palace of the Imperial Diet at Vienna.

With this change in favor of democracy, the dominion of the Central Liberals of Austria was broken. Notwithstanding these more favorable conditions, however, the Government, although no longer dominated by the Conservative-Federalist majority in the Diet, is still virtually controlled by the Magyar Liberals, who, since 1867, have exercised a preponderant influence not only in Buda-Pesth, but in Vienna as well. The reason of this becomes obvious when we consider that

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the position of the Liberal Constitutionalists is far stronger in Hungary than in Austria. In the first place, the "Great Liberal Party" of Pesth has to contend against fewer obstacles. Among the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary there is none which, in point of solidarity and culture, may be compared to the Czechs in the heart of Bohemia, or to the Poles of Western Galicia. There is also a marked difference between the high aristocracy of Hungary and that of Bohemia or Poland. The magnates of Hungary, although largely Conservative in their tendencies, are thoroughly national in every sense of the word. They cannot therefore be counted upon as a positive factor of opposition. Furthermore, the differences of creed are far more pronounced in Hungary than in Austria; consequently a consolidated and popular Clerical party, such as exists in Austria proper, is out of the question. In Hungary, moreover, Protestantism (Calvinism) is one of the most powerful bulwarks of the Magyar Liberals. In Hungary, also, democracy is still in its infancy; so that the dominant Liberal landed proprietors and moneyed aristocrats have little to fear in this regard. The Liberal ruling majority has hitherto understood perfectly well how to suppress all manifestations in favor of democracy among the small farmers of Hungary and Croatia and among the laboring-classes. The Democratic "agitators" are compelled to sit for their photographs, which are sent into the various counties, where the district judges and their subordinates see to it that the originals do not further disseminate the evil seed of democracy. A Democratic peasantry and a Socialist laboring-class, such as at present exist in Austria under the leadership of the Anti-Semites, the Christian Socialists, and a few Socialists of Vienna, will be an impossibility in Hungary for some time to come. Hence we can understand why it is comparatively easy for the Liberal Centralists of Hungary to obtain a majority in Parliament.

The Magyar Liberals have never failed to take advantage of their superiority, which they have utilized in two directions: First, they have endeavored to exercise a preponderant influence in the politics of the Empire through the Department of Foreign Affairs; and, second, they have employed, and will continue to employ, all the means in their power to foment the dissensions between the Czechs, the Conservatives, and the Liberals of Austria, in order that Centralism may be upheld and Federalism crushed. It is an undeniable fact that the Hungarians have for the past thirty years exercised a decisive influence at the Royal Palace at Vienna. The Magyar Liberals have not ruled in Hungary alone: they have repeatedly controlled the affairs of the entire

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Empire, and have ever made capital out of the internal crises of Austria. In this regard, indeed, their success has been equalled only by their virtuosity.

It would be absurd to blame the Hungarians for their policy. So long as they attempt to govern in the Liberal sense, and endeavor to Magyarize Hungary, so long will they continue to side with the Liberal Centralists of Austria and to foment strife between the various factions of the powerful Conservative Federalists. As the Magyars prefer to be the hammer, it is merely the duty of the Austrians no longer to remain the anvil. It will be a hard blow for the Hungarian Liberals when the present strife between the political parties of Austria ceases to exist. For, as soon as the provision of the constitution guaranteeing the right of suffrage, irrespective of creed, language, and nationality, is carried into effect in Austria, Hungary will surely be compelled to introduce a similar measure; and thus, without any interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of Hungary, a peaceful policy on the part of the Imperial Diet of Austria will become, as it were, a powerful magnet, which will draw the nails out of the planks of the Hungarian Liberals. Such a change would by no means result in the downfall of Hungary: on the contrary, it would serve to promote her internal welfare, to establish a better understanding among her German subjects, and to increase her influence in the Orient. The influence of Liberal Centralism and Magyarism, however, would be destroyed forever.

Such has been the situation between Austria and Hungary for the past thirty years. The statesman who, in the future, would guide the destinies of Austria, must endeavor to develop constitutionalism, to reestablish internal peace, and to promote the leadership of the German element, which derives its intellectual sustenance from the whole German Empire. The paramount duty of this statesman, however, will be boldly to confront the Magyar Liberals; and this he can do successfully only under four conditions: (1) He must feel that in the person of the monarch he beholds the Emperor of Austria and not the King of Hungary; in other words, he must not attempt to intermeddle in Hungarian affairs. (2) He must be supported by a powerful and reliable majority in the Imperial Diet. (3) He must be able to convince the Magyar Liberals—and this with the sanction of the Emperor—that he can afford to disregard their customary threats. As regards the fulfilment of the last-mentioned condition, no chimerical optimism is required; for, in the long run, Hungary is far more dependent upon the union than Austria. For, even if Hungary should annul the Commercial and Tariff

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Treaty with Austria, the latter country would still be able to respond with retaliatory weapons far more formidable. She could, for instance, levy agrarian imposts, and restrict the facilities of transportation. Even should Hungary go to the extreme of carrying her threat into execution, and actually sever her commercial relations with Austria, the latter would still be far more powerful politically than a country like Hungary, divided by national, religious, and other dissensions of a most explosive nature. As far as the Hungarians are concerned, "Threats do not count." (4) He must carefully guard against a renewal of the strife over nationality and language, which is now being waged by the Czechs and the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia (it would be better to await a more favorable opportunity for settling existing differences).

Let us now inquire to what extent the four above-mentioned conditions may be practically realized. As regards the first—the assistance of the Emperor—we may feel assured that his Majesty Francis Joseph will not fail to respond to the call. Nor will his successors be likely to manifest any national preferences or prejudices; for the descendants of Francis Joseph will not be influenced by reminiscences of the ever-powerful Austrian leadership in the German Empire.

As to the second condition, it may be said that the election of 1896 resulted in a decided majority in favor of constitutional reform; and, although this majority did not remain intact, there is no reason why it should not frequently recur. A majority in favor of constitutional reform lies in the very nature of things in Austria; and we are all familiar with the old saying, "You may drive out nature with a pitchfork, but she will ever come back."

In regard to the third condition, it is impossible to say whether the fearlessness requisite to a successful defiance of Magyarism already exists. We may be sure, however, that, should the matter ever shape itself into a question of "to be or not to be," Austria would not be found wanting. Intimidation would then be at an end; and the Hungarian Government would cease to appoint, or even to demand, a term of settlement.

The fourth condition—in some respects the most important of all at this time—is the final settlement, or, at least, the temporary pacification, of the national dissensions generally, and of the controversy as to the Czech language in particular. In this respect also, our course is plain; indeed, a partial success has already been secured. In certain departments of the government the Bohemian language has already obtained official recognition beside the German. The Czechs and the Germans

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alike have their own elementary, secondary, and high schools. Moreover, as the laws affecting the equal rights of Czechs and Germans are not regulated by a majority of the Popular Assembly at Prague, but by an agreement of the representatives of two voting classes,—Czech and German, respectively,—a *rapprochement* between the two parties has already been effected. At present, the "apple of discord" is the method of carrying the provisions of the law into effect in Bohemia and Moravia. In this regard two courses are open: (1) Either both languages are to be employed equally by all officials; or (2) the country will have to be divided, according to the population, into three districts, viz., German, Czech, and mixed. Both systems are good. The main point is to bring about an agreement between the two nationalities as to the methods to be adopted. Such an agreement had not been secured when the recent political crisis set in. For a long time the Czechs have preferred the method admitting both languages to equal official recognition everywhere; while the Germans have favored the division into districts. The task before us, therefore, is to bring about an understanding between the leaders of both parties, and, in the event of this proving unsuccessful, to postpone a discussion of the question until some more favorable opportunity presents itself.

When Count Badeni was commissioned by the Emperor to renew the compromise with Hungary for the third time, he should have been extremely careful not to touch upon the Bohemian Language Question; for it was a foregone conclusion that the recent elections would once more inflame the national passions. Austrian parliamentarism arose in all its potency; and its angry mutterings began to be heard. The capitalist Liberals arose in a body, not only in German Bohemia and Vienna, but also in Pesth. The reason of this is manifest in view of the intensity with which the Anti-Semitic movement was being waged—an intensity evidenced in the adoption of the superscription "Juda-Pesth" instead of Buda-Pesth by the correspondent of one of Dr. Lueger's organs. For these reasons, Badeni, in order to effect the fourth compromise with Hungary in a parliamentary manner, would have been compelled, above all, to keep the Conservative majority in the Diet intact, and to guard against a renewal of the language controversy between the Czechs and the Germans. Instead of this, he scorned to avail himself of the newly won Conservative majority; he offended the Christian-Socialist and the Anti-Semitic party, which had driven the Liberals from the House, where they had ruled for thirty years; and he poured oil upon the fire by establishing a separate understanding

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with the radical Young Czechs, who, as a reward for their services, secured the "Böhmische Sprachenverordnung," a law making liberal concessions to the Bohemian language. In this way the latest complications arose. The German Liberals of Bohemia inaugurated the well-known "obstruction," which effectually crippled the movements of the recently elected representative body. The Conservatives and the Anti-Semitic Germans, on the other hand, remained perfectly passive, regardless of the desperate straits of Minister Badeni. The revolution in Parliament was followed by a revolt upon the streets; and the Ministry of Badeni was deposed.

Possibly, at some future time, I may discuss the new law introduced by Badeni, and the complications to which it gave rise. Here I merely wish to assert that the present ruinous parliamentary situation is due not so much to the new law itself—although this declares in favor of a dualism of language for officials—as to the manner in which this law was passed. It was entirely unnecessary to touch upon the language controversy again before reëstablishing the *Ausgleich* with Hungary; indeed, there was absolutely no justification for it. The new law was not passed in regular form, but was promulgated as a ministerial decree. This high-handed procedure gave offence to many; moreover, it was carried on without the knowledge of the Germans, whose party-leaders —Liberal, Conservative, and Democratic—should have been kept fully informed. Nor was the readiness with which the Young Czechs entered into the project likely to awaken confidence. After all, however, it may be said that the official introduction of the Bohemian language is at present of a very precarious nature, as it was not effected in due legal form. It was established by a ministerial ordinance; and what Badeni granted, another minister may annul.

It is difficult to-day to make any prognostications for the future. As Count Beust once aptly remarked, Austria is, in every sense of the word, "a realm of improbabilities." Undoubtedly, our first duty is permanently to remove the language controversy. The provisional measure introduced by Freiherr von Gautsch in February last confined the dual system to Moravia, and advocated the above-mentioned division into districts for Bohemia. Certain it is, that should the obstructionary method recently employed be repeated, the Crown will be compelled to interfere in order that the majority rule in the Diet may be preserved. This may be done in two ways,—by an Imperial manifesto, or by a dissolution of the Diet followed by an appeal to the popular vote, in order that a new method of parliamentary debate may be introduced. In an

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extreme case, a parliament might be convened, not in Vienna, but in some other city of the Empire.

Whatever may happen, however, we may feel certain that neither the third compromise with Hungary nor the language controversy between the Czechs and the Germans will destroy the constitution of 1867. Upon the whole, the future internal development of Austria under Francis Joseph, or under the heir presumptive, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Este, will probably proceed upon the lines already indicated. As regards that provision of the constitution which guarantees equal rights to all citizens without distinction of creed, language, or nationality, I believe it will be dependent largely upon the situation in the Balkan States and also upon the progress of democracy.

What is still regarded as impossible abroad, and to some extent even in Austria itself, has been virtually accomplished during Francis Joseph's reign of half a century—Austria has become a constitutional state. In endeavoring to form an opinion as to the future development of Austria, we should bear in mind that there are powerful centripetal as well as centrifugal forces in the Empire of the Habsburgs, and that the marked differences of language, nationality, and religion are neutralized by a solidarity of interests. In the first place, the states of Austria must stand united against aggression from without. Then there are the growing influences of traffic, the concentration of capital, the growth of industry and commerce—factors that ever make for unity in the state. Furthermore, the great mass of the Slavs, like the Germans of Austria, are Roman Catholics, and not, like the Russians, members of the Greek Church. Indeed, nearly three-fourths of the entire population of the Empire belong to the Church of Rome; and her Roman Catholic subjects will always be faithful to Austria, if for no other reason than to oppose a possible introduction of the Greek orthodoxy, the prevailing religion of the Russian Empire.

Democracy also tends to obliterate differences of nationality, etc. The laborers and the more humble ranks of citizens generally are beginning to act as an independent body. They are no longer willing to serve as the tool of the wealthy and "educated" classes, whose interests are subserved by the maintenance of national discords. Finally, the political barriers which formerly separated Austria from Germany and Italy have been entirely removed; while to-day all Europe, with Germany, the greatest Power of Europe, at its head, is firmly determined to prevent Panslavism, arrayed under the Russian flag and the cross of the Greek Church, from reaching Prague, Agram, Laibach, and the Dalmatian Coast.

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In view of these incontrovertible facts, I once more hazard the assertion, that the present political tangles in Austria are merely episodes such as have frequently occurred, and are very likely to occur again. They are undeniably serious episodes, however; and, as a good German and Austrian, I sincerely hope that the present domestic discord will have ceased before the outbreak of trouble in the East, lest some catastrophe, some Oriental Solferino or Königgratz, may bring home the final solution of the question to the Hungarians in a manner they may not like.

When we consider that the domestic turmoil of the last thirty years is not yet ended, while at the same time affairs in the Orient are approaching a final solution, we are strongly inclined to say, with *Falstaff*, "Would 'twere bedtime . . . and all well."

ALBERT VON SCHÄFFLE.

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NEW CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

MORE than a century ago, when the first compact of American union had proved inadequate to its ends, and the amendment of that compact by the unanimous consent of the Thirteen States was found impossible, our forefathers made appeal to a general convention. It was their last resort,—a drastic remedy, and yet the only one for the political ills which they suffered. Well might a minority of the people, still clinging to State sovereignty and the Confederate idea, have dreaded such a gathering; for from the throes of that general convention, which met at Philadelphia in 1787, there issued a new-born nation. There was in those days something ominous, something revolutionary, in the very word "convention."

Yet the convention of Philadelphia was a novelty, and continues such to this day. State conventions have since met to frame and submit new amendments, new constitutions; but no Federal convention has ever met again. Prior to 1787, and throughout the long and agonizing contest with Great Britain, the continental Congress had been for these United States the only real convention. Congress was the convention throughout that struggle; and the convention was Congress.

In a national sense, then, the convention of 1787 stands alone in our annals. Yet, during the long intervening years, America has seen that marvellous scheme of united empire extending its scope over a continental area and population such as the Fathers could scarcely have conceived. From thirteen original States in 1787 and earlier, this American Union has grown, in little more than a century, to forty-five States, and from a population of less than four millions to one of at least sixty-five millions. And yet, with all this wonderful increase in area and numbers, not only has revision of our Federal instrument been constantly wanting since that first completion of the convention plan by the States adopting it, which was formulated in the first ten Amendments, but, for specific improvement in the plan, there is absolutely nothing to show, save two casual corrections in detail, which, after the space of sixty years, were followed by the three famous "freedom" Amendments, written indelibly in blood of civil war.

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One might almost suppose that constructive statesmanship, in a Federal sense, ceased with the eighteenth century; but, when we turn to the experience of States and to State organic law, we are taught a different lesson. There we see the American political mind and American ingenuity still at work, and the spirit of organic change and improvement strong, constant, and irresistible. There we perceive new constitutional amendments, new organic instruments, proposed and adopted for States both old and new. Among the thirteen original commonwealths, Massachusetts alone preserves a constitution of earlier date than our Federal instrument; and even that is so patched with amendments that little of the original framework remains visible. From this State point of view we discover that, in ideas of practical self-government, America has advanced far beyond the age that gave birth to our Federal Constitution. Admirable, no doubt, was that common scheme, and highly advanced in humane ideas; and, in the general adjustment, as between State and Federal authority, as well as in the general poise of the three great departments, it can hardly yet be improved. Nor did the delegates who sat at Philadelphia show sound wisdom in any provision more than in that which allowed representation in the House of Representatives and in the choice of President to be shaped and regulated as opinion in the several States might conduct. For thus, as Mr. Bryce well observes, has a Federal scheme of government, through State regulation of the voting franchise, been gently moulded into a democracy, which equally well might have frozen into an aristocracy. But what our generation may claim, by way of criticising this famous instrument, is that States have developed organic improvements of practical detail to suit our modern society, which well deserve to be nationalized.

Thus, a century or more ago, all was "representation," and "representative government": we worshipped delegates, the Legislature. "Taxation without representation"—or, in other words, without the sanction of each colonial House of Commons—was the chief grievance that led to revolt against the mother-country. But our later achievement of independence has been to establish that all departments of American government rest fundamentally upon popular sanction, and that of these departments the Legislature is but one. Contrast, if you will, the omnipotence of our political representatives, as first sent timidly to Legislature or convention, to manage the cause for the people a hundred years ago, with representatives under the constraints of our present State instruments.

Take the Union through, to-day, and it is the *referendum* that gains

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constantly the upper hand. A hundred years ago suffrage and office-holding were much restrained throughout the Union on considerations of property, race, or religion: to-day there is scarcely a written disqualification placed upon the voter or office-holder in our States, except for crime or illiteracy. A hundred years ago the unfiltered choice of the whole people for President was deemed so dangerous a thing that a College of Electors was created, as the only rational alternative to a choice by Congress: department heads in a State, and State governors, moreover, were largely the choice of the legislators. To-day that Electoral College is a mere registering machine; while the people assume the right, besides, to choose all the high functionaries of a State, executive or judicial, as well as their representatives and town or county officers as formerly. A hundred years ago a constitution was usually set in operation by the State convention; but in these days it is very rare that any new State instrument, or an organic amendment even, does not take effect by the direct suffrage of the voters. Voters elect to the convention; and they pass upon the convention product afterward. A hundred years ago popular control of the third department, the judiciary, was forefended by appointment during good behavior, through Legislature or Governor: to-day the American rule—be it better or worse—favors a judiciary and court officers who shall be chosen at the polls for a fixed term of years. A hundred years ago the Senate, or conservative branch of the Legislature, was placed beyond the direct reach of the voter, as much as possible, by various ingenious devices: to-day the people choose public agents, in the one branch or the other, in every State. A hundred years ago Americans were lenient to their representatives, and trusted a delegated discretion to the utmost; but since then they have grown wiser than their servants, and not only incline to hamper legislation fundamentally, but, so far as possible for the public convenience, they wish to keep the Legislature itself adjourned and out of temptation. While thus our Federal instrument has yielded but little to structural reform for more than a hundred years, the restlessness, the spirit of change, the activity and anxiety of our American life, now find full scope in improving, if not in radically changing, State and municipal methods. From simply a republican people, we are fast growing into a confident and overruling democracy. And, not content with selecting our own public agents, we incline as principal to reserve some ultimate determination to ourselves in the public business.

I have said that no Federal convention, even for the merest revision of our general system, has met since 1787. But something like an ap-

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proach to such revision occurred in 1861, when leaders of the cotton States, experienced in national councils, undertook to organize at Montgomery a Southern Confederacy. In closely adapting the Constitution of the old Union to their united wants, they made various changes in the Federal mechanism, some of which we might, I think, judiciously copy. I shall not here provoke discussion of a cause overwhelmingly defeated, but merely emphasize, by such a reference, the fact, that a body of men, ripe in public experience, can hardly, in this modern age, apply their minds together to our Federal scheme, without discovering, from State example alone, some parts of that system that are worth amending.

In the very methods pointed out for organic change we see in that Federal instrument imperfection. The door of amendment for so prodigious a system of union may well prove difficult to open. Nor do I deem it so practical an objection as many do, that ratification of every Federal amendment by three-fourths, rather than by two-thirds, of the States is there enjoined; since experience shows that a basic change to which a decided majority of the States is once strongly committed will readily widen its impulsion to a greater number. But a more serious difficulty appears in the initiation of Federal amendments. Here, we find, there may be either initiation by States or initiation by Congress. Whenever two-thirds of the States, through their several legislatures, propose a convention, Congress must call it; and the danger then arises that from any plenary convention of the kind, not intent upon gaining some special end, there might proceed changes so crude, so numerous, and so incongruous, that the American people would run the instant risk of being launched, at length, into a worse rather than a better government. To this the alternative is, that Congress shall, by its own two-thirds vote of both Houses, propose specific amendments; and such, hitherto, has proved the only acceptable course for initiating organic change.

But how can we expect both Houses of Congress to unite readily by such a vote in proposing amendments, however salutary, which would cut down the patronage and influence of either branch? Should then, a convention be ever compelled by States under the former method, it would be well for those States in concert to frame concrete propositions of amendment carefully in advance, and for any Federal convention, moreover, to put forth propositions for a separate vote, so that all need not stand or fall together; for thus may the people, in passing upon the whole work, sustain the good and reject the bad. More than this, it would be well if our Constitution clearly authorized a limited general

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convention; and here we note that the Montgomery Plan of 1861 made it obligatory on the Confederate Congress, whenever a certain number of States concurred in proposing specific changes, to summon a Federal convention, which should consider and act only upon the specific proposals.

Now, to subject to criticism the first and chief topic alone of our Federal Constitution—the Legislature—our modern age may fairly ask, by way of specific change, that Senators of the United States be chosen in each State by the people of the State. Such a change would conform to general political usage at this day; and State voters may well feel that a fundamental right is denied them, so long as their representatives in either branch of Congress continue to be chosen otherwise than at the polls. That legislative practice, though originally commendable, proves pernicious in the course of a century.

We now see public opinion of a State, public preference among candidates, smothered in a State caucus far more cunning and hazardous than any nominating one which submits its preferences to the polls. The legislature that elects a Federal Senator is liable to secret and corrupt approaches; and the successful candidate for Senator—too often now-a-days a boss by inclination—strengthens presently his tyrannous disposition. His grasp upon the party tightens, through his new hold upon an ample share of the national patronage, until at length he strangles free expression, and citizens groan under the incubus of his hateful despotism.

Another objection is the collapse of legislative business wherever an exciting contest for Senator is pending. And even though a Federal Senator thus chosen should prove worthy—as many doubtless do—of the high station to which he is called, the choice by his State Legislature seats him at Washington, after all, without a real constituency: for the legislature which chose him, with or without trading, must soon pass away; and the men who composed it will be succeeded by others to whom he owes nothing and is not accountable. How different the responsibility, when State voters,—the mass of the community,—ever alert and only gradually changing, can, at the end of six years, if not sooner, call to account their immediate representative; steadying his course in the meanwhile, when emergency arises, by making him feel their pressure! Even now, little as we may hope to carry such an amendment through Congress for constitutional proposal by both branches, we may concentrate public attention upon senatorial candidates pending each new canvass for the legislature which chooses.

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Such an example was set in the famous campaign of Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois; and I recall the expression of one of our State constitutions, framed since the Civil War, which permits the people to vote their preference for United States Senator at the election of the choosing representatives, and declares that all such votes shall be tabulated and registered officially in the same connection.[1] By some such means, should no better remedy offer, our people may hope to circumvent, if not change, the written law of the Union, in years to come, as they have already circumvented the Electoral College in the choice of President.

Next, let us consider improved modes of Federal legislation. On all subjects within the scope of Federal authority, Congress may enact by the bare majority of a quorum in both Houses, unless the President chooses to arrest the measure at its final stage by his official veto. Such is and has always been the rule of our present Federal establishment. But this by no means conforms to later State usage, as shown in State constitutions. On the contrary, our American tendency is clearly to interpose—on some topics at least—greater barriers to legislation than the majority will of a bare quorum in each Chamber. The number of States increases constantly where the fundamental requirement for the passage of all new legislation, or at least of the most important part of it, is a majority of all elected to either branch. And, not to depend too much in a republic upon the Executive veto (a recourse which gains in popularity as time goes on, and yet might fail us), our State constitutions in various instances constrain the Legislature in its own original action by insisting upon a larger fraction than any mere majority to pass the measure. To apply such a rule in amending our Federal instrument, a two-thirds vote in each branch of Congress might perhaps be insisted upon, in borrowing and pledging the public credit beyond a certain limit, in changing the currency, or so as to restrain unlimited appropriations or the declaration of war. Under the Montgomery Constitution to which I have alluded, the Confederate Congress could not appropriate money, except by a two-thirds vote, unless the appropriation had been asked by an Executive department, or was for the expressed contingencies of Congress, or for some private claim already judicially established in the Court of Claims.

In no respect, as it seems to me, is it plainer that more than our present bare majorities of a quorum should be required than in such momentous legislation as disturbs our national equilibrium by admitting new States into the Union or by sanctioning the acquisition of alien ter-

[1] Nebraska (1875) Proposition, 2 Poore's Constitutions, 1235.

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ritory with an alien population. In the latter respect, we seem simply to have gone forward without clear warrant from our Federal charter at all. When President Jefferson gained by treaty the great Louisiana purchase, extending this Union by nearly half a continent, he candidly confessed his belief that a permissive amendment to the Constitution would be needful; but, yielding his views to those of his party friends, he made for these United States the first real precedent of foreign annexation by treaty. Public approval here resolved whatever doubts might have arisen; and the precedent was repeated, under Monroe as a successor, when Florida was purchased from Spain. Both acquisitions were peaceful and honorable; but, later in our history, the seizure of Texas and the dismemberment of Mexico marked a new policy of national greed and violence pursued under the delusion of a "manifest destiny."

Some have lately argued, that where an oligarchy of whites offers to this country a distant island, inhabited by a dusky race of natives, there should be no annexation without first ascertaining that the natives themselves wish it. I go still further, and contend that there ought to be no foreign annexation at any time, nor even the admission of a new State to the Union, without a *referendum* of some sort to the people of the United States, and their consent by a majority vote to such annexation or admission.

JAMES SCHOULER.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICY OF RECIPROCITY.

WITH the possible exception of the Monroe Doctrine, there is no policy in the United States more popular in all sections than that of Reciprocity. Accepting the editorial utterances of the representative newspapers throughout the country as a true criterion of the sentiment of the thinking people of the States, Reciprocity knows no party. It is the equity of tariff legislation for the correction (to paraphrase Blackstone) of that wherein a high tariff, by reason of its universality, is deficient. In this sense it is a necessary complement to perfect Protectionism; for by its means we are enabled to relieve our exporters from the burdens of excessive foreign tariffs, and, in particular cases, to reduce the asperities of our own tariff, without sacrificing the general principle of the protection of our manufactures.

In the more liberal signification, every treaty of commerce contains some Reciprocal features. For example, the Jay Treaty (1794) between the United States and Great Britain provided for the equalization of tonnage duties. In the technical sense, however, a Reciprocity treaty between two countries is one conferring mutual and equivalent concessions as regards the customs duties of the respective parties.

RECIPROCITY WITH CANADA.

The first instance of such an American treaty, pure and simple, of which I can find record, is the Marcy-Elgin Treaty (1854) between the United States and Great Britain in behalf of Canada and Newfoundland. The products of the soil, forests, mines, and fisheries of the two countries were mutually admitted free of duty. Privileges of navigation were also mutually granted. This treaty went into effect March 16, 1855, by Proclamation of the President, and remained in force until March 17, 1866; being abrogated by the United States. It was generally claimed by our citizens that it proved far more beneficial to Canada than to the United States; but the chief grievance was that, after it went into effect, Canada increased to a considerable extent her duties on our manufactures.

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We have never since had a treaty of Reciprocity with Canada; although the Treaty of Washington (1871) contained a provision whereby Canadian fish were admitted into the United States free of duty, in return for fishery privileges extended by Canada to our fishermen. In this connection mention should be made of the treaty which Secretary Blaine negotiated in 1890 with Newfoundland, through the British Minister at Washington. It failed to receive the sanction of the Imperial authorities at London, because of Canadian opposition to it.

Reciprocity with the Hawaiian Islands.

With the exception of the Reciprocal Agreement with France of May 28, 1898, which went into effect June 1, 1898, by Proclamation of the President, the Reciprocity treaty between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands, which was concluded January 30, 1875, and went into effect September 9, 1876, is the only treaty of commercial Reciprocity actually in force on our statute-books. In its negotiation the United States was represented by Hamilton Fish; and the representatives of the King of the Hawaiian Islands were Elisha H. Allen and Henry Carter. By its terms the United States admits free of duty certain agricultural products of Hawaii, and particularly the grades of unrefined sugar known as "Sandwich Island sugar," besides syrups, molasses, and tallow. In return, Hawaii grants free entry to a comprehensive list of the products of the industry and soil of the United States, and stipulates that, so long as the treaty shall remain in force, she will not lease nor otherwise dispose of any port, harbor, or other territory, nor grant to any other nation the same privileges as are secured to the United States. The duration of this treaty was extended by a second convention, concluded December 6, 1884, and proclaimed November 9, 1887.

In Article II of the latter convention Hawaii grants to the United States the exclusive right to establish and maintain a naval coaling and repair station in Pearl Harbor, Island of Oahu, and to make needed improvements about the harbor.

Viewed purely from a financial standpoint, the treaty of 1875 is decidedly one-sided, and favorable to Hawaii. The balance of trade has been heavily against us. In 1875 we imported nearly twice as much from Hawaii as she took from us, and in 1897 three times as much. Moreover, our sacrifice of import duties on sugar has been out of all proportion to the value of our revenue concessions in the Islands. For the

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period 1887–1897 sugar comprised in value about 94 per cent of our total importations from the Islands. With a duty on sugar of 40 per cent *ad valorem* under the Wilson Law, the reader can appreciate the value to Hawaii of this concession.

But this is a superficial view. There are other considerations which put a different aspect on this Reciprocity treaty, and appear to the writer to fully vindicate it. In the first place, the relations between the United States and Hawaii have been exceptional, and foreshadow the ultimate annexation of the Islands by this country.[1] The engagement by Hawaii in the original convention, not to make any lease or sale of territory to a third Power, has been a safeguard against foreign encroachment. On more than one occasion the Government of Hawaii has repulsed the diplomatic advances of European nations because of the paramount rights and interests of the United States. Again, the provision in the Convention of 1884 regarding Pearl Harbor is a very valuable concession, from a strategic as well as a commercial standpoint. The harbor itself is an excellent site for a naval station, in fact, a key to the North Pacific. Since the outbreak of our war with Spain, however, there is no longer any diversity of opinion on this point.

Second, the exemption from duty of unrefined sugar from Hawaii has not been without compensatory results; for it has given an enormous stimulus to the sugar-refining industry in the West.

Furthermore, as a result of Reciprocity, the United States has for several years past secured about 92 per cent of the entire trade of the Islands, and has furnished about 78 per cent of their total imports.

The following table shows the growth of the commerce between the two countries since 1875:

UNITED STATES TRADE WITH THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Fiscal Year.	Exports (Domestic) to Hawaiian Islands from the United States.	Imports into the United States from Hawaiian Islands.
1875	$621,974	$1,227,191
1880	1,985,506	4,606,444
1885	2,709,573	8,857,497
1890	4,606,900	12,313,908
1895	3,648,472	7,888,961
1897	4,622,581	13,687,799

[1] Since this was written the Hawaiian Islands have been annexed by the United States.—ED.

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Reciprocity with Latin America.

The movement to extend our commercial intercourse with the countries of Latin America, by means of treaties of reciprocity in trade, had its inception in 1882, when an important treaty with Mexico was negotiated. This treaty never went into effect, however, for the simple reason that Congress failed to enact the necessary legislation. A similar treaty with Spain in behalf of Cuba and Porto Rico was negotiated in 1884 by Gen. Foster, our Minister to Spain. This failed of ratification by the Senate; and a treaty with Santo Domingo, arranged about the same time, met a similar fate. Nevertheless, the idea was in process of development. In 1884 President Arthur sent a commission to South America with instructions to visit the various republics, and initiate Reciprocity treaties on the same lines as those last mentioned. Out of the labors of this commission came the memorable International Conference of the republics of this hemisphere, which assembled at Washington toward the close of the year 1889. Fifteen of the seventeen republics there represented indicated their desire to enter upon reciprocal commercial relations with the United States; and the remaining two gave their conditional approval of the movement.

At this juncture Secretary Blaine came forward with suggestions for the application of the Reciprocity principle to the Tariff legislation, which were promptly embodied in the Tariff Bill of 1890, then pending, and constituted Section 3 of that Act.

Reciprocity under the Act of 1890.

This section, "with a view to secure reciprocal trade" with countries producing sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides,—all of which articles were made provisionally free of duty by the general terms of the Act,—empowered and made it the duty of the President, on and after January 1, 1892, whenever satisfied that any government producing and exporting any of the said articles was imposing duties on our agricultural or other products which he deemed to be reciprocally unequal and unjust, to suspend the free introduction of the said articles from the offending country; and thereupon the following duties were to be levied and collected:—On sugar, $\frac{7}{10}$ cent to 2 cents per pound (according to number); on molasses, 4 cents per pound; on coffee, 3 cents per pound; on tea, 10 cents per pound; and on hides, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound. It was a brilliant

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and masterly piece of statesmanship; and Mr. Blaine's share in the work will do more to perpetuate his distinguished fame than any other act of his life.

Under the operation of the law the nations of Latin America came forward with gratifying alacrity; the procession being headed by the Republic of Brazil. Arrangements in Reciprocity were concluded, proclaimed, and became effective with the countries in the following table:

RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENTS CONCLUDED BY THE UNITED STATES.

Country.	When Concluded.	When Proclaimed.	Went into Effect.
Brazil	January 31, 1891	February 5, 1891	April 1, 1891
Santo Domingo	June 4, 1891	August 1, 1891	September 1, 1891
Spain (for Cuba and Porto Rico)	June 16, 1891	August 1, 1891	September 1, 1891
Salvador[1] (Provisional)	December 30, 1891	December 31, 1891	February 1, 1892
Germany	January 30, 1892	February 1, 1892	February 1, 1892
Great Britain (for British West Indies and British Guiana)	February 1, 1892	February 1, 1892	February 1, 1892
Nicaragua	March 11, 1892	March 12, 1892	March 12, 1892
Guatemala	December 30, 1891	May 18, 1892	May 30, 1892
Honduras	April 29, 1892	April 30, 1892	May 25, 1892
Austria-Hungary	May 25, 1892	May 26, 1892	May 26, 1892

[1] A definitive arrangement was made with Salvador on November 29, 1892, and proclaimed December 27, 1892.

Arrangements were also concluded with France and Costa Rica, but were never formally proclaimed. Nevertheless, in the case of France, dating from January 30, 1893, we obtained the benefit of her minimum tariff schedule on certain of our exports, such as lumber, canned meats, and dried fruits.

Under the above-mentioned Reciprocal agreements the United States secured, in consideration of our retaining sugar, molasses, etc., on the Free List, important concessions from the contracting nations. The Latin-American countries either removed or largely reduced their import duties on our flour, cereals, provisions, lumber, coal, implements, machinery, etc. Brazil, for example, gave free entry to a list of articles comprising, among others, wheat, flour, pork, fish, coal, agricultural and mining machinery, and railway material, and 25 per cent reduction of duty on another list, which included lard, butter, cheese, canned meats, lumber, and manufactures of cotton.

It will be noticed that Germany and Austria-Hungary appear in the list of countries which sought and obtained Reciprocal arrangements.

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Their large export trade in beet-sugar accounts for this. From Germany we obtained (1) the abolition of the prohibition of our hogs and pork products, which had existed since 1883, and (2) the same reductions on agricultural products as were accorded by Germany to Austria-Hungary and other countries. Similarly, from Austria-Hungary we obtained the "most favored nation" treatment for all our products.

I have referred to the conventions concluded under the Act of 1890 as Reciprocal "arrangements" or "agreements," rather than as "treaties." They were concluded by the exchange of notes between the Department of State and the Diplomatic representatives at Washington, and were terminated by the acceptance, "by direction of the President," of the schedules of concessions proposed by the foreign governments. The time and manner of making public announcement was then agreed upon; and the arrangement became effective at the date specified in the President's Proclamation. Secretary Blaine was assisted in these negotiations by Gen. John W. Foster, a diplomat of distinguished ability, who acted as a Special Minister Plenipotentiary.

President Harrison's Proclamations of March 15, 1892.

In the case of three countries, viz., Colombia, Venezuela, and Haiti, it was satisfactorily shown to the President that reciprocally unequal and unreasonable duties were imposed on our products; and, consequently, after repeated warnings to their Diplomatic representatives at Washington, it became the duty of the President to suspend the free entry from those countries of the articles specified in Section 3 of the Act of 1890, which he did by Proclamations on March 15, 1892. Venezuela and Haiti appeared to be indifferent; but the Colombian Minister made strenuous efforts to have the suspension removed, and to this end invoked the "most favored nation" clause in an old treaty (1846) between the United States and Colombia. In view of the excessive duties imposed by Colombia on our products, his claim was not allowed; but he continued to protest for more than a year.

Results of Reciprocity.

All Reciprocity agreements were repealed by Section 71 of the Tariff Act of 1894, and, therefore, for the most part, were in operation for a period of less than three years. Notwithstanding this, statistics eloquently prove the beneficent results of the policy of Reciprocity. For

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example, in 1891, United States exports to Latin America amounted to $90,000,000; in 1893 they rose to $103,000,000; and in 1895 they fell to $88,000,000. Again, take the case of Cuba. In 1891, our exports to Cuba were $12,200,000; in 1893, under Reciprocity, they rose to $24,150,000; and in 1895, without Reciprocity, they fell to $12,800,000.

Reciprocity was of immense benefit to our great milling industry, as the following figures demonstrate, viz.: In 1891, United States exports of flour were 11,300,000 bbls.; in 1892, 15,200,000; in 1893, 16,600,000; in 1894, 16,800,000; and in 1895, 15,200,000 bbls. Our shipments of flour to Cuba, Brazil, and Germany show a particularly large percentage of increase during the Reciprocity period. The increase of United States exports to Latin America during the same period represents a corresponding displacement of European products, as is proved by foreign official statistics.

The present Tariff Law, approved July 24, 1897, has developed the principle of Reciprocity still further, and greatly increased the possibilities of the extension of our foreign commerce. There are two sections of the Law dealing with the subject, viz., Sections 3 and 4.

Section 3, Tariff Act of 1897.

Section 3 contains two distinct features. The first part provides that "as soon as may be after the passage of this Act," the President is empowered to enter into negotiations with any country which exports to the United States any of the following articles, viz.: Argols, crude tartar, and crude wine-lees; brandies, and other spirits; champagne, and other sparkling wines; still wines, vermuth; paintings, and statuary.

In return for reciprocal and equivalent concessions, the President may by Proclamation suspend the duties now imposed on the above-mentioned articles; and the Act specifies, instead of these, certain reduced duties. For example, brandies which now pay $2.25 per gallon, will pay $1.75 per gallon; and paintings and statuary, instead of 20 per cent *ad valorem*, will pay 15 per cent.

Under this part of Section 3, negotiations, as will be noted, are limited to those countries which produce and export the above-named articles.

The latter part of the same section contains provisions, similar to those of Section 3 of the Act of 1890, for the suspension by Proclamation of the President of the free introduction of coffee, tea, and tonka and vanilla beans, whenever any country producing and exporting these

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articles imposes reciprocally unequal and unreasonable duties on our products. The duties provided for in the event of such suspension are as follows: On coffee, 3 cents; on tea, 10 cents; on tonka beans, 50 cents; on vanilla beans (according to quality), $1 to $2 per pound.

Reciprocal arrangements concluded under Section 3 become effective by Proclamation of the President, and need no ratification by Congress. In this respect they differ from treaties which are negotiated under the provisions of Section 4.

Section 4, Tariff Act of 1897.

Section 4 is a novel and far-reaching provision for the extension of the Reciprocity policy. Its field is the whole world; and it comprehends our entire Tariff Schedule. The treaties to be negotiated under this section must be made within two years following the passage of the Act, and must be ratified by the Senate, as well as approved by the House.[1] This latter provision is unique; but, of course, it in no way impairs the constitutional power of the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, to make any treaty. These Reciprocity treaties may provide, during a specified period not exceeding five years, for: (1) The reduction of the duties imposed in the Act, to the extent of not more than 20 per cent, on any articles from any foreign country; or (2) the transfer to the Free List of the natural products of foreign countries which are not the natural products of the United States; or (3) the retention on our Free List of articles now on that list.

In October, 1897, the President appointed Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary to represent him in the negotiations for Reciprocity under Sections 3 and 4 of the present Tariff Act. Few men in the United States are so well qualified for this important work as Mr. Kasson, who brings to his present duties the fruits of an experience of nearly half a century in legislation and diplomacy. He was Member of Congress for twelve years, and among other posts of honor and distinction he has held the following, viz.: Assistant Postmaster-General under Lincoln; United States Minister to Austria, and, later, to Germany; Delegate of the United States at the Congo Confer-

[1] The Act reads: "duly ratified by the Senate and approved by Congress." Strictly this contemplates an "approval" by both Senate and House of Representatives; but it is difficult to perceive why the Senate should be required to approve by a majority vote what it has previously ratified by the constitutional two-thirds vote.

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ence; and Commissioner of the United States at the memorable Samoan Conference.

The Reciprocity Commission was organized and began its labors on October 18, 1897, in quarters provided by Secretary Sherman in the Department of State. Negotiations are now pending with several governments. The Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary consults frequently, in regard to their progress, with President McKinley, who, by reason of his wide familiarity with Tariff matters, has a keen appreciation of the needs of our commercial relations. Secretary Day is also deeply interested in the subject, and renders valuable assistance by communicating to the Plenipotentiary the latest information received from our Diplomatic and Consular representatives abroad.

The problem presented to the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary is, how to obtain from each country seeking to conclude a Reciprocal arrangement the maximum concessions for our export trade in return for the minimum sacrifice on our part. Whenever a Diplomatic representative at Washington submits schedules of what his Government asks and offers, it becomes necessary for the Plenipotentiary to make a careful statistical examination of the values for some years past of the respective markets of the United States and of the country in question, and particularly to compute the relative values of the concessionary lists mutually proposed, by comparing the prospective concessions (considered as losses) in revenue on the part of either contracting party.

In a few instances there are certain grievances of the United States against foreign countries which have to be disposed of before we consent to consider Reciprocal arrangements. For example, one country may—ostensibly as a sanitary measure—have laid an embargo on our pork; another, on our cattle; still another may have excluded our life-insurance companies, or exacted discriminating freight-rates on our exports on railways operated by the state. The continuance of such prohibitions and discriminations has every appearance of being part of a studied policy of retaliation because of our Protective system. The government imposing these restrictions would naturally like to consider their removal as "concessions," in return for what the United States has to offer in the way of Reciprocity; but, on the principle of the old legal maxim, "No one shall take advantage of his own wrong," these grievances arise for settlement as conditions precedent to any Reciprocal arrangement. Nevertheless, however accomplished, the disappearance of these vexed international questions will be rightly included in the benefits accruing from Reciprocity negotiations.

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The only final Reciprocal agreement under the Act of 1897 thus far signed is with France. The negotiations to this end were initiated by Ambassador Patenôtre in October, 1897, and culminated in an agreement, on the basis of Section 3 of the said Act, which was signed at Washington on May 28, 1898, by Mr. Kasson on behalf of the United States and by Ambassador Cambon on behalf of the French Republic. It was proclaimed May 30, and went into effect June 1. By the terms of this agreement France admits at the minimum rates of duty the following products of the United States, viz.: Canned meats, fresh table fruits, dried and pressed fruits (excluding raisins), timber and lumber, paving-blocks, staves, hops, manufactured and prepared pork meats, lard and its compounds. With the exception of pork products and lard,—which are more important than all the rest of the list,—this schedule is identical with the list of concessions granted by France in the agreement under the Act of 1890, already referred to. The latest agreement affords especial relief to our exporters of pork products and lard, on which articles France recently imposed duties that proved to be practically prohibitory. The reductions secured to the United States on these products are as follows: On manufactured and prepared pork meats, from 100 to 50 francs per 100 kilos; and on lard and its compounds from 40 to 25 francs per 100 kilos. In return, the United States concedes to France the lower rates provided in Section 3 of the Tariff Act on the following French products, viz.: Argols (crude tartar, etc.), brandies and other spirits, paintings in oil and water-colors, pastels, pen-and-ink drawings, and statuary, and, conditionally, on still wines and vermuth. The condition of this last concession is, that it may be withdrawn at the discretion of the President of the United States whenever additional duties beyond those now existing, and which may be deemed by him unjust to the commerce of the United States, shall be imposed by France on products of the United States. Although contemplated by the Act, no reduction is made in respect to champagne and other sparkling wines.

It is possible that a more comprehensive Reciprocity convention may be concluded later with France on the basis of Section 4 of the Act of 1897.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE.

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THE FUTURE OF GREAT TELESCOPES.

SINCE the time of Sir William Herschel, no subject has more constantly occupied the attention of astronomers than the making of great telescopes. It is, however, only within the last twenty years that the efforts of opticians have attained practical perfection, and only within the last five years that astronomers have discovered how to utilize their instruments to the best advantage, by placing them in climates where the atmosphere enables them to perform to their full theoretical effect. That the atmosphere directly affects the definition of great telescopes, and that good air is as essential to definition as optical perfection itself, are facts which have been but very recently fully realized; and, as a consequence, we are only now beginning to utilize the optical discoveries of which this century has been so prolific.

For a long time after the explorations of Herschel, the reflector continued to be looked upon as the principal instrument for discovery. This was due partly to the fact that the reflector is capable of being made of enormous size,—it having been impossible before the time of Fraunhofer to produce large homogeneous pieces of glass suitable for lenses of refractors,—and partly because in Herschel's hands the reflector had achieved results of great value both to his own and to succeeding generations. Thus the influence of tradition—always very powerful, even in scientific circles—was in this instance augmented by the example of Herschel's unprecedented success, which, in conjunction with the difficulty of producing large lenses, gave the reflecting telescope the foremost place till after the middle of this century.

The completion of Lord Rosse's 6-foot reflector at Parsonstown, Ireland, in 1845, was the first important step toward an increase of power over that developed by the Herschels. This giant tube at once opened new views of clusters and nebulæ; some of the latter being resolved into stars. It appears, however, that the great mirror never gave good definition. The defect in definition arose partly from the difficulty of mounting the mirror so as to preserve its geometrical figure when turned into different positions, and partly from the tarnishing inevitable to speculum metal in a moist climate. Another irremediable obstacle was encoun-

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tered in the atmospheric difficulties which necessarily beset a telescope of such enormous aperture. Of these atmospheric difficulties I shall speak later on. Here it need only be said that the inferiority of the definition of Rosse's reflector is proved by the fact that the duplicity of many stars now known to be double was not noticed. Sirius, for example, was described as a large, blazing mass of light, "like a coach-lamp"; no trace having been seen of the companion afterward discovered by Alvan G. Clark with the 18-inch refractor of the Dearborn Observatory, and subsequently seen through telescopes with apertures as small as seven inches. At the time of Lord Rosse's studies the companion must have been separated from the large star by at least seven seconds of arc, at which distance it would be an easy object in a modern refractor of nine inches. After Rosse's experiment the next English effort to build a large reflector was that of Lassell, of Liverpool, who had also the foresight to transport his reflector to Malta, in order to obtain a clearer and more transparent atmosphere than could be found in the British Isles. His efforts were rewarded by the discovery of satellites of Neptune and Uranus, and the delineation of many important nebulæ.

Largely on account of the work of the Herschels, the reflecting telescope has always been a distinctively English instrument; and to-day Common and Roberts maintain the ancient tradition by the manufacture and use of large telescopic mirrors, with which they have obtained good results in work on nebulæ and other vague objects not requiring very sharp definition. Neither the silver-on-glass mirror, constructed and used at Paris, nor the large reflector at Melbourne has been very productive of new revelations; and, consequently, in recent years astronomers have practically ceased to look to reflectors for important discoveries. This change of opinion among men of science is due mainly to the development of the refractor by Fraunhofer about the middle of the first half of this century, and more recently by the famous American firm of Alvan Clark & Sons, who are acknowledged to be the foremost telescope-makers. The history of the making of great refractors by this firm is so well known and so fully illustrated by large instruments scattered over the country—veritable monuments to their genius—that I shall not recount even their most memorable triumphs. Moreover, details of these instruments have already been given to the readers of THE FORUM in an interesting article by Prof. Simon Newcomb.[1]

It is admitted by men of science that, in the hands of the Clarks, the

[1] "Recent Astronomical Progress," by Prof. SIMON NEWCOMB, in THE FORUM for March, 1898, p. 109.

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refracting telescope has come as near to perfection as it is possible to approach with the optical glass now available. Indeed, the marvellous instruments produced by American genius leave little to be desired, either as to size of glass or perfection of workmanship. Nor is the cost of production any longer very great. So fully are these facts realized in European countries that there is no contention abroad regarding the superiority of the Clark glasses.

Fortunately, American observers have shown themselves equally worthy of their country; and now the question of the existence or non-existence of difficult celestial objects is no longer debated by the *savants* of Europe, but is referred at once to Americans for decision. There are many large telescopes in this country which have rendered illustrious service to science: there are others equally powerful with which, for one reason or another, but little has been accomplished. The old Harvard 15-inch (Merz) refractor, the Dearborn 18-inch, the Washington 26-inch, the Lick 36-inch, and the Lowell 24-inch—the last four being Clark glasses—have each achieved just and lasting fame by discoveries which time cannot efface; and the Yerkes 40-inch may in time give results of very great interest.

It is now conceded that the three most powerful telescopes in the world are in America; consisting of the Lick, the Yerkes, and the Lowell. Each of these Clark glasses is admirable in workmanship; but it is known that the maker held the Lowell lens, which was his last great objective, to be the best piece of glass he ever worked. If three such telescopes as the Lowell, the Lick, and the Yerkes were located side by side, and, from an optical point of view, were equally perfect, it might be assumed that their power would increase with the size of their lenses. Such, however, is not the case, save in the one feature of collecting light; for it is found that relatively the atmosphere handicaps a large telescope more than it does a smaller one. As it is, the three telescopes in question are located in very different atmospheres. To make this clear, it is necessary to explain the effect of bad atmosphere upon the definition of telescopes.

About eight years ago the Harvard Observatory established a southern station at Arequipa, Peru, from funds left by Mr. Seth Boyden, of Boston, for "the prosecution of astronomical research in a mountainous region as free as possible from the impediments due to the atmosphere." No sooner had this observatory been established, and work begun with the 13-inch Boyden telescope, than Prof. W. H. Pickering discovered the remarkable difference between the seeing in Peru and that at Cambridge,

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Massachusetts. The Peruvian station is about 8,000 feet above the sea, in a climate almost always clear and excessively dry. It was found that the definition of the telescope there was at least 100 per cent better than it had been in Cambridge, and that, in consequence, objects could be distinctly seen and measured at Arequipa with that instrument which were invisible with it at Harvard. This clearness of definition was due to the great rarity and dryness, and the resulting superior steadiness, of the atmosphere on the Peruvian plateau.

The Harvard observers soon made a further advance of great importance. As the Arequipa Observatory is located near a deep gorge, which at night drains the cold air from the great mountains and plateaus higher up in the Andes, it was soon found by Mr. A. E. Douglass, that about two o'clock in the morning a cold current swept down the gorge; overflowing the Observatory, and destroying the definition almost immediately. This breeze is the cold (dense) air, which, according to known laws of the diurnal circulation, settles during the night, and, draining gradually from the mountains into deep ravines, finally acquires the volume of a torrent; descending like a stream of water. As this current was cold,—and hence denser than the air above the Observatory,—light coming to the telescope through it would have to traverse adjacent *media* of very unequal density; so that violent, irregular refractions would result. As the air is in motion, different portions of the current intercept the light of the star in different instants; hence the definition is entirely ruined. It was found that the stars which up to two o'clock in the morning had beautiful steady images, suddenly assumed hazy aspects like nebulæ; a condition aptly described by saying that they had "exploded"—that is, a star would appear to be a large mass of light diffused over the field of the telescope, instead of being condensed into a small point. One night, when the telescope was pointed on a bright star, Mr. Douglass happened to remove the eye-piece and to put his eye in its place. Looking toward the objective, he saw suddenly a number of fine lines of light flowing in the direction of the current. Repeated experiments during the past five years by Mr. Douglass, Prof. W. H. Pickering, Mr. Lowell, and the writer of this article have shown that these fine lines indicate a succession of small masses of air of irregular density illuminated by the star so as to be visible through the telescope. They flow along with the general movement, and may be called stream-lines in these larger currents of the atmosphere. The size of these little waves, as I shall call them for the sake of brevity, varies from half an inch to a foot in diameter; their form also varies; and, save in rare moments of calm, when there

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is no wind either near the earth or high above it, they fill the entire heavens.

Now these waves, which have been specially investigated at the Lowell Observatory, are found to have the most important bearing upon the definition of telescopes. As all the light from a distant star must pass through this mass of currents—fine, wavy streams in motion, now resembling a dense and violent snowstorm, now taking the form of interwoven lattice-work or woven-wire fence, and again recalling in appearance rippling water illuminated by the sun—it is clear that the light reaching the telescope has experienced in its passage through the air many irregular refractions; thus entering the instrument as a mass of confused and tangled rays. Moreover, it does not fall uniformly over the surface of the lens, but the waves, through which it has passed, cause it to be distributed in patches; the irregular illumination of the lens destroying the definition. For, according to the mathematical theory of lenses, and according to tests applied to objectives in Clark's laboratory, the light is supposed to fall uniformly over the whole surface of the lens; and when there is such a distribution of the light, a perfect lens focuses it all to one small sharp point.

In the actual heavens, besides illuminating the lens in patches, the air-waves also constantly divert the rays from parallel lines; and as each small portion or patch of the lens produces an image in the focal plane, many partial images are formed which are not correctly superposed into one perfect composite image. Thus, a star, instead of appearing sharp, becomes a confused mass of points heaped together, and constantly dancing as the waves pass in front of the great lens of the telescope.[1] The image of the star is thus blurred, like that of a stone seen in the bed of a running brook, or like an indifferent composite photograph sometimes made by having all the members of a class taken on the same photographic plate. The definition of a telescope in such an atmosphere is similar to that of images seen through the curly glass often put into the doors of office-buildings in our large cities—the glass being translucent, not transparent, only hazy outlines can be seen through it. So it is with the atmosphere in many places: the streams are constantly passing in front of the telescope; and the resulting definition is hazy and vague.

As this difficulty does not arise from either insufficient power or de-

[1] It is found that these small waves are the cause of the scintillation of the fixed stars, with which everyone is familiar. In passing before the eye the waves dart the light first one way and then another; spreading it out into a spectrum, which gives the colors noticed in twinkling.

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fective workmanship, it cannot be overcome by any improvement in the size or quality of lenses. It can be overcome only by selecting better locations for our telescopes, where the atmosphere is clear, dry, and, above all, quiescent; so that the glass can perform to the greatest advantage. Such regions are not to be found in Europe, nor in the eastern part of the United States. So far as known, they are to be met with in the northern hemisphere chiefly in our southwestern plateaus, particularly those of Arizona and New Mexico. In the southern hemisphere the best regions appear to be Peru and Northern Chile. The west coast of Australia also offers favorable conditions, although the altitude above the sea is not so great as could be desired.

Our recent studies prove conclusively that it is only by improving the locations of great observatories that a gain can be made in telescopic power; the more quiescent the atmosphere, the better being the performance of our great telescopes. Hence, it follows that, with a sufficiently good atmosphere, a large, but not abnormal-sized, telescope can accomplish more work and reveal more difficult objects than the largest instrument in the world if badly placed. For, in a clear and dry climate, which affords steady seeing, the number of nights on which an astronomer can work is much greater than in moist countries troubled with clouds; consequently, the working efficiency of a telescope is much increased. As the observer will have a proportionally larger number of nights which afford fine definition, the smaller telescope will have the advantage in disclosing difficult objects. Even if for a short interval the seeing where the giant telescope is placed should become equal to that at the better station, there is no guarantee that the observer who is accustomed to bad seeing, and constantly expects it, will at the moment of stillness be prepared to utilize the few precious moments to the most advantage. On this account, the chances greatly favor the success of the smaller telescope in the better atmosphere.

There is another drawback to a telescope of very large aperture,—and this applies also to larger reflectors, such as that of Lord Rosse,—namely, the larger the aperture the larger the number of waves included in the field of view; hence the worse the blurring of the resulting composite image. For example, a telescope of 24-inch aperture is two-thirds the size of one of 36-inch aperture; but the blurring in the two cases is in proportion to the areas of the two lenses, and therefore as 9 to 4 against the larger telescope. Thus it is clear that under given conditions a large lens will give inferior definition to a small one; and as a matter of fact we find, by experiments with apertures of various sizes, that when the seeing is bad a

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large aperture is a decided disadvantage. A small aperture, but one that is large enough to give the requisite amount of light, is to be preferred. Therefore it does not follow that an object which can be seen at all can be seen in the largest telescopes, even when the locations are equally good. Still less is this true when the larger telescopes are located in the worse atmospheres, as in the case of several observatories equipped with powerful instruments. As the waves in a bad atmosphere destroy the definition, they have the effect of temporarily damaging the working of the lens; and the result is much the same as if the figuring of the glass were faulty.

Consequently, it is sheer nonsense to infer that a big lens implies the most important discoveries. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Yet this idea is very generally held, and has only recently been abandoned even by astronomers. In order to be perfectly clear, I assert that large lenses are still desirable: indeed, we need some larger than any that have yet been made; but a need still more pressing is an atmosphere in which they can perform to advantage. As good atmosphere is just as important as good workmanship on the lens, the paramount question of the future is to find the best possible location for our great telescopes, if they are ever to show the most difficult objects.

Small wonder is it, therefore, that the Lowell telescope, with an aperture of only 24 inches, located in what is admittedly the best situation yet found in the United States, should have disclosed numerous phenomena which have not been seen elsewhere. Markings on the planets and satellites are phenomena which require transparency and, above all, *steadiness* of atmosphere; and the observation of close and unequal double stars is an equally severe test of definition. Both these classes of work depend on the power of contrast or delineation which the telescope may yield, as well as on the sight and energy of the observer; and, assuming that the observer has keen sight, and utilizes his opportunities to advantage, *steadiness* of the atmosphere is the question of supreme importance.

It is not my purpose in this paper to refer at too great length to the work of particular observatories; but the remarks of a critic with regard to recent work on Mars, that "the way to see the canals is to keep the eyes fixed on Schiaparelli's map during the day, and observe the planet in the telescope at night," call for some notice. It is only fair to say that it is a fundamental principle with all American observers to make their sketches quite independently of the work of previous observers. This is especially true of those who study Mars; since it is conceded on

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all sides that the maps of that remarkable planet are still far from being complete.

The incredulous observer above referred to does not tell us whose map the illustrious Schiaparelli used in discovering the Martian canals for the first time; nor are we given any more light on the equally interesting question relative to the maps used during the day to get the results recently found on Mercury and Venus, of which no maps for general use have been made. Though it is unnecessary at this early date to explain the cause of the streaks and lines shown to exist on Mercury, Venus, and the satellites of Jupiter, the well-known streaks on the moon will occur to thoughtful persons as closely analogous phenomena near the earth. These dikes or mountain-ranges on our satellite have been studied for nearly three centuries, and are still more or less of a mystery; though it seems fairly certain that they are volcanic outbursts from the interior. A similar explanation seems probable in the case of Jupiter's satellites, as well as of Mercury and Venus. As the work of Mr. Lowell and Mr. Douglass is perhaps the most classic which has yet been achieved in the study of planetary detail, it may be said to constitute a powerful argument for the theory, that the selection of a good atmosphere is paramount to the extraordinary size of telescope. The writer's discovery with the same telescope during the past two years of more than five hundred new double stars, including a number of objects more difficult than any that had been seen before, emphasizes this view by the logic of facts not easily to be set aside.

The work to be done by great telescopes may be condensed under the following heads:

1. The study and micrometrical measurement of the planets and satellites of the solar system.

2. The discovery and measurement of double and multiple stars, with the view of fixing their orbits.

3. The measurement of the parallaxes of the fixed stars, or the determination of their distances.

4. The study and delineation of the forms of nebulæ.

5. The investigation of the spectra of the fixed stars, nebulæ, and planets.

6. The determination of the changes of spectra, especially in the case of variable stars.

7. The determination of stellar and nebular motions in the line of sight, so far as our knowledge of the chemical elements and of the physical condition of the heavenly bodies will permit.

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8. The observation of variable stars at their epochs of minimum brightness.

Any one of these lines opens up an immense field of inquiry; and no one telescope could be advantageously applied to all at the same time. All the studies are facilitated by a good location of the telescope; and for 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8 a steady atmosphere is absolutely essential. For photographic and spectroscopic work the steadiness of the air is less important than for visual work: but transparency is very essential; and this is usually to be found only in a region where the climate is clear and dry, and the air steady. Thus, it appears that most astronomical work with a large telescope requires a location which affords good seeing, and that such a location is decidedly preferable for all lines of research. It may be remarked that, for spectroscopic work, a large reflector, which collects a great amount of light, even if the definition be poor, may be very useful.

In our day it is a pity to have a large telescope, like that of the Naval Observatory at Washington, located in such a climate, because it can at best show only objects which are moderately easy, and new discoveries with it are well-nigh impossible; whereas, if it were placed in the high and dry plateaus of the Southwest, it would become one of the foremost telescopes of the world. The removal of this large telescope to a better climate is urgently demanded by every consideration of science. In like manner, it is recognized by astronomers that the present location of the 40-inch Yerkes telescope in the cloudy belt of Wisconsin must at least handicap its efficiency for the advancement of astronomical discovery. If such a telescope were located in the elevated plains of Peru, or in the high plateaus of Arizona or New Mexico, it might render a much greater service to the science of the stars.

A large telescope in the southern hemisphere is a most urgent *desideratum* of astronomy. The fixed stars and nebulæ over a large expanse near the south pole are but very little known; and this region, above all others, offers an extensive field for research. It is a singular fact that nearly all the great observatories of the world, like the civilized nations by which they are maintained, are in the northern terrestrial hemisphere; the southern stars below their horizons being thus correspondingly neglected. The finer objects of the southern celestial hemisphere are almost as little known to astronomers as are the wonders of the Antarctic continent to polar explorers. Perhaps the greatest future a giant telescope could have would be insured by its location in Peru or Northern Chile, where the visible heavens are least explored, and the climate, from an astronomical point of view, is one of the best known. T. J. J. See.

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OUR NEED OF A PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

In the affairs of nations tradition is a far more effective force than reason. This truth is one which the people of the United States in general are not very willing to accept; and yet it governs our destinies no less than those of other nations. Examples are not far to seek. The universal rule that a Representative in Congress must be a resident of the district for which he sits, rests, in most parts of the country, on nothing more respectable than an almost unbroken tradition. The same is true of the queer custom, which is firmly established in many places, that a nomination for Congress must be accorded in regular rotation to each of the counties composing the Congressional district. This custom is plainly correlative to the perfectly unreasonable but highly popular theory, that the fact of a man's having been a member of Congress is not a reason for reëlecting him, but the reverse; that it is the fair thing for him, after one or two terms in Congress, to stand aside and let someone else have a chance; and that, in short, public office is a good thing which ought to be passed round.

It is upon just such traditions that our entire lack of a permanent diplomatic service rests. But there is no reason for it. The prominent lawyers and able editors and successful manufacturers and eminent railroad magnates who every four years invade the White House, and crowd every corner of the office of the Secretary of State, would be the first to deride the notion that they could change places among themselves at a moment's notice,—that the editor could write the lawyer's briefs, or the manufacturer run the railroad. Every one of these men knows that, in his own business, training and experience are essential, if he is to avoid swift and scandalous disaster. Every one of them would decline, if offered the command of a battleship, and hesitate to command a regiment in active service. But yet, such is the force of tradition, that every one of them is serenely confident of his capacity to undertake business equally novel, often delicate and difficult, which must be conducted in a foreign country, and generally with people of whose very language he is wholly ignorant.

This singular self-confidence is plainly a survival of that theory

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of government—now happily passing away, although by no means extinct—which may be conveniently called the "backwoods theory." It is this: That every American citizen, without regard to education or experience, is just as competent as any other American citizen to fill any office whatever. The theory once, in some parts of the country, roughly corresponded to the facts. In the Pioneer days a man needed to practise almost every profession. He had of course to be something of a soldier, a surveyor, a farmer, and a physician. He might at the same time be also a judge, a shopkeeper, and a member of the Legislature. He would be expected to discharge the duties of sheriff, and to fill other like executive offices, if required. To such a man and his neighbors, the idea of a special training for one profession and of a life-long devotion to a single and perhaps narrow line of duty, would necessarily seem absurd. It would have been worse,—it would have been dangerous; for such training and such an existence would have utterly incapacitated a man for the life of the frontier.

The type of American which these conditions bred was Andrew Jackson; and in his time the theory, that education and experience were of no value in public life, first became an efficient factor in the development of the country. Before his time a different tradition—borrowed from British sources, and not altogether in harmony with the facts of American life—had prevailed. The men who had theretofore filled the great offices had been, as a rule, men of large landed property; they had also possessed refinement and cultivation; and they had all passed through a long apprenticeship. Every President since John Adams had held the office of Secretary of State. Every President, except Washington and Madison, had filled the highest diplomatic posts abroad.

But in fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, the force of the traditions derived from the mother-country had become exhausted. It was no longer thought fitting that the "landed gentry" should hold the offices. The Federalists and their doctrines had disappeared.

"The generality of people did not feel the necessity of being taken care of by trained statesmen. . . . The masses saw in him [Jackson] a man who thought as they thought, who talked as they talked, who was a living proof that it did not require much learning to make a famous general or to be elected President, and whose example therefore assured them that every one of them had a chance at high distinction for himself."[1]

The theory that special training was not required for a successful career profoundly influenced American life. For a long time it affected

[1] SCHURZ'S "Life of Clay," vol. i, p. 331.

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all kinds of business and most professions; and it is only now that the daily increasing extent and complexity of our affairs, and the more intimate knowledge we have of what is accomplished in other countries, are banishing this notion with respect to private employments. Sixty or seventy years ago medical education was of the most rudimentary character. To-day many well-equipped schools, maintaining an exacting four-year course, attest, by the growing number of their students, the general conviction that long and thorough training pays. Legal education, in the modern sense, did not exist in Jackson's time. To-day hundreds of young men have become convinced that three years' theoretical study of the law is not too much. Forty years ago an American architect, returning from a course at the École des Beaux Arts, was told that there was no market for his wares in this country, and that we wanted not theorists and artists, but "practical builders." But that same architect lived to see the triumph of the most refined technical skill in the Court of Honor at Chicago, with his own work in the foremost place.

The same process has, to a certain extent, gone on in the public service. Thus we no longer disbelieve in the value of technical education for the army and the navy. In Jackson's time it was much the fashion in Congress to attack West Point. The Military Academy used to be denounced upon the grounds that it was an aristocratical institution, that it was unfriendly to the rights of the people, that its graduates stood in the way of promotion from the ranks and so blocked the way against military genius, and that it was a monopoly for the gratuitous education of the sons and connections of the rich and influential. It was asserted that officers could not be made in schools, but only in camps, and that, therefore, the whole cost of the education was thrown away, so far as military purposes were concerned. The same sort of talk was heard later, when the Naval Academy was established. Benton, who was always a leader in these attacks,—forgetful of the careers of Napoleon and Nelson,—triumphantly declared that the schools were useless, because all the great marshals of France had risen from the ranks, and the finest naval officers the world had ever seen had been bred in the merchant service.

There was not much heard of these arguments after the Mexican War. And the careers of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Lee, Johnson, and Stonewall Jackson ended opposition to the Military Academy; just as the exploits of Dewey, Sampson, Schley, Hobson, and the rest would suffice to end opposition to the Naval Academy, if it still existed.

In most other branches of the public service the advantages of special training are less obvious, and in them the "backwoods theory"

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still survives. That theory, it must be remembered, when applied to employment under the Government, denies not merely the value of technical training, but denies also the value of experience. Even sixty years ago, in private affairs, the old doctor, the old lawyer, and the "practical builder" were believed to be safer than mere beginners. But for an office in the gift of the President,—and especially for any office which requires residence abroad,—it has been the constant tradition of our Government, for more than half a century past, that education is useless, and experience a bar.

If we inquire why a practical nation has permitted so grotesque an anomaly in the conduct of its business, we shall probably find that this condition of things endures, first, because of the general belief that our foreign relations have, on the whole, been pretty well managed; and, second, because of a general popular misconception of the kind of work to be performed by our diplomatic agents. Whether our foreign relations have, on the whole, been well managed or ill managed, is a matter concerning which proof is impossible. The stern tests to which actual warfare subjects military and naval officers cannot be applied to diplomatists. There may be, and there usually are, two opinions as to every diplomatic transaction which is important enough to attract public attention; and it is just as open for one set of people to condemn the conduct of a particular affair, as it is for another set of people to applaud it.

No argument can therefore be fairly drawn from history, either to prove or to disprove the efficiency of our diplomatists. It is precisely like the question which used to interest people in our larger cities a generation ago, as to whether a volunteer fire-department was or was not a good thing. Nobody could prove, by any historical example, that a volunteer fire-department did not do its work well. In a sense it did excellent work. Its members were undisciplined, but were brave and enthusiastic. The arguments for a paid department were *a priori* arguments, based upon analogies more or less imperfect, and upon comparisons drawn from other like occupations. Fortunately, the *a priori* arguments carried the day; and discussion ceased when the experiment of a regular organization was tried.

In like manner, our volunteer diplomatic department, if it may be so called, has done excellent work on many occasions. Its successes are due partly to the inherent adaptiveness of American citizens; partly to our putting up our very best men for the really serious work; and partly to the extreme simplicity which has hitherto generally characterized our

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relations with foreign countries. But no opinion as to the general effectiveness of our methods is sound, if it takes into account only the great and exceptional triumphs of American diplomacy,—those conspicuous events, identified with the names of some of our greatest men, which still linger in the public memory. The acquisition of Louisiana, the acquisition of Florida, and the successive settlements of our recurring disputes with Great Britain are remembered; and these were among the most notable achievements of Franklin, of Jay, of Monroe, of the Adamses, of Clay, of Webster, and of Fish. That we can accomplish very considerable results when we put forth our whole intellectual strength, is a gratifying fact; but that such successes have on occasion been within our reach proves nothing as to the efficiency of our ordinary diplomatic machinery.

After all, what has enabled us, more than any other one thing, to get our foreign affairs tolerably managed, has been the simplicity of our business. With very few exceptions, our relations with other countries have been single,—that is to say, a controversy with one country has not usually involved the feelings, or the obligations, or the rights of any third nation. The watchful jealousies of the armed European nations, when they contemplate the partition of Africa or of the Turkish Empire or of China, have hitherto been quite unknown in our diplomacy. When we acquired Florida from Spain, our controversies were with the Spanish Government alone. When we took over from Mexico the immense domain embracing New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, California, and part of Colorado, we excited no fears abroad and awakened no hostilities. The adjustment of our northern boundary and the settlement of the "Alabama" claims with Great Britain affected none but American and British interests. And thus it has not been generally a very difficult undertaking for an alert American citizen, however inexperienced, to take up and conduct a negotiation with a foreign country; because the subject under discussion has almost always been a single question or group of questions, uncomplicated by the intervening interests of third parties.

Occasionally, however, we have found ourselves in deeper waters; and it cannot be said that our diplomacy has then proved itself always brilliantly successful. The negotiation of Jay's treaty with England in 1794 affords an apt illustration of the sort of weakness to which our lack of system exposes us, even in the hands of exceptionally competent men. The object of Jay's mission was to remove, as far as possible, the causes of the painful irritation which then existed between ourselves

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and Great Britain. The treaty which he signed made provision for the final withdrawal of British troops from our soil, for the settlement of claims, and for the ascertainment of a portion of our northeastern boundary. These were all matters in which no other nation had an interest. But Great Britain, in view of the war with revolutionary France, then recently begun, desired that the treaty should contain a set of rules to fix the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents respectively. This code, as agreed on, was naturally so framed as to benefit a belligerent with a great navy, and to be unfavorable to a belligerent that relied largely on privateering. In other respects, the treaty established a line of conduct for the United States as a neutral Power which was more or less beneficial to Great Britain and more or less injurious to France. Such a concession to the former was very likely a reasonable price to pay for the advantages we gained by the treaty; but it was a price that should certainly have been paid only with the fullest understanding of what their worth was to us.

It is apparent that the probable effect of such a bargain upon the French and Spanish Governments ought to have been clearly ascertained in advance; and yet, as a matter of fact, Jay concluded the treaty without the slightest effort to gain information on these points. In a properly organized diplomatic service, our representative in London would have been in close and regular correspondence with his colleagues in Paris and Madrid. But, as it happened, our Minister in Paris at that time was Monroe, who was strongly opposed politically to Jay; and there was no communication between them until after Jay's treaty had been actually signed. Monroe justly complained that he had been steadily kept in complete ignorance of Jay's proceedings, and that even after the treaty was completed he could get a copy only under conditions which made it useless; but he was so plainly trying to play his own game, and not to support his partner, that it is impossible to sympathize with his grievances. As for our representatives in Madrid, Jay never made any effort to correspond with them either before or after the completion of his mission. The result of such an entire lack of coöperation was inevitable. The French Government, being unable to get any authentic information, and finding the whole transaction shrouded in mystery, came to regard the treaty with bitter and probably unreasonable hostility; they declared that it was little short of an open alliance with Great Britain; and they began thenceforward to pursue a policy toward our trade which cost us millions and ultimately led to acts of war. As to Spain, the effect produced on that Government is not even now entirely

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clear; but it seems certain that the Spanish Government also became convinced that by the Jay treaty we had become allies of England, and that it dealt with us upon that assumption. To such mischances is amateur diplomacy exposed.

It is, therefore, probably fair to say, that if public sentiment has failed to condemn the present organization of our diplomatic service from a feeling that the work of the country has been on the whole well done, the popular judgment rests upon imperfect knowledge. The like ignorance affects the popular conception of the duties of a diplomatic agent. It is hardly a caricature of the general belief to say that he is supposed to spend his entire time abroad in futile and frivolous amusements,—his only serious occupation being to help travelling Americans to get introduced into foreign society. Most intelligent people would, no doubt, admit that any such view was absurdly wide of the truth, and that diplomatists did have important and laborious work to do; but even intelligent people generally fail to comprehend clearly what are the functions and duties of our foreign representatives.

Their essential function is, broadly speaking, to prevent or remove possible causes of misunderstanding between this and other nations, which, if left to themselves, might cause war. This function may be fulfilled in countless different ways not easily defined or classified, but all requiring much knowledge and experience, added to tact and capacity, and the most constant watchfulness and study of men and events. A diplomatic agent should be an unfailing reservoir of information as to the financial, political, and military condition of the country to which he is accredited. He should be ready at any moment to take up those friendly verbal negotiations with foreign Governments which are so immensely important. But he cannot well convey a confidential message, or put a delicate inquiry, unless he can dispense with the services of an interpreter, and unless he is thoroughly familiar, through an almost life-long acquaintance, with foreign modes of thought, with the personal peculiarities of the individuals he must meet, and with the forms of social intercourse that are locally considered important. He ought also to know, by actual experience, something of the workings of our own Government and especially of the Department of State. An agent who knows all these things can be depended on to speak the word in season, which every man familiar with affairs knows is indispensable in the management of important business.

The personnel of the diplomatic corps constitutes the machinery through which the Government must work in its dealings with foreign

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countries. The Secretary of State, if he is to accomplish large results, must feel that he can rely on the discretion, loyalty, and trained capacity of his subordinates, either as channels of confidential communication with other Governments or as sources of prompt and accurate information. He ought to have the same unquestioning confidence in them that the Secretary of the Navy, for example, feels in the officers under him. The whole force of the State Department and the diplomatic service must work as a unit, if complicated business, involving several countries, is to be successfully conducted. Individual capacity, however brilliant, will not do so much as the united efforts of experienced men working consciously toward one common end,—a truth which is evidenced in such diverse forms of human endeavor as war, railroading, the game of football, and the game of whist. Strict discipline and *esprit de corps* are the requisites of efficiency in any large body of men; and if we ask how these requisites are to be attained, the answer must be sought in the practice of other nations and in the conduct of other branches of our own service. The only secret of success in organizing and maintaining a body of zealous and efficient subordinates consists in selecting competent men in the first place, in weeding out with exact and obvious justice those who are incapable or unfaithful, and in punctually rewarding, by reasonable pay, by sure promotion, and by permanency of tenure, those who prove themselves worthy.

A permanent diplomatic service ought, therefore, as a rule, to be composed of men who enter it in the lowest ranks and who rise, through promotion, to the highest. None should be admitted who fails to furnish proofs of good character, as well as proofs of adequate knowledge. Every man admitted to the service should be required to pass a rigid examination in history and international law and political economy; he should be able not only to speak and read French perfectly, but—what is much more rare and difficult—to write it with ease and precision; and he should have a fair knowledge of Spanish and one or two other languages. He should be called upon to serve from time to time in the State Department, as well as abroad,—just as officers of the army and navy are detailed from time to time for duty in Washington. He should be ready to report for duty at the shortest notice in any part of the globe. Promotion should follow in regular course, but subject to examination at each step. Retirement from active service should be allowed for physical disability, and should be compulsory at a certain age. Above all, dismissal from the service should be permitted only as the result of a hearing, equivalent to the findings of a court martial. In a word, the

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way to obtain an efficient body of diplomatic agents is to treat them as we treat the officers of our army and our navy.

It may be said, as it used to be said of West Point, that this will produce routine officers, and will stifle original genius. Even if this were true,—the history of West Point has, however, abundantly disproved the assertion,—yet the nature of the diplomatic service is such that the evil could be readily corrected. The greater part of a diplomatist's work, like the work of most other men, may be described as routine. It is imperative that this should be thoroughly done. But at rare intervals a great emergency arises. A Treaty of Ghent must be concluded to end a war, or a Treaty of Washington to avert one. For such exceptional work a special commission can always be made up; and a commission will surely work better and more swiftly, if they are able to rely on the assistance of such an organized body of educated and experienced public servants as might so easily be established.

One bit of cant relative to the diplomatic service of the United States is perhaps worth considering. It is sometimes said that under our peculiar system of government it is essential that our foreign representatives should be in full political sympathy with the Executive. Probably no one would pretend that this rule ought to apply, if we once had a regular and permanent service organized like the army and navy. But even now the rule is not applied whenever an emergency requires the services of men exceptionally qualified. To go no further back than the present year, we find that when a deadlock had been reached in our Turkish negotiations, Mr. Straus was appointed our Minister at Constantinople, without regard to his well-known views on domestic politics. When it became necessary to select a Governor for the Philippines,—a post requiring high diplomatic capacity,—no one stopped to consider how far Gen. Merritt was in sympathy with the Administration. And when, during the present war, a vacancy occurred in the office of Assistant Secretary of State, no one asked what were the political convictions of Prof. Moore.

High and steady efficiency in the management of our foreign affairs has become imperative. It is no longer possible for us to trust to luck. Whether we like it or not, it is plain that the country is now entering a period in its history in which it will necessarily be brought into far closer and more complex relations with all the other great Powers of the world. The constant growth of our foreign commerce of itself counts for much. The end of the present war will not improbably find us in possession of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Ladrones, the Carolines, and

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the Philippines. If we seek to retain the latter, we shall not be met with the indifference that attended our retention of California. We shall become involved at once in all the jealousies and rivalries which the partition of Asia has awakened. We shall need all the skill we can command to avoid awakening the enmity of one or more of the five great Powers that are now manœuvring for the spoils of China. The acquisition of Hawaii creates many new points of contact with foreign countries. The construction of an interoceanic canal will probably require us to maintain a greatly increased navy, and to take permanent military occupation of the country through which the canal passes; and we shall thus have to face the same sort of serious questions that Great Britain has to deal with in Egypt. More than all else, our demonstration of commanding naval strength and skill makes us henceforward an ally or an enemy with whom every one of the other great Powers must reckon. Our friendship will be eagerly sought. We shall now and henceforth be looked upon as having cast aside our traditional attitude of isolation; and we shall be counted as a factor in all the great combinations of the world's politics. We can see already in the ostentatious friendliness of Great Britain the entirely new point of view from which we are regarded.

In taking our part in the great movements of the next century, and in dealing with the enormously difficult and important questions of foreign policy that are certain to arise, we shall need above everything to be adequately equipped for our task. Nothing short of the most complete organization which the experience of all nations can suggest, will serve for the work we have to do. We can no longer be content to build a new diplomatic machine after each Presidential election, and look forward to throwing it aside when it is just beginning to work with some degree of efficiency. Next to the establishment of a well-equipped and trustworthy army reserve, there will be no more urgent undertaking for this Government than the reorganization of its diplomatic service.

That there will be much opposition to any change, is to be expected; but to doubt that a change will be made, is to doubt the success of the nation in the new career upon which it is surely entering.

G. L. Rives.

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HOW A SAVAGE TRIBE IS GOVERNED.

To the ethnologist a savage is a forest dweller. In common conception the savage is a brutal person, whose chief delight is in taking scalps. Sometimes the sylvan man is cruel,—but even civilized men are sometimes cruel. Savagery is a status of culture to the ethnologist, who recognizes four such stages, of which savagery is the lowest. Some of the Indian tribes of America belong to this lowest stage; while others belong to a higher stage which is called barbarism. Wishing to show my readers how a savage tribe is governed, I must at the outset ask them to consider the savage not as a man of cruelty, but as a man who takes part in a regularly organized government, with laws that are obeyed and enforced. What, then, is a savage tribe, and how does tribal society differ from national society?

The nation, like the tribe, is a compound group of people; the distinction between them being in the method by which the grouping is accomplished. All the people of the United States belong to the national group. They are citizens of the nation, and, at the same time, are divided into forty-five groups as citizens of States. In every State there are counties; and the people of the State are citizens of one or other of these counties. Then, again, the counties are divided into precincts, towns, or townships. Sometimes towns are divided into school-districts, and cities into wards. And there are numerous villages. Thus the people of the United States are organized in a hierarchy of groups, from the school-district to the entire nation. The territory of the United States is divided into subordinate districts throughout the hierarchy; and there are at least four groups in the hierarchy, viz., the town, the county, the State, and the nation,—or the ward, the city, the State, and the nation. Every citizen of the United States, therefore, belongs to four different organizations in a hierarchy. He has a vote in each organization, assists in the selection of its officers, obeys its laws, and holds allegiance to its authority. This is all very simple; but the plan of grouping or regimenting people by territorial boundaries is of late origin. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were grouped by a very different method. History teaches that the ancient Greeks and Romans were grouped by a different

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plan. In fact, it has been discovered that, in the two stages of culture which I have called savagery and barbarism, a very different plan of regimentation everywhere prevails. This plan is known as tribal organization.

Tribal organization characterizes the two lower stages of culture; and savage regimentation differs from barbaric regimentation in some very important particulars.

In tribal society people are grouped or regimented in bodies of kindred. Let us first examine this grouping in the savage tribe. A savage tribe is composed of clans. Let us obtain a clear idea of what we mean by clan.

A tribe is a group of people composed of clans: a clan is a group of people having a common name. Suppose that a tribe springs from four persons, viz., a brother and a sister belonging to one clan, and a brother and sister belonging to another clan, and that each of the men marries the other's sister. Let us call one of our clans "wolf," and the other "eagle." The wolf-man marries the eagle-woman; and the eagle-man marries the wolf-woman. This is the first generation of a tribe composed of two clans; the man and his wife belonging to different clans. The four persons belong to two clans, and constitute two families. Let us suppose that each couple has four children, two boys and two girls. They will belong to two clans. The children of the wolf-mother will belong to the wolf clan, and the children of the eagle-mother to the eagle clan. This is the second generation. Then four people of the second generation and two of the first generation belong to the wolf clan; and four of the second generation and two of the first generation belong to the eagle clan. Thus we see that clans do not correspond to what in modern culture we call the family. The husband and wife belong to different clans; and the children belong to the clan of the mother. The mother, not the father, owns the children; and the husband is but the guest of his wife, not the head of the household.

Suppose that each man of the second generation marries a woman of that generation who belongs to a different clan, and that each pair has four children, two boys and two girls. These children constitute the third generation. The children belong to the clan of the mother. There are now three generations of people in each clan; and every mother claims her own children as members of her clan. The head of the family is the mother; but the head of the clan is the grandmother's brother. Always the elder man of the clan is the ruler of the clan; and the woman is the family ruler of her children. We may go on from the hypothetical be-

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ginning of a tribe through successive generations; and still the ruler of the clan will be the elder man of the clan and will govern not his own children and their descendants, but his sister's children and their descendants. We may therefore define a clan as a group of kindred people whose kinship is reckoned only through females.

A clan always has a name, which is called its totem; and the object from which it is named is in like manner called its totem. Thus, in the two clans which we have considered, the wolf and the eagle are respectively called the totems of the clan. The totem derives great consideration in savage society. It is usually some beast, bird, or insect, or some important plant, such as the corn or the tobacco; or it may be the wind, the rain, the dawn, or the sunshine. The totem of the clan is considered to be the progenitor or prototype of the clan. The people of the wolf clan claim to have descended from the wolf; the people of the eagle clan, from the eagle; the people of the wind clan, from the wind; and the people of the sun clan, from the sun. The totem is also the tutelar deity of the clan.

There grows up about the clan a singular set of rules and observances, which are rites, on the one hand, and prohibitions, on the other. The prohibitions are usually called taboos. Thus, the members of the wolf clan must not kill a wolf, as the killing of the wolf is tabooed to the clan; but if they see one they must perform some ceremony. The rites and taboos of the totem are universal in this stage of society, and are held as sacred obligations. One of these taboos is especially to be noted. A person must not marry into his own clan. The taboo is sacred; and its violation is a horrible crime, which, in some tribes, is punishable with death.

An individual is likely to have as many kindred through his father as through his mother; and he is also likely to have as many kindred through his wife by affinity as through his father and mother by consanguinity. All those persons to whom the clansman is related through his father and through his wife, together with all the members of his own clan, constitute the tribe. Thus in savage society we have families, clans, and tribes. We have still a fourth unit. Two or more tribes may unite to form a confederacy for offensive or defensive purposes, or for both. When a confederacy is formed, artificial kinship is introduced; and the tribes which unite agree to consider themselves related. If two tribes unite, the men of the tribes may consider each other as elder and younger brothers, or as fathers and sons, or even as uncles and nephews. Where many tribes unite to form a confederacy, relationships are distrib-

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uted to the members of the confederacy, but only after long conferences, where such questions are considered in detail. Thus we see that in tribal society men are not regimented or grouped territorially, as in national society, but are regimented by kinship, real or conventional, as the case may be: the same end, however, is accomplished in full, that is, the people are grouped in a hierarchy of units. Thus in tribal society men are grouped or regimented by kindred; and each person belongs to at least four groups of different grades in the hierarchy. Certain things are regulated by the confederacy; certain things, by the tribe; certain things, by the clan; certain things, by the mother of the family. In national society there is local government. In a democratic nation this is local self-government; and in a monarchical nation it is local government through officers appointed by the monarch. In tribal society there is group government; the questions of government being relegated to the several groups, and the elder-man of the group having authority.

In the course of generations some clans may die out, and the children be left without parents or grandparents: they must then be adopted into some other family. If they are adopted by a mother's sister they are still in the same clan; but if they are adopted by a father's sister they are considered as belonging to his clan, which is the same as that of his sister. It is thus that it sometimes happens that children change clans and, consequently, their totemic names.

When the men of a clan go out to hunt or fish, to make a boat or build a house, or to do any other work together, the oldest man of the clan is the director of the enterprise, the chief. All Indians hold that superior age gives authority; and every person is taught from childhood to obey his superiors and to rule over his inferiors. The superiors are those of greater age; the inferiors, those who are younger. It is the law of tribal society that superior age gives authority, and that inferior age imposes a duty. But the people of a tribe do not know their age; for they do not keep a record of time. How, then, can they carry out this law? Well, they have a very simple device, by which every person in the clan may know that he is older or younger than other persons in the clan. Besides the totem name they have kinship names. Thus, there is a name for "father" and another for "son"; and the son always knows that he is younger than the father, and must obey him. Similarly the father always knows that he is older than the son, and that he has the right to command him. The same is true of mother and daughter. But there may be two or more brothers; so they have two names for "brother," one meaning "elder brother," and the other "younger brother." In the same

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manner they have two words for "cousin"; one signifying "elder cousin," and the other younger cousin. They have also two words corresponding to uncle and nephew; but the word meaning "uncle" is always applied to the elder, and the word which means "nephew" is always applied to the one who is younger. Thus in the Ute language there are two words: *ain* and *aitsen*. *Ain* applies to the one who is the elder, whether he be uncle or nephew; and *aitsen* applies to the younger, whether he be uncle or nephew.

So long as the tribesmen live together in clans they have a simple method of keeping in memory their relative ages: for the names by which they address one another always express the difference in age; and it is a law in tribal society that one person must address another by a kinship term. He may *speak of* another by his totem name, or by any other name; but he must *address* another by his kinship name. It is always considered an insult to call another person of the same body of kindred by any name other than his kinship name. An American boy on the street may call his brother "John"; but an Indian boy in the woods must call his brother by one of the terms which show that he is older, or younger, than himself.

The oldest man of the clan having natural authority, according to Indian ideas, over all members of the clan is their chief; and this is the basis of the patriarchy. A clan is said to have a patriarchal government.

Sometimes the elder-man or patriarch or chief becomes old and imbecile; or there may be another man in the clan whom they suppose to have greater ability, and they conclude to make him the chief. In such a case the law is obeyed by a plan which lawyers term a legal fiction. The new chief is promoted; and then he becomes the grandfather of the clan. If his father is still living, he is compelled to call his chieftain son "grandfather"; if his elder brother is still living he is compelled to call the chief, "elder brother"; if his uncle is still living he is compelled to call the chief, "uncle." So, by this legal fiction, the chief is still the patriarch of the clan. Not only can a chief be promoted to the head of the clan, but from time to time different individuals in the clan are promoted over their fellows. A young man who proves himself to be skilful in fishing and hunting, or a brave warrior, may be promoted over his fellows, who thus become persons younger than himself and must address him as if he were older. Every year adds a new spike to the antlers of the stag. Some Indians call such a promotion the adding of a spike to a man's horns; other tribes speak of it as adding another

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stripe to his paint; and still others, as adding another feather to his bonnet. Sometimes a chief may prove to be a coward; then he will be deposed. Or an individual may disgrace himself; when he will be reduced in rank. When a man is deposed the Indians will say that his horns have been knocked off, or that his paint has been wiped off, or that his feathers have been plucked.

In a similar manner tribes and confederacies are governed by reckoning kinship in different ways, and making kinship by legal fiction. All such governments are patriarchal. It will readily be seen that such government is not possible in civilized society. What man can know the names of all the persons living in a county or a State; or who can learn all the names of the people who live in a city; and how can one trace out the kinship of the people of a city into clans? Tribal society, or kinship government, is therefore impossible in civilization, and is only possible where the group of people thus united in government is very small, and the members know one another as kindred.

I have already explained the adoption into other clans of infant children whose clan kindred have become extinct. Such cases seem to be infrequent; but there are other cases of adoption which are more common. Children, and even adults, captured in war are usually adopted into some clan. Our European ancestors observed a curious custom among the tribes of this country,—that of running the gantlet. A prisoner was compelled to run between two lines of his captors armed with sticks or other missiles. This was formerly supposed to be a method of torture. On investigation it is proved to have had quite another purpose. The prisoner was given an opportunity to show his mettle, his courage, and his ability to fight his way through a line of clubs. If he acquitted himself manfully, any woman among the captors might claim him for her child. Children ran the gantlet of children only; but adults ran the gantlet of men, women, and children. Female children were rarely submitted to this ordeal. The adoption of a captive was his new birth into the clan; and his official age dated from his new birth. If he proved himself skilful, useful, and especially wise, he might be promoted from time to time, until at last the captive might become a chief.

Captives taken from tribes that are hereditary enemies and between which there have grown historic feuds, and who are held to practise monster sins, such as cannibalism, are given a fixed status from their birth into the clan, which they cannot pass without promotion; for all persons naturally born into the clan may call them younger and have authority over them. This is the primal form of slavery: but by good

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behavior the rules of such slavery may be greatly relaxed; and captives from hated enemies may ultimately become promoted kindred.

A person may not marry another of the same clan; but usually he must marry some one of the tribe not in his own clan. Before the marriage-customs of the tribes of America were properly understood, a theory of endogamy and exogamy was developed by McLennan and others, which has played quite a *rôle* in theories of ethnology. There are a great number of languages spoken by the tribes of America; so that the terms used to signify the clan and the tribe are multitudinous. The earlier writers on marriage-customs in tribal society culled from the literature of travels a vast body of stories about taboos in marriage; and it was finally concluded that certain tribes required their tribesmen to marry wives who were foreigners and aliens. This was called exogamy. Then it was held that other tribes required or permitted their tribesmen to marry wives within the tribe; and this was called endogamy. So an attempt was made to classify the tribes of mankind, not only in America, but elsewhere, into two groups, the exogamous and the endogamous.

Now we understand that in all tribal society there is an endogamous, or incest, group, which we call the clan in savagery, and the gens in barbarism; while, at the same time, the clansmen usually marry within the tribe by regulations which vary greatly from people to people. It seems that the ties of marriage are used to bind different peoples together in one larger group which we call the tribe, and that the clans of a tribe may at one time have been distinct tribes; that when tribes become weak, or desire to form permanent alliances with other tribes for offensive and defensive purposes, such tribes agree to become clans of a united body, and by treaty confirm the bargain by pledging not to marry women within their own groups, but to exchange women with one another. "Give us your daughters for wives; and we will give you our daughters for wives." Such a bargain or treaty, enforced for many generations as customary law, ultimately becomes sacred; and marriage within the group is incest. Perhaps there is no people, tribal or national, which has not an incest group; so all peoples are endogamous, as all peoples are necessarily exogamous. The distinction set forth by McLennan proves to be invalid everywhere and among all peoples.

Among the tribes of America there are many marriage-customs establishing the group within which a person may marry. It may be that a man may marry within any clan but his own, or it may be that a man must marry within some particular clan. Sometimes there is a series of clans, which we will call *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, and *N*. A man of *A* must marry a wo-

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man of *B*; a man of *B* must marry a woman of *C*; a man of *C* must marry a woman of *D*, and so on; and, finally, a man of *N* must marry a woman of *A*. Tribes themselves composed of clans unite with other tribes also composed of clans; and in this consolidation into larger tribes there is found, in actual study of the Indians themselves, a great variety of regulations, all having the common feature of an incest group or clan, and further provision for bonds of friendship, which are perennially sealed by intermarriages. It thus happens that universally among the tribes of America marriages are regulated by customary law; and the parties married have no legal right to personal choice. Yet there are often ways established by which the clan confirms the personal choice. Though marriage is always regulated by the elders of the clan, yet they often consult the wishes of the candidates. There are three marriage-customs, springing up from time to time among the tribes, which require especial mention.

A young man and young woman may form a clandestine marriage and live apart in the forest, regardless of the consent of the elders of the two clans involved, until a child is born, provided that the taboo is not violated, that is, that the two parties do not belong to the same clan.

There is another custom which the exigencies of life frequently produce. The clan of the bridegroom may have many male candidates for marriage; while the clan in which their brides are found may have few eligible women. Then the young man may wish to marry a woman in some clan other than that in which his rights inhere. In such a case the wife may be captured; but the capture is always a friendly one. If the girl has other contestants for her hand, she must be won by wager of battle. The battle is fought as a hand-to-hand conflict, without other weapons than those furnished by nature.

A third custom is found, especially on the western coast of North America, where men buy their wives. This seems to occur in the case of polygamy, where the man who takes a second or third wife not only remunerates the woman's clan, but makes presents to certain persons throughout the tribe, who might have an interest in disposing of the girl in some other way. This seems to be the case in many tribes where "potlatch" weddings are observed; and it may be true in all.

The possession of property which is exclusively used by the individual, such as clothing, ornaments, and various utensils and implements, is inherent in the individual. Individual property cannot be inherited, but at death is consigned to the grave. Property which belongs to the clan, such as the house, the boat, the garden, etc., is common property.

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No article of food belongs to the individual, but is also the common property of the clan, and must be divided by the authorities of the clan, often according to some rule by which a special portion is given to the person who provides the food. Thus, when a hunter kills a deer, a particular portion is given to him; other portions may be given to those who assisted in its capture; and all the rest is divided according to the needs of the individuals of the clan. The women gather fruits, seeds, or roots; that which is consumed at the time is divided by like methods; but that which is preserved for future use sometimes becomes the property of the clan. The elder-man of the clan is responsible for the training of children; and it is no small part of his duty daily to exercise them in their games and to instruct them in their duties. Thus he who enforces clan custom is the same person who instructs in clan custom; and when councils of tribe or confederacy are held, he is the representative of the clan in such councils. The chief of the confederacy is usually the chief of one of the tribes; and the chief of the tribe is usually an elder-man in one of the clans. There are clan councils, tribal councils, and confederate councils.

The council is the tribal court and legislative body in one. All Indian life is coöperative; and all coöperative life is regulated by the clan, the tribe, or the confederacy. The clan hunt and the clan fishing expedition are regulated by the council; and when the clan or the tribe would move the site of its village, the council must so decree and regulate the matter. The council of the clan settles disputes between individuals of the clan; the council of the tribe settles disputes between clans; and the council of the confederacy settles disputes between tribes. Sometimes the members of the clan live separately by households; but often the clan will build a council-house for all its members, when the households will be relegated to distinct sections. It is curious to see the people dissolved into households at one time, and at another aggregated in clans. If the clan moves temporarily to a favorite locality, where roots or fruits are abundant in their season, the clan may dissolve into households and provide for themselves rude shelters of bark, brush, and leaves; but if the clan wishes to change its habitation permanently, it is likely to construct a new communal dwelling for the joint use of the members of the clan. Thus the clan seems to be the most permanent and most fundamental unit in the organization.

In the study of North American tribes it is always found that the purpose assigned and recognized for the organization of that unit is the establishment of peace. Two or more bodies go to war, and finally agree to live in peace and make a treaty; and the terms of the treaty are

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invariably of one character, if they unite as a tribe. This fundamental condition for the organization of a tribe is, that the one party agrees that its women shall be the wives of the other, with a reciprocal obligation. This is the characteristic which distinguishes tribes from confederacies. A body of people organized for the purpose of regulating marriage is a tribe. A body of people organized for war is a confederacy. Thus the organization of a tribe itself is the first recognition of the principle of peace in the origin of constitutions. The confederacy is always the unit of war organization. It is doubtful—in the present stage of investigation, at least—whether a tribe, as such, ever engages in offensive war. Confederacies become tribes by customary intermarriages, especially when the tribe becomes the taboo unit of intermarriage. It is thus that the three units, the clan, the tribe, and the confederacy, are variable from time to time, although at any particular time these three units can be distinguished as well as the family or household unit.

There are peculiar circumstances under which the household unit is variable. This variability depends upon customs which sometimes spring up among tribes, and are known as polyandry and polygamy. Sometimes the man who marries a woman is entitled to marry her sisters as they become of age. There are other conditions under which men become polygamists; but they are not very common in savage society. In the same manner, there are cases in which the women of the clan are few as compared with the men to whom they are due; and, hence, one woman becomes the common wife of several men. This is polyandry. It is not certain that polyandry has ever prevailed in an American tribe; but certain forms of polyandry are found elsewhere, especially in Australia, where the clan system has an aberrant development, doubtless due to the development of many tribes of the same linguistic stock, and to the spread of the same totemic clan largely over the Australian continent.

Another organization, which involves all civic relations, must now be explained. There is a body of men, and sometimes of women also, who are known as medicine-men or shamans, and sometimes as priests, who control all religious ceremonies and who are diviners. As disease is supposed to be the work of human or animal sorcery, it is their function to prevent or thwart sorcery. They have the management of all ceremonies relating to war, hunting, fishing, and the gathering of the fruits of field and forest. It is their office to provide with ceremony for abundant harvests, to regulate the climate, and generally to divine and control good and evil. The principal shamans are men; but all the people are united into shamanistic societies. Usually there is some determined number of these

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societies, over each of which some particular shaman presides; and he has subordinates, each one of whom has some particular office or function to perform in the societies. Sometimes a person may belong to two or more of these societies; usually he has the privilege to join any one: and a revered or successful shaman will gather a great society; while a shaman of less skill will preside over a society more feeble.

Let us call these societies ecclesiastical corporations, and the shamans priests. The way in which they are regimented and controlled differs from tribe to tribe; and there is a great variety of ceremonial observances. In all civic councils the ecclesiastical authorities take part and have specified functions to perform; and they introduce into civic life the ceremonies which they believe will produce good fortune. Perhaps the ecclesiastical authorities may be more powerful than the civic authorities, and the hereditary line of special ecclesiastical governors may gradually overpower the civic constitution and absorb it as a secondary element in the ecclesiastic constitution. For it must be remembered that the chief priests are men, and that the women play a very small part in ecclesiastic affairs. Now, as the men manage ecclesiastical affairs as chief priests, so civil affairs are managed mainly by men as elder-men. The conflict which sometimes arises between the two forms of government is mainly between men and men, or between able elder-men and able shamans: but sometimes both officers are combined in one person; and the great elder-man may also be the great shaman.

JOHN W. POWELL.

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THE REPETITION OF HISTORY IN OUR WAR WITH SPAIN.

THE thunder of American guns at the Philippines and Santiago is still echoing around the world—a warning-signal to tyranny.

It is but one of the many signs of the times; indicating to the most casual student of history that the close of the nineteenth century is another of those great epoch-making periods which, recurring centuries apart, influence the currents of human life, and, by uniting and giving force and direction to hitherto apparently diverse and irreconcilable conditions, move onward and upward toward a nobler and better existence for all men.

In the splendid victories at Manila and Santiago we are again reminded that history repeats itself. By these victories have been maintained the traditions of a great race of people who have been called masterful, aggressive, and belligerent; and, in truth, these faults we have, if faults they be. Without them we should long ago have been trampled under foot and exterminated from off the face of the earth.

We believe that the Anglo-Saxon stands, and has always stood, foremost for liberty, for the equality of men before the law, for the fullest freedom of thought and intellectual development, and all that is implied thereby. If in believing this we are conceited, then are we conceited.

Through what sorrow and suffering, through what long and terrible civil strifes, through what blunders, and, alas! through what crimes, the race has passed, history sadly records. But, however slow and painful the march, it has ever been forward, never in retreat. Profiting by hard experience, we have solved some knotty problems, and have gained thereby courage and confidence with which to attempt the solution of many difficult ones that remain.

In Spain we see these conditions reversed. Lying at the gateway of the nations, she could have commanded the seas; and Nature, with prodigal hand, has endowed her with a magnificent territory, overflowing with oil and wine, and producing the choicest fruits in tropical abundance. In Spain, also, are to be found, according to the best authorities, the grandest deposits of coal and iron, of copper and quicksilver, in

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the world. But all this has been of little avail. Spain's people remain among the most ignorant and downtrodden on the Continent; and to-day Spain is engaged in a perfectly hopeless struggle to retain a few shreds of that vast and magnificent colonial empire which she, with fatuous and monumental stupidity, has thrown away. She has persisted through the centuries in the impossible task of holding distant colonies by force of arms; utterly unable to comprehend that her own best interests would be served in their contentment and prosperity. Herein we see the difference in the spirit and genius of the two races. The Anglo-Saxon *can* learn a lesson; he does not commit the same blunder in the same place, over and over again, making it a crime: once is enough for him. Be it blunder or crime, however, it must be paid for; and if former Administrations blundered in the Cuban Question, we must pay the penalty.

In the light of the strained application of the Monroe Doctrine to a disputed boundary-line through a South American wilderness, the course of the United States Government toward Cuba seems inexplicable. We believe it would have puzzled Canning, who suggested the doctrine, and Monroe, who applied it. While taking no action itself, our Government would, of course, allow no other nation to intervene, however just and humane the cause. A protectorate is assumed over the western hemisphere. In the case of Cuba, however, it has failed to protect. This may be high statesmanship: it is certainly high enough over the head of the average layman. And until the "Maine" was destroyed there were eminent statesmen who continued to advocate non-intervention. It would seem that it required the sacrifice of hundreds of our brave sailors to arouse us to a sense of duty.

At last statesmen and diplomacy were swept aside. "A Power abune a'," as the Scotch say, has pointed the way: we must perforce follow it.

And the recent gathering of the fleets off the Spanish Main recalls another epoch, the greatest in modern history as regards its momentous and far-reaching consequences. It was when, a little over three hundred years ago, the same races—Anglo-Saxon and Spanish—joined in deadly battle on the stormy seas which girt Old England. The issue of to-day seems insignificant, compared with that which confronted England in 1588, when the "Invincible Armada" suddenly appeared off her coasts. Spain was then at the zenith of her prosperity; and Philip II, succeeding to the empire of Charles V, was the despotic ruler over a hundred million people, exerting a power and a controlling influence which almost dominated the rest of Europe, and which had not been equalled since the fall

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of the Roman Empire. It was this vast power that little England dared to defy, to the amazement of Europe, whose diplomatists pronounced her conduct "sheer madness." To comprehend the situation, we must recall the England of that period; and in doing so it is difficult to realize the enormous changes which time has wrought. We sometimes hear in these later days of the "isolation of England": but she has many children in many parts of the world; and they claim a heritage in her grand history.

Aside from racial affinity and a latent love for the old home, there may be other reasons why these children would not look with indifference on any diminution of her power and *prestige*. They might come to regard it as a menace to their own trade and commerce—possibly to their liberties. Surely it would be hardly prudent for any Power or combination of Powers to forget them in their calculations. But the England of Elizabeth's time was indeed isolated. This was before the Union; and Scotland, torn as she was by religious feuds,—always most disastrous,—was a source of weakness and apprehension. The population of England was about four millions,—not much more than half that of the State of New York to-day. The splendid empire that Clive carved out of the Indies was yet in a dim, distant future. In the great western hemisphere there were but one or two feeble germs of English settlements, struggling for a most precarious existence. It was a generation before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. William Penn and his gentle Quakers did not come till a century later. There were no great colonial commonwealths, there was no great republic to bring trade and wealth to her ports. She was poor: she stood alone, without a friend in the world except the brave Hollanders, in befriending whom she had incurred the wrath of the Spanish king.

For six months prior to the coming of the Armada the English Commissioners sent to the Netherlands had been engaged in the hopeless task of trying to negotiate a peace between those States and Spain. Some of their last letters, containing continued assurances of King Philip's peaceful intentions, were not received in England until after Spanish guns were thundering in the Channel. The Duke of Parma had been instructed to detain the Commissioners as long as possible in the discussion of preliminaries and the exchange of protocols: his *rôle* being to lull suspicion, and to delay, if possible, the arming of England till such time as the Armada should be fully prepared. To this end, in the mind of the "crowned criminal" of the Escurial, the assassin of William the Silent, any number of lies was fully justifiable; and in Parma he found a ready

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tool. The Duke had in his desk letters advising him of the early coming of the Armada, under convoy of which he, with some fifty thousand men,—already gathered in the Netherlands, and to be largely reënforced from the fleet,—was to cross to the shores of England. "Keep the negotiations alive till my Armada appears," wrote King Philip. In the face of these facts, Parma was assuring the English Commissioners, as late as the month of July, of the King's desire for peace.

"Upon the honor of a gentleman," he said to Dr. Rogers, "I declare, really and truly, that I *know not* of any intention of the King of Spain against Her Majesty or her realm." Whereupon the credulous old doctor wrote home, "singularly rejoicing," as he expressed it, that he could send such "authentic information from the highest source." When asked about the great preparations it was rumored that Philip was making, the Duke told the Commissioners that Spain was going to war against the Turks. That all this duplicity was not without its effect, is evidenced by the fact that as late as midsummer of that year the Queen ordered some of the larger ships out of commission to save expense, —an order which the admiral, Lord Howard, ignored. He had no faith in King Philip's protestations, and declared that he would keep the ships on the sea at his own expense, if necessary. In chicanery and procrastination Spanish statesmen and diplomats have always been consummate artists. They have yet to learn that "simple truth" is "utmost skill." Philip's design was to make his Armada so overwhelming, so complete, as absolutely to command success. It was to be "invincible"; and Spaniards generally thought that at the mere sight of it the British tars would flee, panic-stricken. But the British tars were not alarmed. In that day there were no lightning-flashes under the sea and over the continent: news came by slow and painful journeyings of weeks and months. Unheralded, the Armada succeeded in arriving within sight of the shores of England on July 29, 1588; the British fleet lying peacefully at anchor in Plymouth harbor. A Dutch skipper, named Fleming,—his name should be remembered with honor,—crowding all sail and running before the wind, entered the harbor and told that he had that morning seen the Spanish Armada off the Lizard.

It happened that the captains of the fleet were at the Bowling Green on the Hoe, busily engaged in a game of bowls. More gallant sailors than were there assembled never trod quarter-deck,—Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Howard. On Fleming's report, there was an immediate rush for the boats: but Drake checked his brother-officers; declaring that he had plenty of time to win the game and to thrash the Spaniards after-

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ward. So they coolly proceeded with their game,—the most famous game that ever was played. That night the beacon-lights flashed from tower and hill-top through all England: the flaming telegraph had but one meaning; and every Briton knew that the enemy had come at last. As Macaulay wrote:

"Night sank upon the dusky beach,
And on the purple sea;
Such night in England ne'er hath been,
Nor ne'er again shall be.
From Eddystone to Berwick bounds,
From Lynn to Milford Bay,
That time of slumber was as bright
And busy as the day;
For swift to east and swift to west
The ghastly war-flame spread;
High on St. Michael's Mount it shone:
It shone on Beachy Head.
Far on the deep the Spaniard saw
Along each southern shire,
Cape beyond cape, in endless range,
Those twinkling points of fire."

The Spanish fleet, composed of huge galleons, of galleys rowed by fettered slave-gangs, and of other craft,—one hundred and thirty sail in all,—carrying more than thirty thousand men, with three thousand guns, was almost helpless in the presence of the English, whose swift-moving and splendidly handled vessels sailed around and around the great hulks; attacking when and where they pleased. Plenty of guns had the Spaniards; but they did not know how to use them. Most of their shot passed harmlessly over the heads of their adversaries; while their own great ships were riddled; their lofty sides furnishing an easy mark for the more skilful English gunners.

In one of this series of remarkable naval battles, the Spanish lost sixteen of their best ships, sunk or captured, and five thousand men; while of the English there were not a hundred men wounded and killed.

An incident that occurred when the Armada first approached English waters is worthy of mention. In the fleet were four galleys—great, clumsy structures, with tall turrets, stem and stern, filled with splendid state apartments, chapels, pulpits, and other paraphernalia having nothing to do with a warship,—altogether about as unlike as possible what a war-vessel ought to be. One of them had already sunk off Cape Finisterre; and, being even worse sailors than the lumbering galleons, the remainder were at the tail of the procession. These craft were manned by

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galley-slaves, under guard of armed soldiers—an admirable arrangement, truly, for a fighting-machine! In one of these sat David Gwynn, a Welsh sailor, for eleven years a prisoner. It may well be supposed that, when these unfortunate men were embarked on this expedition, the hope of freedom revived in their breasts, and that they had a complete understanding among themselves.

A violent gale came up; and, the vessel being near foundering, the captain lost his head. Knowing Gwynn to be an able seaman, the captain appealed to him to save the vessel. Gwynn, with other sailors like himself, soon had the queer craft laid to, stripped of her canvas; then, as Gwynn threw down his cap and raised his hand,—the preconcerted signal,—the soldiers were attacked with stilettos, and most of them killed or thrown overboard. Having captured the vessel and being now well armed, Gwynn next boldly laid the ship alongside of another galley following closely, and the only other craft in sight. Of course the crew of galley-slaves on that vessel instantly joined with their deliverers, and made short work of the officers and soldiers on board. Motley says, in this connection:

"This done, the combined rowers, welcoming Gwynn as their deliverer from an abject slavery which seemed their lot for life, willingly accepted his orders."

Under command of the gallant Welshman, the two galleys made their way to the French coast; landing at Bayonne. They then placed themselves under the protection of brave young Harry of Navarre, who welcomed them most kindly; providing for their wants, and aiding them to return to their homes. There were four hundred and sixty-six of these fugitives—Englishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, and Turks. For his part in these great deeds, Gwynn was knighted by Queen Elizabeth.

Another tragic incident soon afterward occurred on board Admiral Oquendo's flag-ship. A master-gunner, a Fleming, being severely reprimanded and threatened with punishment for bad gun-practice, became so enraged that he laid a train to the powder-magazine, fired it, and then jumped overboard. The ship blew up; the great turret in the stern rising high in the air, and carrying with it the paymaster-general of the fleet, a large amount of treasure, and hundreds of men.

The Duke of Medina, the commander-in-chief, being deeply chagrined at the lack of discipline and seamanship displayed in his fleet, sent a sergeant-major on board each ship of the Armada, with stringent orders to hang, without appeal or consultation, every captain who dared leave the position assigned him in written orders; and to insure prompt atten-

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tion, a hangman was sent with each sergeant-major. They appear to have had a full corps of these pleasant gentlemen on board. Indeed, the prevision of King Philip was thought to have included all possible wants or contingencies. For instance, he remembered even to provide for the spiritual welfare of his proposed English subjects, whom he considered in a sad state in this respect. He thought to convince them of the error of their ways by the same unanswerable arguments that had proved so efficacious in his own kingdom of Spain. To this end there was included in the outfit a battalion of about three hundred monks and familiars of the "Holy Inquisition," under the command of the Vicar-General Don Martin Allacon. On their arrival in England, it was fully expected that they would find an ample field for the exercise of the ministrations of this beneficent institution.

One of the greatest feats of arms was the capture of the "Capitana," the largest and most splendid vessel of the Armada, "the very glory and stay of the Spanish navy." She was seen trying to enter the harbor of Calais. Admiral Howard determined to cut her out and sent his long-boat with some fifty volunteers. They were joined by a pinnace, with a body of musketeers on board. With not more than a hundred men, all told, they dashed at the great ship, which was manned by seven hundred and fifty men and carried forty brass pieces of artillery, and boarded her; killing the captain. The soldiers on board, dismayed and panic-stricken, jumped overboard and endeavored to reach the shore, in which attempt many of them were drowned. Such stories read more like a page of romance than sober history. Seven hundred and fifty men on a great warship! One hundred men in small boats! But when we remember that the working-crew consisted of three hundred and fifty galley-slaves under guard, watching for just such a chance to regain their freedom, and four hundred soldiers, good enough on land perhaps, but not very efficient on shipboard, it is not so surprising that they were overcome by their enemies, who were free Englishmen. "Their force is wonderful great and strong," said Howard; "but we plucked their feathers by little and little."

We read how, fighting day by day, the Armada at last reached the Flemish coast, expecting to be joined by Parma and his army. And just here it was suddenly discovered that King Philip had forgotten something after all. He had forgotten all about the brave Dutchmen, who, in their light but well-armed and well-manned galleons and sloops, commanded by Nassau, Wormond, and Rosendael, swarmed in every inlet and estuary of their crooked and dangerous coast from Dunkirk to Walcheren.

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The Duke had his army ready, with boats in which to pack them for transportation; but he had no warships to cope with the Dutchmen. The Armada, on which he depended to raise the blockade, had been unable to arrive in time; having been unavoidably detained by "pressing engagements" elsewhere.

Thus, cooped up by the patient and watchful Dutchmen, Parma was "beside himself with rage." He made one attempt to force a passage; ordering an attack on a supposed weak point with a thousand of his best troops embarked in some improvised gunboats. These boats were immediately sunk by the fire of the Dutch; and not a man escaped alive.

Until about August 10, some two weeks after their appearance in the Channel, the "St. Matthew," "St. Mark," "St. Luke," and the rest of the great galleons,—named for all the saints in the calendar,—continued their hopeless fight against the "Lion," "Bear," "Dreadnaught," "Revenge," "Victory," "Triumph," as the English ships were more profanely baptized, when, having lost some thirty or forty of their best vessels and over twelve thousand men, the shattered and demoralized Armada fled, panic-stricken, before the wind into the North Sea. As Capt. Fenner said, "The Almighty had stricken them with a wonderful fear."

Fortunately for the Spanish, the English were in no condition to pursue them; for they had hardly a shot left in the lockers, and no provisions. But the Armada had still a dread enemy to encounter; for the Storm King of the North awoke at their intrusion, and, with his fiercest gales, dashed the great hulks on the rock-bound coasts of Norway and Scotland, pursuing them along the Irish coast, where forty of the remaining vessels were wrecked, and nearly all on board lost. It is estimated that eight thousand men perished in this stormy passage.

There was hardly a noble family in Spain but was placed in mourning, for it seemed that the *jeunesse dorée* of that time regarded the expedition as a holiday excursion—a grand picnic, in which the dangers were *nil*, and the opportunity for gain was endless. So they flocked on board the ships in thousands. Now, as the numerous sad-colored garments of mourning added to the universal gloom of a people writhing under an overwhelming disaster, the King, thinking to mend matters, issued an edict—he was fond of edicts—forbidding the wearing of mourning at all. On the other hand, a Lisbon merchant who was not an admirer of the oppressor of his land, on hearing of the defeat of the Armada, indulged himself in a hearty laugh, whereupon, by express command of Philip he was immediately hanged. So it came to be said that "men could neither cry nor laugh in King Philip's dominions." Thus dropped

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the curtain on this great tragedy, which had held the breathless attention of all Europe. So far from conquering the "tight little Isle," "their invincible and dreadful navy," wrote Drake in his official report, "with all its great and terrible ostentation, did not in all their sailing about England so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheep-cote on this land."

England's experience with Spain has been reproduced in our recent victories at Manila and Santiago.

In studying the wonderful story of the Armada, it is natural to try to discover the underlying causes of such overwhelming defeat.

The Spanish ships were manned partly by galley-slaves, and were crowded with thousands of soldiers. Seasick and miserable, no doubt, it can be easily understood what a nuisance, what a hinderance these soldiers must have been to the sailor contingent, on whom the heat and burden of the day fell. Under the deadly fire of the English the great hulks became slaughter-pens.

Curiously enough, there has come down to us a more detailed and authentic account of the equipment of the Armada than of the British squadrons. Hakluyt, a contemporary chronicler, in his "Voyages," gives what he calls "A very large and particular description of their navy, which was put in print and published by the Spanish writer Materan."

After reciting the number, names, and tonnage of ships, number of sailors and soldiers, names of admirals and captains, and particularly of the "noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries," of whom he says there was a "great multitude," he goes on to give other details of equipment. For instance, they carried several thousand horses and mules, with a full complement of carts, wagons, axes, spades, mattocks, etc. They had six months' provisions on board, including twelve thousand pipes of water, "likewise of wine they had *one hundred and forty-seven thousand* pipes," —a large proportion of sack it would seem. In short, they had provided everything that could be wanted on land or sea.

The great galleons of fourteen or fifteen hundred tons, the largest that had ever been built up to that time, were sufficiently capacious, but proved to be of a wrong type, when it came to sailing and fighting. The controlling factor, after all, was the personnel of the two fleets.

In no position is the man in command more potential for good or for evil than on the quarter-deck of a warship. Fortunately, the right men were to the fore; and it may be said that on the courage and skill of half a dozen men depended the fate of England and the future of a great race. Thus nobly led, with every man in the fleet feeling and act-

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ing as if the fortune of the day depended on his single right arm, is it so wonderful that the English prevailed against hired mercenaries and galley-slaves?

Spain has been the cruel oppressor of many peoples. History is full of her crimes. It records how Philip II condemned three million Netherlanders to death; wishing they had but one neck, that he might exterminate them all at a single blow.

It tells of the expulsion—the extermination, almost—of the Moriscos, early in the seventeenth century. Through the active instrumentality of the Holy Inquisition these people had, of course, all been "converted." Still there remained harassing doubts as to their sincerity. Among the many minor persecutions to which they were subjected, they were forbidden to indulge in their national amusements or to wear the national dress. They were a cleanly race, and had numerous public baths. As bathing was a heathenish custom, these baths were all destroyed, as were even the baths in the private houses.[1]

Finally, in 1602 it was resolved, by the advice of the bishops, to expel what was left of the Moorish people. As the Archbishop of Valencia put it, in a memorial to Philip III:

"All the disasters that had befallen the monarchy had been caused by the presence of these unbelievers, whom it was now necessary to root out, even as David had done to the Philistines and Saul to the Amalekites."[2]

There was some difference of opinion as to methods. The Archbishop of Valencia, for instance, thought that children under seven years of age need not share in the general banishment, but might, without danger to the faith, be separated from their parents, and kept in Spain. But the Archbishop of Toledo was opposed to this; being unwilling, he said, "to run the risk of having the pure Spanish blood polluted by infidels." And he declared that "sooner than leave one of the unbelievers to corrupt the land, he would have the whole of them—men, women, and children—at once put to the sword."[3]

That their contemporaries of the same church in other lands were horrified at this monstrous crime, we have evidence:

"Le Cardinal de Richelieu, qui n'était pas très susceptible de pitié, l'appelle le plus hardi et le plus barbare conseil dont l'histoire de tous les siècles précédens fasse mention."[4]

[1] JANER, "Condicion de los Moriscos," pp. 31, 32.
[2] XIMENES, "Vida de Ribera," p. 370.
[3] GEDDES' "Miscellany" (1730), vol. I, pp. 85, 86.
[4] SISMONDI'S "Histoire des Français."

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By this edict of Philip, it is estimated that a million of the most industrious inhabitants of Spain were hunted like wild beasts from their homes, simply because the sincerity of their "conversion" was doubted.

Toiling painfully to the coast, thousands of Moriscos were murdered on the way, or died from exposure and starvation; for so steeled by a cruel and insane fanaticism were the hearts of the people of that dreadful age and country, that they could refuse to give to these infidels so little as a cup of cold water. Of those who reached the coast and embarked to cross to Africa, many were butchered by the Spanish crews, who ravished the women, and threw the children into the sea; a remnant only escaping to the Barbary coast.[1]

Thus was the work, begun in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, completed. The last of the Moors was driven from the Iberian peninsula. Acclaimed by church and state, another step had been taken toward the ruin of Spain.

In culture these Moriscos were at that time far superior to their descendants of the present day, and were almost the only skilled artisans in Spain. As farmers, and especially as manufacturers of textile and other fabrics, they were unequalled in Europe. They had established numerous factories containing thousands of looms at Seville, Toledo, and other places. All these industries were wiped out at a blow, and whole districts laid waste, which to this day have never been repeopled, except by brigands. That Spain persecuted the Jews mercilessly, goes without saying. There are other alleged Christian nations, however, who have frequently vied with her in that "pious" work, even down to the present time. As for the Spanish dons themselves, but two vocations in life were possible—the army or the church. All other occupations were regarded with supreme contempt.

In the old Cathedral of Granada stands the tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella. The traveller of to-day may read thereon an inscription, of which the following is a translation:

"To the Most Catholic Don Fernando and Dona Isabel, King and Queen of Spain, of Naples, of Sicily and Jerusalem, who conquered this Kingdom and brought it back to our faith; who conquered the Canary Islands and the Indies, *who crushed heresy, expelled the Moors and Jews from these realms, and reformed religion.*"

In this epitaph we find the key to Spanish history, to the causes which led to the downfall of a great empire. As the ages pass, the marvel will grow that such hideous crimes should have been committed in the name of religion.

[1] WATSON'S "Philip III." London, 1839.

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But the most awful part of Spain's record is that made up by her own historian, Las Casas, a Spanish priest, who has left a full account of the occupation of the West Indies, and especially of Cuba. This work has been but recently translated. The natives of these islands, unlike the fierce North American Indians, were a gentle and peaceful race; leading a life of Arcadian simplicity, and sustaining themselves, almost without labor, by the spontaneous products of that garden-spot of the earth.

This helpless race was completely exterminated in less than thirty years, and negro slavery substituted. Thus was introduced in this free western hemisphere a false and wicked system, for the perpetuation of which our own great Republic has been called to a fearful account; expiating the sin in the blood of her sons and at a cost of untold millions.

Some of the statements of Las Casas hardly bear recital, and would seem incredible, were it not for the added light thrown on the Spanish character by recent events in Cuba. The unfortunate natives were divided among the Spaniards by a *repartimiento* (an allotment) of slaves—so many slaves to so much land. There being an abundant supply of labor, and Indian lives being considered of no value, it was considered cheaper in the cultivation of certain of the crops to work an Indian to death under the lash and replace him with another, than to give him any care. When they rebelled, as they naturally did occasionally, they were murdered by the hundred, buried alive, impaled, or torn to pieces by blood-hounds. On one occasion, in retaliation for the killing of one of their oppressors, the hands of fifty Indians were chopped off by the Spaniards. Little children were drowned like puppies, as useless incumbrances.

Las Casas writes thus of "the mingling of religious ideas with the sheerest deviltry." He says that once, in honor and reverence of Christ and His twelve Apostles, they hanged thirteen Indians in a row, at such a height that their toes just touched the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword-points; taking care not to kill them too quickly, and first gagging them, in order that their cries and groans should not too much disturb the Spaniards. A favorite amusement was a test of their Toledo blades by deciding who could most neatly cleave an Indian in twain at a single blow. *Repartimiento* then, *reconcentrado* now, the result is the same—extermination.

In that "Pearl of the Antilles" which Spain has worn so proudly, which she has so sadly misruled, she is at last to find her Nemesis. For the murder of her own people, for the blood of those slaughtered millions of long ago, the terrible cry of whose suffering will not be stilled, but comes ringing down through the centuries, a just retribution is at hand.

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Great as has been the punishment of Spain, the end is not yet. For "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

Removed from its home environment to far-distant lands, and brought under the influence of a better civilization, the Spanish character is modified; becoming more energetic, broader-minded, more tolerant.

Latterly many American travellers who have visited Mexico have spoken in enthusiastic terms of the Mexicans, of the progress they are making; and they tell us of the great work accomplished by their noble President, of their grand, their magnificent country. Indeed, we seem to be getting quite proud of our sister-republic. Yet the Mexicans are of the same Spanish stock that has shown itself capable of such crimes against civilization and humanity as those of which I have written. But they are now free men, have been for several generations, and are learning to make good use of their freedom.

We also hear the shallow assertion that the downtrodden Cubans are an ignorant lot, unfit to govern themselves. Perhaps they are; but they are what centuries of oppression have made them.

Forty years ago Thomas Buckle, in his remarkable "History of Civilization," wrote:

> "As Spain is the country where what I conceive to be the fundamental conditions of national improvement have been most flagrantly violated, so also shall we find that it is the country where *the penalty paid* for the violation has been most heavy, and where, therefore, it is most instructive to ascertain how the prevalence of certain opinions *causes the decay* of the people among whom they predominate."

The fiery ordeal of battle is again throwing a search-light on the Spanish character; and we can see what the intellectual suppression of generations of men does for them. In Spain inquiry and freedom of thought have always been systematically discouraged. The Spaniards have had little part or interest in the magnificent achievements of modern science. A people so suppressed and oppressed, so stunted mentally, cannot produce the best sailors, soldiers, merchants, or mechanics.

S. L. THURLOW.

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THE PROBLEM OF IMMORTALITY — SOME RECENT MEDIUMISTIC PHENOMENA.

ANYONE who has read De Quincey's passionate and rhetorical monologue on the death of his sister in the "Confessions of an Opium Eater" must be struck with the contrast between his manner of treating the problem of immortality and the attempts of the Society for Psychical Research to throw light upon the same question. Philosophy and its endeavors landed in the agnosticism of Kant and Spencer. Rhetoric has always terminated in poetry and grandiloquence; and it remains to be seen whether science will achieve any better results.

The Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882, and issued its First Report in 1883. Its purpose was to investigate the alleged phenomena of Spiritualism without any bias for or against that doctrine. These phenomena comprised such alleged facts as apparitions, clairvoyance, telepathy, mediumship, table-turning and spirit-rappings, hypnotism, and other supposedly supernormal events. The mass of material which it has collected, bearing on its problems, has been enormous; but at no time has the result seemed to come up to the standard of scientific evidence for anything like the immortality of the soul, until the allegations of the last Report laid claim to that character. The Census of Hallucinations, which represented the Society's Tenth Report, comprised a very interesting conclusion, which was, that "between deaths and apparitions of the dying persons a connection exists which is not due to chance alone." This was in 1894, and hinted very strongly at the trend of the investigations, though only to create the suspicion that where there was so much smoke there must be some fire. In the meantime, Prof. William James, of Harvard University, accidentally discovered a case of mediumship which invited the serious attention of the Society and its officers. Two Reports previous to the present one have been issued upon this case; yet, though they confirmed the wisdom of the investigation, they did not establish any substantial claims for the spiritistic hypothesis. The last Report, however, which represents the work of Dr. Richard Hodgson, mostly since 1888, makes a bolder profession; and anyone who competently examines the various reports upon

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this case must be impressed with its claims, if he can satisfy himself that the proper precautions have been taken to exclude fraud from the results.

It will be important to examine briefly how the work of the Society led up gradually to this final result. Its first efforts were not directed to the more striking claims of the spiritists, but to the humbler problem of telepathy, which assumes the transmission of thought from one mind to another without the medium of ordinary sense-impressions. The object of this preliminary task—especially as its phenomena did not claim to be spiritistic, though supernormal—was to satisfy the cautiousness of those who felt the extreme difficulties of putting in question the results of physiological science. At the same time, if telepathy were true, or could even be assumed as a working hypothesis, it was apparent, if consciousness did survive death, that the first condition would exist for communication between incarnate and discarnate souls. The only problem after this assumption was one of evidence. Mediumistic phenomena purported to represent such a communication. The case, therefore, discovered by Prof. James offered an opportunity to test the whole question; and Dr. Hodgson has here presented a mass of allegations that must astonish anyone who can be induced to study them carefully.

The name of the medium, Mrs. Piper, is perhaps well enough known from previous Reports of the Society to make any historical account of her superfluous. But for those who have learned to question the pretensions of mediumistic phenomena, and who are familiar with the sources of fraud in such cases, it is necessary to remark that ample precautions were taken against its committal. It would require too much space to describe these precautions; but the Society will challenge anyone to make good the suspicion that the case is open to the ordinary objections. That is all that I shall say on this point. The conditions under which the experiments were made with Mrs. Piper can be studied in the first and second reports made on the case. The most that can be suspected is muscular and verbal hints from the "sitters," who are the persons seeking information from the medium. But those who have studied the case carefully will find such a theory going a very little distance. Mrs. Piper's condition during the experiments is that of "trance,"—whatever this may mean. Nothing is known of it except that the subject is wholly unconscious and insensible. This has been adequately tested by the qualified authorities, and by all the methods that are accepted in the attestation of hypnosis. In this state the

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medium delivers communications, sometimes purporting to come from deceased friends of the "sitter," and sometimes of a character which, though not pretending to come from such a source, is beyond all ordinary comprehension. I wish here to note some of those which claim to be spiritistic, and perhaps some that seem to present serious objections to such an hypothesis.

Dr. Hodgson had an intimate friend whom he calls in his report by the pseudonym "George Pelham." Some time before his death he had a discussion with Dr. Hodgson in which he denied the immortality of the soul, or questioned it, until at last he pledged himself, if he died first, and survived, to endeavor to make the fact known through telepathic mediumship. Mr. Pelham died in February, 1892. Dr. Hodgson knew of his death a day or two later. He was present at several sittings with Mrs. Piper soon afterward; but no allusion was made to George Pelham. Four or five weeks later, at a sitting by Mr. Hart (pseudonym), a friend of Pelham,—the proper precautions having been taken to prevent Mrs. Piper from knowing who Mr. Hart was,—George Pelham announced himself in a number of communications; "Dr. Phinuit," the alleged personality possessing Mrs. Piper, acting as intermediary. It must be remembered in this connection that one of the strange facts about the case is that experimental success—why, no one knows—is very much facilitated by putting into the hands of the medium some object or trinket familiar to the deceased. In this instance, one of the pair of studs Mr. Hart was wearing was given to Phinuit (Mrs. Piper) with the question by the sitter: "Who gave them to me?" The reply was: "That's mine. I gave you that part of it. I sent that to you." "When?" "Before I came here. That's mine. Mother gave you that." "No." "Well, father then, father and mother together. You got those after I passed out. Mother took them. Gave them to father, and father gave them to you. I want you to keep them. I will them to you." Mr. Hart adds in his notes: "The studs were sent to me by Mr. Pelham as a remembrance of his son. I knew at the time that they had been taken from George Pelham's body, and afterward ascertained that his stepmother had taken them from the body and suggested that they would do to send me, I having previously written to ask that some little memento be sent to me."

The resemblance of this incident to the ordinary mediumistic tricks is strong enough to prevent any serious conclusions from it until it is made free from suspicion. But it is a sample of the many that lay claim to that exemption. We have only to remember that Mr. Hart was an

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entire stranger to Mrs. Piper and that his name had not been mentioned to her. But, discrediting it as we may, the next incident is much more interesting.

In the same sitting the names of James and Mary [Mr. and Mrs.] Howard were mentioned, and in connection with Mrs. Howard came the name of Katharine. This was the name of her daughter. "Tell her," said the alleged George Pelham, "she'll know. I will solve the problems, Katharine." Mr. Hart explains in a note: "This had no special significance for me at the time, though I was aware that Katharine, the daughter of Jim Howard, was known to George, who used to live with the Howards. On the day following the sitting, I gave Mr. Howard a detailed account of it. These words, 'I will solve the problems, Katharine,' impressed him more than anything else; and at the close of my account he related that George, when he had last stayed with them, had talked frequently with Katharine (a girl of fifteen years of age) upon such subjects as Time, Space, God, Eternity, and pointed out to her how unsatisfactory the commonly accepted solutions were. He added that some time he would solve the problems, and let her know, using almost the very words of the communication made at the sitting." "Mr. Hart added," says Dr. Hodgson, "that he was entirely unaware of these circumstances. I was myself unaware of them, and was not at that time acquainted with the Howards, and in fact nearly every statement made at the sitting, during which I was the note-taker, concerned matters of which I was absolutely ignorant."

Dr. Hodgson remarks his own and Mr. Hart's ignorance of the data in order to evade the objection that a believer in telepathy would present to a spiritistic theory. Nothing is said to remove the suspicion that the medium had obtained this information by the well-known spy system. The incidents are just such as to suggest that explanation, especially to those who have had experience in tricks of this kind. But we must remember that Dr. Hodgson assumes that the impossibility of this kind of fraud has been sufficiently established by previous proof, that the trance is genuine, and that the present conditions, which involved Mrs. Piper's ignorance of Mr. Hart, made the spy theory impossible. That is to say, Dr. Hodgson alleges that fraud was not possible under the circumstances known to him, the details of which it would take too much space to repeat. Assuming, therefore, that fraud is to be excluded from the case, it will be clear enough what the source of the communications might profess to be. The Report is little less than the multiplication of just such incidents. It is apparent, therefore,

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that, if we can conceive the exclusion of the ordinary frauds charged to mediums, we have some very significant facts to deal with concerning such phenomena.

In this sitting, also, a number of other incidents of much interest occurred, though they cannot be detailed here. Reference was made to a book that had been loaned to a friend; to the confusion in which he (George Pelham) had left his affairs; and to a manuscript which had been found after his death, giving directions about its disposal. All of these are correct, though their evidential value depends upon the authority of Dr. Hodgson and on the care taken to exclude the possibility of previous knowledge by the medium. At the close of the sitting some interesting incidents occurred which illustrate the kind of confusion that often takes place on occasions of this sort, but which is unravelled by investigation in a most striking way.

It was nearly three weeks before a special opportunity arrived for similar communications from Pelham. In the interim, however, at sittings with strangers to Pelham, only one of whom—a Mr. Vance—had been known to him, in the midst of Phinuit's communications for others, Pelham expressed frequently a desire to see his friends. Later Mr. Vance had a sitting at which George Pelham purported at first to communicate directly by Mrs. Piper's automatic writing; and then Phinuit spoke for him. Dr. Hodgson reports:

"Then references were made to two other friends of Pelham, who had also been mentioned at Mr. Hart's sitting, and then for the first time the sitter (Mr. Vance) was noticed. 'How is your son? I want to see him some time.' 'Where did he know my son?' asked Mr. Vance. 'In studies in college,' was the reply. This was correct: Mr. Vance had a son who was a classmate of George Pelham. Mr. Vance then asked: 'Where did George [Pelham] stay with us?' and received the answer: 'Country. Peculiar house, trees around, porch that projects at the front, vine at the side. Porch at the front, and swing on the other side.' 'This is a correct answer to my question,' adds Mr. Vance. 'My country house has projecting porch in front and vine at the side; the porch is especially prominent; the swing had been removed before the visit alluded to; but George might have seen it on some other visit.'"

But I must refer more fully to three remarkable experiments by Dr. Hodgson to escape the possibility of objection from telepathy between Mrs. Piper and the sitter. As long as the information given by the medium represents only what the sitter knows, or has known, a transcendental source for it will be under suspicion. To effect this, an arrangement was made at one of the sittings with the alleged George Pelham that he should watch his father and see him do something that the Howards could not know about, and tell them at the next meeting,

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which was fixed for the following day. Mrs. Piper's illness prevented the experiment until the day after this. Dr. Hodgson reports: "Most of the sitting was private; and of the rest I quote only the passage for which I have contemporary documents. George Pelham wrote: 'I saw father, and he took my photograph and took it to the artist's to have it copied for me. . . . I went to Washington; my father will be hard to convince; my mother not so hard.' Mrs. Pelham wrote [in regard to the statements thus made]: 'Some of the things you state are very inexplicable on any other theory than that George himself was the speaker. His father *did*, without my knowledge, take a photograph of him (the same as the one sent you) to a photographer here to copy—not enlarge. The negative had been broken.'"

Apart from the belief and assurances of Dr. Hodgson that the medium did not have the means to acquire the information imparted at these sittings, the objection that can be raised to the incidents is apparent. But, at a sitting four days later, held by Mr. Peirce, says Dr. Hodgson:

"It then occurred to me that I would request George Pelham at the beginning of the sitting on April 28 to visit the Howards, and bring me word before the end of the sitting concerning the doings of the Howards during the time of the sitting, and I sent a special letter to the Howards asking them to do various fantastic things and make a memorandum. . . . Toward the close [of the sitting] Phinuit was interrupted by statements about what George Pelham claimed to have seen Mrs. Howard doing."

These statements of Phinuit, acting as intermediary, were:

"She's writing, and taken some violets and put them in a book. And it looks as if she's writing that to my mother. . . . Took little book, opened it, wrote letter he thinks to his mother. Saw her take a little bag and put some things in it belonging to him, placed the photograph beside her on the desk. That's hers. Sent a letter to TASON (Tyson?) TYSON. Mrs. . . . She hunted a little while for her picture, sketching. He's certain that the letter is to his mother. She took one of George's books and turned it over and said: 'George, are you here? Do you see that?' These were the very words. Then she turned and went up a short flight of stairs. Took some things from a drawer, came back again, sat down to the desk, and then finished the letter."

Dr. Hodgson reports the results in the following:

"The statements made as to what Mrs. Howard was doing at the time of the sitting were not one of them correct *as regards that particular time*, though they seem to indicate a knowledge of Mrs. Howard's actions during the previous day and a half, as appears from the following statement:

'DEAR MR. HODGSON:—I did *none* of those things to-day, but *all* of them yesterday afternoon and the evening before!

Yesterday afternoon I wrote a note to Mrs. Tyson declining an invitation to lunch; this I did at a little table. Later I wrote to his mother at a desk, and, seeing George's violets by me in their envelope, gave them to my daughter to put

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in my drawer, not "into a book." This is the only inaccuracy of detail. The day before I also wrote to his mother, putting his photograph before me on the table while I was writing—two of his photos in fact, one from another photo and one from a portrait I had painted of him; these I afterward put into his mother's letter. Did "hunt for my picture," my painting of him. Also wondered in my mind what they had done with the photo of me painting, and received letter from Mrs. Pelham saying they had burned it. What he says about the book is also true, though I can't tell at precisely what time I did it, as I was alone at the time. In all other matters my memory is corroborated by my daughter, who took the note to Mrs. T.'s, and saw me put photo before me on the desk. She now says that I only put *one* before me on the desk, and went and got the other just before putting it in envelope. It was only a minute on table.

While writing to his mother I *did* "go and take things from a drawer, came back again, sat down to the desk, and then finished the letter." This was the letter written at the desk, not the one written at a table.

I am much disappointed that he did not see what I did this morning. I am afraid he was right in saying they had no notion of time. Perhaps it took him too long to come to me, or he did not understand Phinuit's question.

I hope to have a chance to hear what you think of this soon.

Yours,

MRS. HOWARD.

P.S.—I don't know whether I made it quite clear that I sat thinking, wondering where the photo of me while painting *could* be; and I think that in the first of the two letters I wrote to his mother, I told her he had asked for it. I know I thought of doing so.

I seldom write to Mrs. Tyson, and this note is almost the only one I have written this winter,—have not written to her for weeks, perhaps months, before this. It is certainly strange that he should seem to know so much of my doings. I feel as if he *must* have seen them.'"

Assuming the absence of fraud, this experiment would be profoundly interesting, as I think everyone would admit. But there is a provokingly suspicious circumstance about it. The sitting for the Howards had been arranged originally for April 28, and in the interim before this date two or three other persons had sittings. On one of these intermediate days Dr. Hodgson had requested George Pelham, through Phinuit, to obtain information, if possible, concerning certain incidents, and communicate the results to the Howards at the next sitting. But the Howards transferred their sitting to Mr. Peirce, mentioned above; and it was at this sitting that the remarkable statements above given were made. The sceptic would say that here are precisely the conditions for fraud. After the arrangement for the sitting on the 28th, Mrs. Piper's detectives, if they existed, might work up the incidents, and Mrs. Piper present them at the right time. Hence everything depends upon the assurance that Mrs. Piper had no detective system, and that the trance was genuine. These, of course, are the assumptions and allegations made by Dr. Hodgson. Nor will it be conclu-

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sive against suspicion that the fraud, if supposed, would be a clumsy one: for it might be contended that this very trick was necessary, partly to keep up the pretence of genuineness of the trance and partly to keep Dr. Hodgson deluded, and that the medium could well afford to have the sitting with Mr. Peirce fail in order to carry out such a plan. The facts make such a supposition very doubtful; but to say the least, those who were not eye-witnesses of the work must be indulgently treated for their scepticism.

A similar experiment was made some weeks later, and at the suggestion of Pelham himself. Dr. Hodgson, on a Saturday, at a sitting with the father and mother, arranged with the latter to do some things that day and to keep a record of them. He also arranged with George Pelham to tell at the sitting the next Monday what he saw his father and mother do at a specified time on Saturday. Mrs. Howard was to have the sitting on Monday. The following were Pelham's statements at the Monday sitting: "I saw him take some notepaper and write an explanatory letter to Frank about what I said to him when I saw him in or on that day. . . . The flowers which I saw mother put before my photo, she and father will understand. . . . I saw mother put them under my picture on the afternoon of which he spoke to me to watch him. . . . In connection with this I saw them open my book and place therein a picture of X. Y."

It appears from the accounts of the father and mother that two of the acts had been done as described. The third, however,—the writing of the explanatory letter to Frank,—had not been carried out. Mr. Pelham had intended writing and had consulted his wife about its contents, but had not found time to write.

It is easy to repeat the same suspicion as above against these incidents, though trouble would have to be met in the case of the action that had been thought of, but not performed. Assuming, however, that the kind of fraud capable of being suspected here was not undertaken, or was provided against, we certainly have facts that are calculated to make men think, whatever they may conclude from them.

There are incidents of equal or even greater interest than these in large numbers; but it would require more space than I dare use here to make them clear. In one instance Pelham alluded to the annoyance which he had experienced, while living, at the violin practice of Katharine Howard when she was a little girl. Katharine was present at the sitting when this was done. Another incident of some note may be mentioned. At a previous sitting Pelham said to Mrs. Howard: "Get

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me my hair." Dr. Hodgson comments: "Since the last sitting in the previous spring, Mrs. Pelham had sent Mrs. Howard some of George Pelham's *baby* hair. Mrs. Howard (who had brought this with her for the purpose mentioned at the beginning of this paper) was not consciously thinking of this, and had forgotten to bring it into the room. After receiving it, Pelham said: 'Mother gave it to you. She had it a long time.'" Hundreds, one might almost say thousands, of such incidents could be mentioned as falling into line with the more striking and complicated cases. But readers must go to the Report for them, as well as for a better conception of those that I have stated.[1] I shall now give in full two incidents of much interest, though they are somewhat complicated.

Dr. Hodgson says:

"On April 28 occurred the incident which I have described, when George Pelham said that he knew the sitter, and I asked for the sitter's name, which was given correctly by Mrs. Piper in the 'subliminal' stage of her recovery from trance. On April 29 came the explanation from George Pelham about the difficulties involved in the act of communicating, and I believe that I emphasized the importance of his always recognizing any friend of his who happened to attend a sitting, no matter what other communications he might wish to make. From that time onward he has never failed to announce himself to, and to recognize with the appropriate emotional and intellectual relations, the sitters who were known to George Pelham, living, and to give their names in one form or another, with one exception. This exception, however, seems to me to be as noteworthy as if the recognition had been complete. It is the case of Miss Warner, who had her first sitting on January 6, 1897. George Pelham wrote a little near the beginning of the sitting, but seemed to have only some vague remembrance of the sitter, who, nevertheless, was given a good deal of correct information by Phinuit and others concerning the members of her family and friends. At the end of the sitting George Pelham wrote a few words to ask how Rogers was getting on, and sending regards to him. At Miss Warner's second sitting, held the next day, January 7, George Pelham wrote part of the time, and asked the sitter if she knew Orenberg. She did not. The sitter mentioned at the previous sitting that she remembered George Pelham, but that he knew her mother better, and at this second sitting George Pelham asked who she was. I said her mother was a special friend of Mrs. Howard." [Pelham went on to say to Miss Warner:]

'I do not think I ever knew you very well. (Very little. You used to come and see my mother.) I heard of you, I suppose. (I saw you several times. You used to come with Mr. Rogers.) Yes, I remembered about Mr. Rogers when I saw you before. (Yes, you spoke of him.) Yes, but I cannot seem to place you. I long to place all of my friends, and could do so before I had been gone so long. You see I am farther away. . . . I do not recall your face. You must have changed. . . . (Dr. Hodgson: Do you remember Mrs. Warner?) Of course, oh, very well. For pity sake, are you her little daughter? (Yes.) By Jove, how you have grown. . . . I thought so much of your mother, a charming woman. (She always enjoyed

[1] Dr. HODGSON'S Report can be obtained by addressing the Secretary of the Society, 5 Boylston Place, Boston, Massachusetts.

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seeing you, I know.) Our tastes were similar. (About writing?) Yes. Do you know Marte at all? (I've met him once or twice.) Your mother knows. Ask her if she remembers the book I gave her to read. (I will.) And ask her if she still remembers me and the long talks we used to have at the home evenings. (I know she does.) I wish I could have known you better, it would have been so nice to have recalled the past. (I was a little girl).'

Now it should be remembered that these sittings were held five years after the death of George Pelham, and that G. P. had not seen Miss Warner for at least three or four years before his death, that she was only a little girl when he had last seen her, that she had not been, so to say, a special friend of his, and that she had changed very much in the intervening eight or nine years."

The other incident occurred on March 21, 1894. It was a curious recognition of the Rev. Minot J. Savage. "After George Pelham began to write, I asked," says Dr. Hodgson:

"(Do you know this gentleman, M. J. Savage?) [Mr. Savage had had sittings years previously, and was known to Mrs. Piper.] 'Yes, I do. How are you, sir? Speak to me. This is too delightful. I am pleased to see your face again.' (You remember meeting him in the body?) 'Oh, yes, well, I do well.'"

Dr. Hodgson comments:

"I supposed at the time that Mr. Savage had never met George Pelham, and that was Mr. Savage's opinion also, and we both expected the answer 'No' to my first question, and I, at least, was further surprised at the amount of feeling indicated both by the words written and the excitement of the hand. Very soon, however, during the sitting, I recalled what I had temporarily forgotten, viz., that when George Pelham had his sitting with Mrs. Piper on March 7, 1888 [before his death] the Rev. M. J. Savage was the Committee Officer, who was present officially at the sitting. But George Pelham was not introduced under his real name to Mr. Savage, and it was specially recorded in the report of the sitting that he was unknown to Mr. Savage."

The alleged communications from discarnate spirits are not limited to the case of George Pelham, but represent many other persons, as the circumstances seem to require. I have, however, taken most largely from the data regarding him, because Dr. Hodgson has placed most emphasis upon the mass of material presented in the cases of his alleged return and communications. Many of the others are as amazing as these, but cannot be quoted at length. One, for instance, is interesting. A gentleman had made an appointment for a sitting with Mrs. Piper through Dr. Hodgson, and without the slightest knowledge of Mrs. Piper. In the meantime the gentleman tried the Ouiga board in Washington with a lady friend who has had remarkable experiences with it. At the second sitting of this kind his deceased wife purported to communicate by Ouiga board, saying: "All your movements are noticed by me. Meet your appointment, etc." At the sitting with Mrs. Piper, held four days afterward in Boston, his home being in Minneapolis,

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Minnesota, his deceased wife purported to communicate again, and said: "I told you in my note to keep the appointment, did I not, dear? This appointment was what I meant."

Among the more remarkable instances were those of Mrs. Katharine Paine Sutton, who herself had had several interesting personal experiences of the so-called psychical kind. Only two can be mentioned here, and those in connection with Mrs. Piper and independently of her previous experiences. At a sitting with Mrs. Piper, just as Phinuit (Mrs. Piper) remarked the same fact, imitating the act, Mrs. Sutton saw an apparition of her little daughter, standing at the table, trying to reach a spool of tangled red knitting silk. (Phinuit) "She wants that, she and Eleanor used to play with. She calls it Eleanor's." "All true," says Mrs. Sutton, "but I had not connected it with Eleanor in my thought." On another occasion, just as Phinuit said, "Here is an old gentleman wants to speak to you, Dr. Clarke," Mrs. Sutton saw an apparition of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, who was dead and whom she had known well. (At a previous sitting he purported to communicate, and sent a message to his daughter.) "He asks," continued Phinuit, "if you gave his message to —— (name of his daughter)." Perhaps another will be of some interest. The little child above mentioned, called Kakie, at the same sitting, purporting to communicate, said: "Kakie did see papa. Papa is marching with Eleanor. Sings, 'March, march,' etc." Mrs. Sutton comments: "Eleanor is a little invalid. Mr. Sutton carries her a great deal—often sings, 'March,' etc.—had done so this time." This fact is especially interesting, because it represents a contemporary event that was afterward verified.

All of these facts seem to have but one meaning, and this is survival after death; or, put in common parlance, Spiritualism, though not so offensively represented as it usually is. Dr. Hodgson boldly advances this hypothesis. And it is no small gain to that doctrine to find the man who so brilliantly exposed the fraudulent claims of Madame Blavatsky and Eusapia Palladino coming out on the side of scientific proof for immortality. He is not, however, dogmatic in his claims. He is cautious and conservative in his conclusions. He admits that the believer in telepathy may still prefer, and perhaps legitimately, to stretch that theory to meet the case, rather than accept the spiritistic interpretation. He remarks, however—half maliciously, I suspect—that this view must suppose that the thoughts past and present of all living persons are open to Mrs. Piper's inspection.

And there are many curious facts that make a sober man halt at the

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theory of spirit communication, even in this Report, which presents such a mass of facts in its favor. For instance, a most suspicious circumstance is the frequent refusal or inability of an alleged communicator to give his own name; sometimes asking for delay and then failing, and sometimes actually giving a false one. Another difficulty is the frequent, almost universal, limitation of the messages to facts that the sitters already know; bringing the phenomena under explanation by telepathy, in case that fraud cannot be suspected.

Still more striking is the obscurity attending statements in reply to questions about the nature of transcendental existence. This is not so noticeable in this Report as the vast mass of matter independent of it which pretends, in one way or another, to be spiritistic. In support also of a sceptical view is an interesting fact in the sittings of Mrs. Sutton already quoted. The little child purporting to communicate always spoke, in the messages, of her grandmother as "Marmie," which was the name always given her by the child's parents; whereas the child during life had always called her "Grammie." This ought not to be expected, especially when the peculiarities of phrase and terms in all else that the child purported to say were exactly what characterized her in life, unless we account for the whole by telepathy from the parents' memory. Supposing that the alleged messages represented what the parents knew, as they did in most cases at least, telepathy between Mrs. Piper's subliminal consciousness and the memory of the sitters would explain the child's failure to say "Grammie" more easily than spirit communication.

It is true that there are many facts that will not yield to so easy an explanation, but must assume a much more complicated form of thought transference, if that theory is to be advanced at all. But, nevertheless, the suspiciously strong claims which telepathy obtains in certain anomalous incidents makes one hesitate to go further without a much larger mass of evidence than this Report presents. The case for immortality is by no means put beyond a doubt, nor even rendered so probable that scepticism is no longer reasonable. Such a conclusion, however, does not exempt one from the obligation to admit the significant and amazing character of Dr. Hodgson's experiments.

Facts and allegations of the sort presented by Dr. Hodgson have not been wanting in the past. They have been plentiful enough. But they have not come attested with sufficient care and corroborative testimony to impress the scientific mind; hence their resemblance to proved frauds has acted as a deterrent force of some power against unwary conversion to spiritism. Moreover, the evidence produced for this doctrine

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in Dr. Hodgson's Report will appear too scanty to overcome the resistance of scientific scepticism, buttressed as it is upon such an enormous amount of material as characterizes its objections to the claims of spiritism. Nevertheless, Dr. Hodgson's allegations cannot be dismissed with a sneer; nor can any critic escape the responsibility of proving the suspicion of fraud which he may wish to entertain.

What strikes the reader with amazement, if fraud of any kind is excluded from the account, is the astounding character of the theories required to escape the conviction that the immortality of the soul has received a scientific demonstration. If fraud be eliminated,—and it is an easy matter to prove it if it exists,—the amount and selective power of the mind-reading necessary to cover the facts are so enormous that the supposition seems absolutely intolerable. There is no doubt that spiritistic communication is the *easier* explanation. But science often requires us to take the most difficult path; and, until the scientific claims for immortality are still better attested, scepticism must be entitled to hold the field.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

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NEW TRIALS FOR OLD FAVORITES.

In the book of travels which he has called "Following the Equator," Mark Twain casually speaks of the "Vicar of Wakefield" as "that strange menagerie of complacent hypocrites and idiots, of theatrical Cheap-John heroes and heroines who are always showing off, of bad people who are not interesting, and of good people who are fatiguing." And the iconoclastic humorist, not satisfied with this sweeping censure, goes further, and calls Goldsmith's masterpiece "a singular book," with "not a sincere line in it; a book which is one long waste-pipe discharge of goody-goody puerilities and dreary moralities; a book which is full of pathos which revolts, and of humor which grieves the heart."

This is strong language; and with all due respect for the clearness of vision which Mark Twain has often revealed in dealing with literature, as in dealing with life itself, and with a full recognition of the implacable common sense which is always his chief characteristic, I cannot but think that he has here overstated his case against Goldsmith, as he once before overstated his case against Cooper. The sentence of annihilation which he passes upon the "Vicar of Wakefield" is as severe as that which he passed upon the "Leather-Stocking Tales"; and they both of them seem to suggest rather the glad exaggeration of the wanton humorist than the severe restraint of the cautious critic.

And yet it may be noted that Mr. Austin Dobson, the latest biographer of Goldsmith, had frankly admitted in advance not a few of the charges which Mark Twain has harshly urged. Mr. Dobson remarked upon the "structural inconsistencies" of the story and upon "its naïve neglect of probability"; and he asked, "Where, in the world about us, do events succeed each other in such convenient sequence?—where do persons answer to their names with such opportune precision?" And he confessed also that "we may gape a little over some of its old-fashioned maxims. . . . We may even think *Squire Thornhill* a little too much of the stage libertine; we may have our doubts touching that ubiquitous philanthropist, his uncle."

Where the British critic would join issue with the American humorist is in traversing the charge that there is "not a sincere line in it,"

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since sincerity is the very quality not to be denied to the genial Irishman. And when Mark Twain insists that the good characters in the little tale are all fatiguing, it is well to recall that Mr. Dobson finds the family of Wakefield to be like Dryden's milk-white hind, "immortal and unchanged," and that he holds them to be "such friendly, such accustomed figures, they are so fixed and settled in our intimacy, that we have forgotten to remember how good they are,—how clearly and roundly realized, how winningly and artlessly presented."

Mr. Dobson is not one of the biographers who get their saint only because they refuse to allow free speech and fair play to the devil's advocate; and he appreciates fully Voltaire's saying, that criticism of detail is never fatal. Voltaire elsewhere asserted that the critic does not know his trade who cannot discover the causes of a book's success; and Mr. Dobson has pointed out the real reasons why the "Vicar of Wakefield" has pleased long and pleased many, in spite of its obvious shortcomings. Goldsmith presented the *Primrose* family so simply and so sympathetically that the world was delighted to take them to its heart, notwithstanding the clumsiness of the plot and the staginess of many of the personages. We can now detect in *Dr. Primrose* a certain eighteenth-century attitude toward the established order in church and in state which is not pleasing in our nineteenth-century eyes, and which is probably the cause of Mark Twain's contemptuous accusation of "complacent hypocrisy": but, in spite of this, the record of the *Vicar's* little vanities and little weaknesses is not fatiguing; and the *Vicar* himself lingers in our memory as a Christian gentleman.

Mark Twain is a good workman; but he is not unwilling to carry one of his chips on his shoulder. He has a hatred of humbug almost as hearty as Molière's, and a scorn of hypocrisy almost as hot; and it may be that he was moved to this violent outbreak in protest against the unthinking lip-reverence with which books like the "Vicar of Wakefield" are treated generally. Anyone who truly loves literature and who takes a real interest in its history, can hardly fail to be annoyed by the superstitious veneration paid to the minor masterpieces of the past. They are mentioned with bated breath, as though they were flawless gems, to hint a spot on which were akin to sacrilege. It is the very negation of criticism to act on the theory that even the great poets were impeccable, that Homer never nodded, and that Shakespeare never slept; and a willingness to close the eyes resolutely to all the weak points in their works may lead in time to an inability to see where their real strength lies. And if it is safest for the honest critic not to blind himself to the

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fact that in "Hamlet," in the fifth act especially, there are still obvious traces of the earlier and inferior "play of blood" upon which it was founded, and that in "Don Quixote" the pretence of a translated manuscript is tedious and ill-sustained, so it is doubly important that the honest critic should keep his eyes open wide when he comes to deal with the lesser classics, with books like the "Vicar of Wakefield" and "Gil Blas" and "Paul and Virginia,"—books each of which has a place of its own in the complex development of the modern novel, but for which it is absurd to claim verbal inspiration.

Goldsmith's domestic idyl suggested Goethe's "Hermann and Dorothea" and, indirectly, Longfellow's "Evangeline." Le Sage's picaresque romance inspired Smollett's robustious "Roderick Random"; it influenced Dickens in the "Pickwick Papers" and in "Nicholas Nickleby"; and it even provided an unconscious model for Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn." Saint-Pierre's exotic love-story revealed to later novelists the possibility of making the forces of nature —the flowers of the field and the winds of heaven—play a part in the tragedy of life. The "Vicar of Wakefield" and "Gil Blas" and "Paul and Virginia" are all of them important in the history of fiction, for one reason or another; but they are none of them so mighty in their scope that we need to be afraid to weigh their merits exactly and to measure their faults with precision.

We are justified in insisting on a careful examination, not only of their credentials from the past, but of the works themselves. They come to us with the indorsement of preceding generations; but we gave no preceding generation a power of attorney to decide what we should like in literature, or to declare what we must admire. Every generation exercises the right of private judgment for itself. Every generation is a Court of Appeals which never hesitates to overrule and reverse the judgments of its predecessors. When a book has been praised since a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the probability is large that the commendation is deserved. But there is always a possibility that its reputation has been preserved merely because the book has become unreadable and has thus tempted nobody to explode its inherited fame.

We have always a right to reopen the case whenever fresh evidence is discovered. In the Court of Criticism there is no doctrine of *stare decisis:* precedent cannot tie the tongue of posterity. Nothing is more unwholesome for a living literature than a willingness to accept a tradition without question, blindfold and obedient. Nothing is worse for

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the welfare of a living literature than an acceptance of that maxim of *Pudd'nhead Wilson's*, in which he asserts that a classic is a book everybody praises and nobody reads, unless it is an acting upon the maxim of Samuel Rogers, who said that whenever a new book came out he read an old one. We need the new and the old; but we need the old for what it is to us now, and not for what it was to readers of the last century.

When Mr. Howells aroused the rage of the British lion by his innocent suggestion that the art of fiction is a finer art nowadays than it had been in Thackeray's time, he was in fact guilty of an obvious commonplace. Guy de Maupassant may or may not be a better shot than Honoré de Balzac; but there is no doubt as to the superiority of the younger writer's rifle. So Thackeray himself had a better gun than Scott; and Scott could have had a better gun than Fielding, although for some reason he apparently preferred the old-fashioned bow of yew with its cloth-yard arrow. No wonder is it therefore that some readers of to-day, accustomed to the feats of long-range marksmanship made possible by the latest weapons of precision, are often impatient at the results of the target-practice of our ancestors.

Scott declared that few have read "Gil Blas" "without remembering, as one of the most delightful occupations of their life, the time which they first employed in its perusal"; and he goes further, and suggests that "if there is anything like truth in Gray's opinion, that to lie upon a couch and read new novels was no bad idea of Paradise, how would that beatitude be enhanced, could human genius afford us another 'Gil Blas'!" Thackeray asserted that "the novel of 'Humphrey Clinker' is, I do think, the most laughable story that has been written since the goodly art of novel-writing began." Coleridge maintained that the three finest plots in the whole history of literature were to be found in the "Œdipus" of Sophocles, the "Alchemist" of Ben Jonson, and the "Tom Jones" of Fielding.

Scott and Thackeray and Coleridge are critics whose equipment and insight and disinterestedness every lover of literature must respect. But Coleridge died before the modern novel had reached its full development; and, if he overpraised the plot of "Tom Jones," it was perhaps because he could not foresee the "Scarlet Letter" or "Smoke." No doubt Thackeray relished the eighteenth century exceedingly; but when he singled out "Humphrey Clinker" as a masterpiece of laughter-making, he could have had no premonition of "Tom Sawyer" and of "Tartarin in the Alps." And in like manner Scott's eulogy of "Gil Blas" falls on deaf ears now

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that it is addressed to those who have feasted their eyes on the far more varied panorama provided in the Waverley novels.

Much of our veneration for the classics is a sham, due in a measure to our sheep-like unwillingness to think for ourselves. Follow my leader is the game most of us play when we are called upon to declare our preferences. We put "Tom Jones," for example, into our lists of the "Hundred Best Books,"—lists, for the most part, as fatuous as they are absurd;—but if we were honest with ourselves, as I suppose we should be if the choice were actual, very few of us would pack "Tom Jones" in the chest we express to the mythical Desolate Island. There is no doubt that "Tom Jones" is a great novel, one of the greatest in our language, and perhaps one of the greatest in the modern literature of any country. It has form and substance; it is admirably planned and beautifully written; it abounds in humor and in irony and in knowledge of human nature; it is peopled by a company of living men and women, each of them firm on his or her feet; it reveals to us a most manly character, the character of Henry Fielding himself,—sturdy, honest and sincere, clear-eyed and plain-spoken. The book is eternal in its verity and therefore in its interest: but it has the remote morality of the eighteenth century, and the hardness of tone of that unlovely era; it belongs to an earlier stage in the development of fiction; it demands for its full enjoyment a certain measure of culture in its readers; and therefore it is becoming year by year more and more a novel for the few, and less and less a novel for the many.

As with "Tom Jones" so with "Don Quixote,"—a greater book, making a wider appeal, and not bounded by the horizon of a single century. The carelessness with which Cervantes put his story together, the fortuitous adventures and the incongruous meetings,—these things are of little consequence; for, as George Sand aptly put it, "the best books are not those with the fewest faults, but those with the greatest merits." The merits of "Don Quixote" are great beyond dispute; but are they such as can be appreciated by that impossible entity, the Average Reader? Spain's chivalry has been laughed away so thoroughly that nowadays a man must needs have studied in the schools to understand the circumstances of Cervantes' satire. The genuine appreciation of "Don Quixote," and of "Tom Jones," also, calls for a preparation that few readers of fiction possess, and for an effort which few of them are inclined to make.

If this is true, is it not best to admit it frankly?—to say honestly that the "Vicar of Wakefield" is a tissue of improbabilities, that *Gil*

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Blas, in the course of his rambles, happens upon much that is no longer entertaining, and that "Humphrey Clinker" is not the most amusing volume now available? The penalty for not speaking the truth boldly is pretty serious. It consists in the very real danger that he who is enticed by traditional eulogy to attempt these books and others like them, and who recoils with disappointment, as many a time he must, will thereafter distrust his judgment and will be inclined to suppose that literature is something hard, something dull, something repellent, something beyond his reach.

When Mr. Reed defined a statesman as "a successful politician who is dead," he voiced a sentiment very like that which rules many of our literary guides. In their minds, nothing is literature that was not written either in a dead language or by a dead man, and everything is literature which was written by a dead man in a dead language. They praise the old books which they either read with an effort or do not read at all; and it rarely occurs to them to analyze the source of their pleasure in the new books which they read with joy. "Huckleberry Finn," for example, has been devoured with delight by hundreds of thousands of Americans; but the rare references to it in print are most of them doubtful and patronizing.

Now "Huckleberry Finn" contains the picture of a civilization nowhere else adequately recorded in literature: it abounds in adventure and in character, in fun and in philosophy. It appears to me to be a work of extraordinary merit, and a better book of the same kind than "Gil Blas," richer in humor, and informed by a riper humanity. But Mark Twain's story is a book of to-day, and it is American; it is not a book of yesterday and foreign; it can be enjoyed by anybody, even by a boy, and it seems to make no demand on the understanding; there is no tradition of laudation encompassing it about, and it is not sanctified by two centuries of eulogy; it is easy for us to read, since the matter is familiar and the manner also; but it is difficult for us to praise, since the critics who preceded us have not set us the example.

Probably it was at a new opera that Rufus Choate besought his daughter to interpret to him the libretto, lest he dilate with the wrong emotion. At all the old operas every man of us knows with what emotion it is that he ought to dilate, since we are prone to accept the tradition, if only to save us the trouble of thinking for ourselves. To arouse us from our laziness and our lethargy there is nothing like a vehement assault on the inherited opinion, even if the charge is too sweeping, like Mark Twain's annihilation of Goldsmith's little masterpiece.

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If a study of the history of literature reveals anything clearly, it is that a reversal of the judgments of our ancestors, or at least a revision, after argument, is a condition of progress. If the old favorites cannot stand a new trial, there may be a recommendation to mercy; but there is no doubt about the verdict. For us to advance in the right path, we must look at literature, as we look at life, with our own eyes, and not through the spectacles of our grandfathers. The critics of the Renascence in every country of Europe were united in holding that the model of the drama had been set by the Greeks, once for all, and that this model was in no wise to be modified or departed from; and the insistence on this theory deprived Italy of a drama of its own, and came desperately near to strangling the drama of England and that of Spain. Fortunately, the populace of London and of Madrid were not awed by the authority of criticism; they knew what they wanted; they refused to accept the kind of play that had pleased the Greeks, but did not happen to please them; and they would not rest satisfied till they had Shakespeare and Calderon.

In the lapse of time Calderon and Shakespeare got themselves slowly accepted as classics, but after how hard a struggle, in the case of Shakespeare?—a struggle ending in the triumph of the dramatist only toward the end of the last century and with the outbreak of neo-romanticism. No department of literary history is, I think, more instructive, and none, I am sure, tends more to teach us humility, than the record of the fluctuations in the fame of one or another of the masters of literature,—such a record as Prof. Lounsbury has given us in one of his luminous "Studies of Chaucer." Each of these masters has had his eclipses, from which he has emerged at last; and many of the minor bards have had, each in his turn, their periods of effulgence, now come to an end forever. For nearly a century Shakespeare was held to be inferior to Ben Jonson; and for an even longer period Homer was held in lower esteem than the smoother Vergil.

Two or three hundred years ago the Italians used to speak of the Four Poets, meaning Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso; and in those days the rest of the civilized world was ready enough to admit the supremacy of this quartet. The canon of to-day also admits four poets,—Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe. We who speak English may wish to add Milton as a fifth; they who speak French might claim admission for Hugo instead; while the Latins would put in a plea for the inclusion of Vergil. But how Voltaire would have scoffed at any list that included the Gothic Dante and the barbarian Shakespeare!

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And how Voltaire's followers, the little German critics who came before Lessing, would have shrieked with horror at the omission of Pope, Boileau, and Horace! I wonder sometimes whether some of our opinions —even those upon which all the authoritative critics of our time are united—will not strike the more enlightened twenty-first century as equally jejune. And yet I need not wonder; for few things are more certain to come about than that the future will jeer at more than one judgment of the present, just as we scoff haughtily at many of the judgments of the past. Every century—even every generation—contributes material for a new chapter on the vicissitudes of artistic reputation.

For a decade or more Byron was universally accepted as the foremost poet of all Europe. Fifty years later Byron was ranked by most British critics below Shelley and Keats and Wordsworth, no one of whom has ever had any vogue outside of his own language. Now, again, as the century draws to an end, there are plentiful signs of a revolution in Byron's favor. But, if Byron ever reconquers a fame like that which he possessed just before his death, it will be by virtue of his real qualities and not by favor of accompanying faults,—although his earlier notoriety seemed to be due almost as much to the latter as to the former. In like manner Lamartine is regaining to-day in France a position such as he occupied once before, only he is solidly supported now and far better able to repel assault. So, too, Victor Hugo, against whom there was a violent reaction after his death,—a reaction perhaps not yet at an end in Paris itself,—is coming slowly to be recognized, especially by foreign critics, as the finest lyric poet of France, and even as the foremost lyrist of Europe in the nineteenth century. This recognition has been made possible only by the perspective of time, which has revealed the "Légende des Siècles" looming aloft above the immense mass of Hugo's other verse, and far above his romances and his dramas. During a man's lifetime there is a tendency to estimate him by his average work: after his death a juster valuation is arrived at by weighing only his best.

At Scott's death there was an outburst of eulogy,—as much a testimony of admiration for the final struggle of the man as it was an expression of gratitude for the pleasure given by the author. Soon the thermometer fell, and there were signs of a frost; then Lockhart published the biography, and Carlyle was ready with a review the underlying tone of which was the same contemptuous envy he showed toward almost every one of his successful contemporaries. Scott's merits were real enough to withstand, on the one side, Carlyle's disparagement, and, on the other, the discredit derived from a host of clumsy imitators.

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Yet he seems a sadly belated critic who now praises Scott for his tournaments, or for his pinchbeck chivalry, or for any other of the mediæval gauds which glittered so bravely in the eyes of those who read "Ivanhoe" when it first came out. Scott's title to survival is seen at last to be founded, like the title of Fielding and of Le Sage and of Cervantes, on his vigorous and veracious portrayal of human character, on his truthful reproduction of the shrewd and sturdy men and women whom he knew so well and loved so dearly.

Although Cooper was weak just where Scott was strong, he also had a firm grasp of elemental character,—*Long Tom Coffin*, for example, and *Natty Bumppo*, who, as Lowell said,

> "won't go to oblivion quicker
> Than Adams the parson or than Primrose the Vicar."

Since the publication of Prof. Lounsbury's model biography there has been a certain revision of critical opinion, and Cooper has risen again in the esteem of all who can tolerate his obvious faults and understand how precious are his abiding merits. Perhaps the highest tribute he has received has been the open and repeated imitation of half a dozen later British novelists,—Mr. Rider Haggard, for one, and Dr. Conan Doyle, for another.

In the same way has the fame of George Eliot and of Dickens wavered for a long while; establishing itself more firmly as time winnows their writings, leaving it to rest on only the best works of each and not merely on the bulk of them. In George Eliot's case, "Daniel Deronda" has already been dropped behind, and no longer impedes the full appreciation of "Silas Marner,"—perhaps the only one of her books which is direct and shapely. Dickens had even less sense of form than George Eliot; and yet he strove for constructive effects again and again, only to fail lamentably. This is one reason why those of his books are best liked now in which there is little or no pretence of a plot, in which, in fact, there is only a central figure serving as an excuse for the linking together of amusing characters and lively scenes. In "Nicholas Nickleby" there is hardly any more formal framework than there is in "Gil Blas" itself; and in "Gil Blas" the correlation of the incidents is frankly fortuitous. In fact, "Nicholas Nickleby" is one of the best specimens of the picaresque in our language. For many of us the "Pickwick Papers" is the most readable of Dickens's works, because it contains the least plot and the least pathos, and because it was written with the least effort and the least striving for effect.

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Dickens affords us an admirable example of the changing point of view of successive generations. In his own day the blank-verse death-beds of *Little Nell* and *Paul Dombey*, and the other instances of that massacre of the innocents in which Dickens out-heroded Herod, were successful in drawing tears even from unsympathetic souls, like Jeffrey. In our time these scenes annoy us; they are felt to be offensive; and they are apologized for even by the thick-and-thin defenders of Dickens. So, too, the "effects" which Dickens worked up conscientiously and with an immensity of pains seem to us to-day tawdry, not to say theatrical; and we feel the essential falseness of the devices which Dickens took obvious pride in.

What makes Mr. George Gissing's recent study of Dickens's method significant is the strange frankness with which the friendly critic admits the justice of the accusations brought against the earlier novelist's art, and the ingenuity with which he shows us that, in spite of all, Dickens's power is indisputable and his genius transcendent. All the characteristics of Dickens's writing which Mr. Howells has expressed his distaste for, Mr. Gissing allows to be execrable; he shows how Dickens yielded without a struggle to the popular liking for happy endings, and how he never hesitated at the most illogical transmogrification of character in order to bring this about; and then he seeks to establish Dickens's fame solidly for the future on the novelist's veracity in dealing with types of character in the lower middle-class of London, denying that *Mrs. Gamp* is in any way exaggerated, calling her almost photographic, and declaring that the reproduction of *Mrs. Varden's* talk is phonographic in its accuracy. Mr. Gissing even ventures to compare Dickens with Balzac, with Victor Hugo, with Dostoyefsky, and with Daudet; finding "in Balzac a stronger intellect, but by no means a greater genius."

Mr. Gissing's essay reveals genuine insight into the principles of the novelist's art; it is modest and moderate; it is convincing. At least one reader, who would have confessed to little liking for Dickens either as a man or as an artist, laid it down with the feeling that the critic had made out his case, and that the adverse decision against Dickens must needs be revised now in the light of Mr. Gissing's argument, so cogent is this plea of confession and avoidance.

And yet a doubt arises again when we recall the pregnant saying of Joseph de Maistre, that, to judge a book, "it is enough to know by whom it is loved and by whom it is hated." Now as between Dickens and Thackeray—to bring up again the comparison which is apparently as inevitable as it is absurd—one may have a suspicion that the former

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is more admired by the weaklings and the sentimentalists, by the gently hypocritical and the morally short-sighted, while the latter pleases rather those who think for themselves and who stand firmly on their own feet and who take the world as it is. One robust British critic, whose own manners are notoriously bad, seems to me to prefer Dickens chiefly because Thackeray was a gentleman.

In comparing Dickens with Victor Hugo, Mr. Gissing sets *Inspector Bucket* by the side of *Javert*, and finds a realistic character in the British detective, and in the French a type, "an incarnation of the penal code, neither more or less." Then he declares that "'Les Miserables' is one of the world's great books," and admits that this "cannot be said of any one of Dickens's." This raises a most interesting question: What *are* the world's great books? Of course, the list would be drawn up very differently in different countries and in different centuries. The American list would not be quite the same as the British list, although there is identity of language and of literary tradition. Either of these English lists would diverge widely from the French. The Italian list and the Spanish would be closer to the French; and the German list would approach the English. If a score of competent critics, chosen from the chief modern languages, were empowered to select a dozen cosmopolitan classics there would be agreement only in regard to the ancients. About the moderns there would be the utmost diversity of opinion; no book of Dickens's would be put on the list, nor any book of Thackeray's either, nor aught of Hawthorne's; while a volume of Poe's short stories might perhaps survive the discussion, and so might "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Perhaps "Gil Blas" and "Paul and Virginia" and the "Vicar of Wakefield" would be able to make good their claims, and perhaps not. Perhaps, indeed, the only books in our language (except a play or two of Shakespeare's) that are absolutely certain of insertion are the two books of our boyhood, "Gulliver's Travels" and "Robinson Crusoe," both of them tales of seafaring, and both of them intimately characteristic of the stock that speaks English on the opposite shores of the Atlantic.

If the malignant Swift has any knowledge now of what is happening among the descendants of the men and women he despised and cringed before, it must feed fat his humor that the book he wrote to record his hatred of humanity survives to-day as a fairy-tale in the nursery. He meant it for gall and wormwood,—and lo! it is found to be spoon-meat for babes. Books have their strange fates like men; but surely none could be stranger than this, the very irony of circumstance.

As for "Robinson Crusoe," its permanence can be explained easily

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enough. M. de Vogüé has recently declared that the list of cosmopolitan classics must finally be restricted to two books, "Don Quixote" and "Robinson Crusoe." He tells us that—

"other masterpieces take higher rank, from the perfection of their art or from the sublimity of their thought, but they do not address themselves to every age and to every condition; they demand for their enjoyment a mind already formed and an intellectual culture not given to everyone. Cervantes and De Foe alone have solved the problem of interesting . . . the little child and the thoughtful old man, the servant-girl and the philosopher."

M. de Vogüé declares "Don Quixote" to be the most pessimistic of books, and "Robinson Crusoe" the most optimistic. He discovers in the first the whole history of Spain, and in the latter the true portrait of the English-speaking race. He sees in the shipwrecked solitary the type of the mythic hero of the North,—stout-hearted and devout, ready with his hands, and sure of himself.

That "Don Quixote" is a greater book than "Robinson Crusoe," few would deny; but, if the cosmopolitan classics are two, then is the Spanish masterpiece less cosmopolitan than the English, since its appeal is not so universal, and to appreciate it calls for more knowledge and more effort. A boy needs to learn what knight-errantry is before he can enter into sympathy with the hero of Cervantes and begin to make believe with him. But what boy is there who cannot invent for himself a desert island and hostile savages? De Foe's hero is a type of all mankind; *Robinson Crusoe's* struggle for existence is ours also; and in his adventures we foresee our own,—every man fighting for his own hand, every man with his back against the wall. BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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